

182 63

A  
DESCRIPTION  
OF THE  
Maritime Parts of FRANCE,

CONTAINING

A Particular Account of all the FORTIFIED TOWNS, FORTS, HARBOURS, BAYS, and RIVERS, with  
their TIDES, CURRENTS, SOUNDINGS, SHOALS, &c.

ALSO OF ALL

MANUFACTURES, and ARTICLES of COMMERCE, and of the most remarkable INVASIONS, SIEGES,  
and SEA-FIGHTS, which have happened on or near that COAST.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

CHARTS of the SEA-COAST, and PLANS of all the Fortified Places on it.

Collected from the best AUTHORITIES.

Engraved by THO. JEFFERYS, *Geographer to his MAJESTY.*

To which are prefixed,

A GLOSSARY, and PLANS of the several Parts of FORTIFICATION, on two Plates, to explain the  
TERMS made Use of in the Work.

L O N D O N:

Printed for THOMAS JEFFERYS, at *Charing-Cross.*

MDCC LXI.



DESCRIPTIVE  
OF THE  
MARINE BANK OF A. G. L. & CO.



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MDCCLXXI

TO THE  
King's Most Excellent Majesty.

SIRE,

**T**HE Navy of France, which, but a few Years ago, was so formidable as to threaten Your MAJESTY's Kingdoms with an Invasion, is now either destroyed by the superiour Force of Your MAJESTY's Fleets, or kept blocked up to rot in the Harbours where the Ships were fitting out.

THAT the Ports of this once powerful, but now vanquished, Competitor with the British Flag, for the Sovereignty of the Ocean, with their Avenues, Fortifications and Trade, might be particularly known to my fellow Subjects, was the first Motive that induced me to undertake the elaborate and expensive Work which I now, with the utmost Humility, beg Leave to lay at Your MAJESTY's Feet, as a small Testimony of the  
grateful



grateful Sense which I shall ever retain of the unmerited Favour which Your MAJESTY's unbounded Goodness has found Means to extend even to me.

FOR Your MAJESTY, whom Providence has graciously pleased to bless with the highest possible Felicity, by placing You on the Throne of Your native Country, and rendering You the Fountain of Happiness and Honour to a numerous and united, a brave, a loyal, and a victorious People, I have nothing to wish; and, for myself, I can desire nothing more, than to share in the general Felicity, which my Country derives from Your MAJESTY's most auspicious Reign.

I am Your MAJESTY's

Most devoted,

Obedient humble Servant, and

Loyal Subject,

THO. JEFFERYS.

# LIST of the CHARTS, PLANS, &c. exhibited in this Work, with our Authorities for them.

1. **A** Chart of the Coast and Rivers of France. This Chart was drawn from the particular Charts inserted in this Work: The inland Rivers and Places from the Map of France made by Cassini de Thury.
2. The 2d Chart of the Coast of France, from Ostend to Ambleteuse. Drawn from the Neptune François, Friex's Map of Flanders, and the Map of Triangles, by Cassini de Thury.
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A Plan of Dunkirk, as fortified in 1400 by Robert de Marle.  
A Plan of Dunkirk, as it was fortified when taken by the Marechal de Turenne, June. 28, 1658. Exactly copied from M. Belidor's Architecture Hydraulique.
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17. The Road of Havre de Grace, and the River Seine from Rouen to the Sea. Taken from the Neptune François.
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47. *Chart of the Road of Basque.* Engraved from the *Neptune François*.
48. *The same with the Soundings taken in 1757.* Drawn by an Officer in that Expedition.
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50. *A Plan of the Fort and Town of Aix demolished by the English, 1757.* Drawn by another Officer in that Expedition.
51. *A Prospect of the Land about the Mouth of the River Charente, from Fort de l'Aiguille to l'Isle Madame, taken at the Distance of five Miles, in 1757. With a View of the Fort in the Island of Aix: Also the Forts of l'Aiguille and Fouras.*
52. *Plan of Fort Lupin.* From an Original French Drawing in the Collection of the Earl of Egmont.
53. *The first Plan of Rochefort.* Drawn from *Forces de l'Europe*.
54. *A Plan of the Town and Harbour of Rochefort, with the Improvements proposed in 1757.* Copied from a Curious Original Drawing, communicated by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Ancram*, who purchased it at the Sale of the late General *Drury's Effects*, which has been carefully examined and compared with the *Nouvelle Description de la France*, the *Atlas Militaire*, and also with another Plan of this Town, published at Paris, 1757, by *Beaurain*.
55. *A Plan of Fort Fouras, and the Isle of Madame.* Engraved from *Beaurain*.
56. *Plan of the Town and Harbour of Brouage.* Engraved from a Drawing in the Collection of the Earl of *Ancram*.
57. *The 11th Chart of the Coast of France, from Royan to Contis.* Drawn from the *Neptune François*, &c. as Charts II. and X.
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59. *Plan of the Fort de Medoc, with the Citadel and Battery of Blaye to defend the Passage of the Gironde.*
60. *Plan of Chateau Trompette.* Taken from the Survey of *Bordeaux*.
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69. *A Plan of the Town and Harbour of Colioure.* Drawn from *Beaulieu* and de *Fer*.
70. *A Plan of the Town and Mole of Agde, with the Fort de Brescou.* Copied from *Michelot* and the Map of the Canal Royal by *Nollin*.
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76. *Plan of the City and Harbour of Marseille.* Drawn from the New Plan of that City, published by Order of the Mayor and Syndics.
77. *Plan of the Town and Harbour of la Ciotat.* Copied from *Michelot*.
78. *Chart of the Roads of Brusc and Bandol.* Drawn from *Michelot* and the New Map of *Provence*.
79. *The Roads of Toulon, with the adjacent Country.* Copied from *Belidor*, compared with *Michelot*.
80. *Plan of the City and Harbour of Toulon.* From *Piganiol, de Fer*, the Plan of *Liebaux*, and some Memoirs.
81. *The 16th Chart of the Coast of France, from the Isles d'Hyeres to the River Var.* Drawn from *Michelot* and the Chart of the *Mediterranean*, published by *Bellin*.
82. *Plan of the Bay and Isles d'Hyeres, with the Fort de Bregançon.* Drawn from *Michelot, Cassini*, and the *Atlas Militaire*.
83. *Plan of the Town and Harbour of St. Tropez.* Drawn from *de Fer* and *Tassin*.
84. *Plan of the Isles St. Marguerite, with the Road of Gourjan or Gourgen.* Drawn from *Michelot* and the New Map of *Provence, Tassin* and the *Atlas Militaire*.
85. *Plan of the Town and Harbour of Antibes.* Drawn from *de Fer, Belidor, Tassin*, &c.

# P R E F A C E.

**T**HIS work having far exceeded the bounds at first intended, we shall here only take notice of some things that ought to be known previous to the perusal of it, with as much brevity as possible.

In the beginning we reduced the sums of *French* money occasionally mentioned to *English* currency, reckoning the *French* livre at ten-pence half-penny sterling; but, in the progress of the work, finding that this method gave rise to several errors in transcribing and printing, we have generally left the sums we took from *French* authors as we found them. Those, who are curious in this respect, know how to satisfy themselves with very little trouble.

We have generally given small distances and dimensions in inches, feet and fathoms, sometimes according to the *French*, and sometimes according to the *English* standard; but we have, for the most part, taken care to mention which; and where we have not, the *English* measure is to be understood. In reducing *French* into *English* measures, it is necessary to remember that the *French* foot, which determines all the rest, is to the *English* foot as 114 to 107, or as 16 to 15 nearly; so that 15 *French* feet are nearly equal to 16 *English*.

Greater distances we have given in *French* Leagues; but, in reducing these to *English* miles, it must be observed that they are of different extent in different Provinces; for instance, 28 Leagues of *Paris* and *Sologne* make a degree, which is equal to 69½ *English* miles; and this again is only equal to 25 Leagues of *Normandy*, *Picardie* and *Artois*; 24 of *Bretagne* and *Anjou*; 23 of the *Lyonnois*; and 19 of *Gascogne* and *Provence*.

We have been but brief in our account of the magistrates of the towns and cities, and the powers and privileges belonging to them; because almost all of them are considered as frontier towns, and consequently, in a great measure, subject to military government; the authority of the magistrates being very inconsiderable. Our principal design was to enquire into the situation and advantages of these places, the nature and produce of the country about them, the strength of their fortifications, the conveniences of their roads and harbours, the number and circumstances of their inhabitants, and their progress in trade and commerce. Other matters we have touched but lightly, or entirely passed over.

When we have occasion to mention any fact of an uncommon, or surprizing nature, we have generally given  
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our authority either in the text, or in a note; but, as we do not mean that any fact should depend merely upon our assertion, we shall therefore mention the principal authors we have consulted on this occasion, that those, who please to take the trouble, may see how far we have done them justice. In the description of places, we have been greatly obliged to M. Belidor's *Architecture Hydraulique* (a); M. Piganiol de la Force's *Nouvelle Description de la France* (b); *Etat de la France, par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers* (c); *Description géographique et historique de la Haute Normandie* (d); *Dictionnaire Universel de la France ancienne et moderne* (e); and some other tracts upon particular provinces. In the historical part we have consulted the *French* historians, especially *Thuanus Histor. sui temporis*; Mezeray's *Histoire de la France, depuis Faramond jusqu'à maintenant* (f); *Histoire de la Bretagne* (g); Father Daniel; *Memoirs of the Duke de Sully*, with several others; and the *English* historians in general, particularly *Molyneux's* late treatise on *Conjunct Expeditions*, to which we are indebted for the accounts we have given of the descents made upon the coasts of *France* since the commencement of the present war. Besides the materials we have from these authors, some persons of credit and reputation, who have had the best opportunities of being acquainted with several parts of the *French* coast, have been kind enough to communicate their observations; and we have been indulged with the use of a manuscript, containing excellent remarks and observations, made, by a gen-

(a) A Paris, 1753. 4 tom. 4to.

(c) A Londres, 1751. 8 tom. 12mo.

(e) A Paris, 1726. 3 tom. folio.

(g) A Paris, 1707. 2 tom. folio.

(b) A Paris, 1753. 15 tom. 12mo.

(d) A Paris, 1742. 2 tom. folio.

(f) A Paris, 1643. 3 tom. folio.

tleman of great worth and learning, upon some parts of that coast, which he had visited in the course of his travels; out of which we have inserted several material things into our description of *Marseilles*, and other places on the coast of the *Mediterranean*; and therefore take this opportunity to return our grateful acknowledgments to the ingenious author.

As a bare description must have been dry and tedious, we have endeavoured to illustrate, and, at the same time, enliven it, by adding the history of the principal places as they lie in order. These historical tracts, we doubt not, will be found curious, entertaining, and interesting; and the more so, as the far greater part of them are either very lightly touched in our histories, or, which is the case of many of them, not mentioned at all. Besides, they are also exceeding useful, and fraught with valuable and seasonable instruction. To give some instances of this, we shall mention one or two particulars that can never be too often recommended to the attention of this nation.

The historical part of this work proves beyond dispute that no dependence can be had upon any treaty, contract, or convention made with the court of *France*. We have here many instances of treaties concluded, in all the periods of the *French* Monarchy, with several nations of *Europe*, and none observed any longer than till the *French* thought it their interest to break them. This proves, as far as history can be a proof of any thing, that there can be no sort of security in relying upon stipulations or engagements entered into by that court. But it is not necessary to insist upon a point, which is confirmed by all the histories of *Europe*: it is but justice, however, here to take notice of one *French* King,



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King, who gave undeniable proofs of his willingness to execute, and religiously to observe a treaty, that could not be much to the satisfaction of the *French* court or nation. The treaty of *Bretigni*, no doubt, bore hard upon the *French*; but, all circumstances considered, our King *Edward III.* was not only just, but generous in the terms he gave them on that occasion. King *John* of *France* was, at that time, prisoner in *England*, and could have no direct hand in concluding that treaty; but, as long as he lived, he gave evident proofs of his sincere intention to perform every part of the engagements which the Dauphin, as Regent of the kingdom during his captivity, had entered into in his name. But to make amends for the father's weakness, his son and successor *Charles V.* who had made the treaty, and taken a solemn oath to see it executed, as soon as he came to the crown, made preparation to renew the war. This conduct was not so very surprizing in a *French* Monarch; but is it not a little strange, that the whole *French* nation, to this day, treat the memory of the good King *John* with the greatest contempt, while, on the other hand, they extol to the skies that of his son and successor, whom, on account of this very conduct with regard to the treaty of *Bretigni*, they have dignified with the title of *Charles the Wise*. Upon the whole, the *French* court seem to think themselves constantly in a state of war with the neighbouring nations, and to consider treaties of peace, only as so many stratagems to lull the enemy asleep, that they may have an opportunity to give them a sure, because an unexpected blow.

Again, we here see the prevailing credulity of other nations, particularly of the *English*. The *French*, notwithstanding the little regard they pay to the most solemn engagements, upon every new occasion, boast more of their

disinterested views, the purity of their intentions, their integrity, and their *bonne foy*, as they call it, than any nation under heaven; and the *English*, though they know the perfidy of that nation in former times, are weak enough to believe they will behave otherwise for the future: at least, they act as if they did so. The *French* put off their arms, only to whet and repair them for a new opportunity; the *English* throw them away, as if they should never have occasion for them again. King *John* of *England* knew very well what treatment his ancestors, and even his own father *Henry II.* had met with from the Kings of *France*, yet he trusted *Philip August*, to his irreparable loss. In the reign of *Edward I.* when neither the misfortunes of King *John*, nor the causes that produced them could be forgotten, the *English* carried their complaisance to *France* so very far, that they delivered up to *Philip* the Fair, the town of *Bordeaux*, and the whole province of *Guienne*, upon a bare promise from that Prince to restore them to *England* in a few days; as if such a ridiculous farce could ever have been acted or proposed, but with a design to deceive. Notwithstanding all the instances we had of this sort of *French* policy in the reign of *Edward III.* yet after the treaty of *Bretigni*, the same credulity prevailed among the *English*, and in consequence of it the same security. The *English* garrisons in *France* grew careless, and therefore became an easy prey to the designing *French*. The garrison of *Montrevil*, a very strong place in those days, grew so negligent and remiss, that the inhabitants took advantage of their indolence, and expelled them in one night, without any assistance from the *French* King; and in the space of three days, they were expelled out of the whole Dutchy of *Pontbieu*, where there were a great many fortified places. It is needless to mention later

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instances; the same game, it is well known, has been played over and over a great many times. We shall, therefore, only add, that it will be happy, if former experience shall put us upon our guard for the time to come.

Other important remarks might be made; but lest we should be thought to have forgot what, upon the matter, we promised at first, we shall proceed no further, but leave our performance, such as it is, to the judgment and candour of the reader.

To conclude, if we have contributed to the reader's improvement or entertainment, which was our chief aim, he will, no doubt, excuse such faults and imperfections as cannot altogether be avoided in a work of this nature, and make allowances for the difficulties we must necessarily have met with, in travelling over a coast of near a thousand miles in extent; from the vast variety of matter that lay before us; the labour of collecting from so many different authors; and the uncertainty and perplexity that naturally arise from authors often differing from one another, and sometimes even from themselves.

P. S. The references to the plans of *Boulogne* and *St. Malo*, having been omitted in their proper places, that they might not be quite lost to the reader we have thought proper to insert them here.

## References to the Plan of BOULOGNE.

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| A. N. D. Cathedral.       | H. The Governor's House. |
| B. The Bishop's Palace.   | I. St. Nicholas.         |
| C. The Ursuline Nuns.     | K. St. Lazare.           |
| D. The Oratorian.         | L. The Minims.           |
| E. The Town-House.        | M. The Cordeliers.       |
| F. The Seneschal's Court. | N. The Charity.          |
| G. The Annonciad Nuns.    | O. The Capuchin Fryars.  |

## References to the Plan of ST. MALO.

- |                           |                                      |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. St. Aaron's Chapel.    | 13. General Tower.                   |
| 2. The Benedictine Monks. | 14. Ladies Tower.                    |
| 3. The Benedictine Nuns.  | 15. The Governor's House.            |
| 4. St. Thomas's Chapel.   | 16. 16. Barracks.                    |
| 5. The Ursuline Nuns.     | 17. The Butchers' Quarter.           |
| 6. Nôtre Dame Chapel.     | 18. Bidouane Tower.                  |
| 7. St. Saviour.           | 19. Rampart or platform of Bidouane. |
| 8. Hotel Dieu [hospital.] | 20. Tower Mouillée or West Tower.    |
| 9. The Recollect Fryars.  | 21. The Exchange and the Ravelin.    |
| 10. The Gallery Point.    |                                      |
| 11. Tower of the Mills.   |                                      |
| 12. Quinquagrogne Tower.  |                                      |

# GLOSSARY,

TO EXPLAIN THE

Terms in Fortification, Gunnery, the Attack, and Defence of Places,  
made use of in this Work.

A

**A**DVANC'D DITCH. See *Avant-fosse*.

*Aid-de-camp*, an officer who carries the orders of the general and field-officers.

*Ambuscade*, or *Embuscade*, a body of men that ly concealed in a wood, hollow-way, or any other convenient place, to surprize an enemy.

*Angle of the center of the place*, is that formed by two radii, which terminate at the extremities of one of the fronts of the place.

*Angle of the circumference*, is that formed by two sides of the polygon.

*Angle of the flank*, is that made by a flank and a curtain.

*Angle of the epaule*, or *shoulder*, is that made by a face and a flank.

*Flanked angle*, that which is made by the two faces of the bastion.

*Angle flanking*, that made by the meeting of the two lines of defence, or, which is the same thing, by producing the faces of the bastions opposite the curtain.

*Dead angle*, in fortification, is a re-entering angle not defended.

*Angle saliant*, is that whose angular point is directed towards the country, and whose sides draw towards the town.

*Angle reentrant*, or *re-entering*, is that whose point is towards the town, and the sides towards the country.

*Approaches*, are works or trenches which the besieging army make in the ground, in order to approach and make themselves masters of the place.

*Arsenal*, a place where all kind of military and naval stores are kept or made.

*Artillery*, signifies every thing that relates to arms and military engines, and the troops particularly employed in that service.

*Assault*, is a brisk and vigorous attack, carried on uncovered, against that part of the rampart where a breach is made.

*Attack*, is the manner and disposition made in order to drive away the enemy from some particular place.

*Falfe attacks*, are those which are not intended to produce their entire effect, but only to disturb the enemy, and oblige them to divide their forces.

*Avant-Fosse*, a ditch round the glacis to prevent a surprize.

*Banquette*,



## B.

*Banquette*, is a kind of step made on the rampart at the foot of the parapet for the soldiers to stand upon, so as to see the country and fire over the parapet.

*Barbette*, or *Plat form*, a space of earth raised higher than the rest of the rampart, at the flank'd angles of any work; upon this elevation guns are placed, that fire over the parapet without embrasures; whence arose the expressions of *Battery en barbette*, and to fire *en barbette*.

*Barricade*, a fence made of *chevaux-de-frise*, or palfisadoes, and sometimes of casks filled with dung.

*Bastion*, a great work of earth generally elevated at the angle of the polygon towards the country.

A bastion is composed of two *flanks* and two *faces*, which are sometimes lin'd with stone or brick, from whence the French term it *Bastion revetu*, and *Bastion non revetu*.

The angle made by the two faces is called *Angle of the bastion*, or *flanked angle*.

The points where the *faces* and the *flanks* unite are called the *Shoulders* (*les epaules*) of the bastion, and these angles take the name of *Shoulder Angles*.

The angles comprised between the *flanks* and the *curtain* are these of the *Flanks*.

See *Curtain*, *Demy-Gorge*, *Face*, *Flank*, *Gorge*.

*Bastion parfait*, a kind of bastion invented by the Count de Pagan. It consists of a great bastion, with four flanks retired; and a less (or *petit*) bastion in the center, having before its *faces* a ditch that extends to the foot of the rampart of the *Great Bastion*.

*Bastion plein*, or *solid bastion*, is a bastion filled with earth to the level of the rampart, without any empty space in the center.

*Bastion vuide ou creux*, hollow or empty bastion, is that whose rampart is of the same breadth at the flanks and faces as that of the curtain, and which therefore leaves an empty space in the middle.

*Batardeau* or *dam*, a work of masonry made across the ditch to keep in the water; in the middle of the *batardeau* is generally erected a little tower, which the French call the *Onglet of the batardeau*; its use is to prevent the desertion of the soldiers over the *batardeau*.

*Bataillon*, a body of foot commonly consisting of 700, or 800, and sometimes 1000 men, and divided into several companies, one of which is generally grenadiers. A French battalion, at present, consists of 685 non-commissioned officers, and 40 officers.

*Battery*, a place where guns are planted to fire on the enemy; they rest upon a platt form made of thick planks, that the wheels of their carriages may not sink into the earth; and when they are not *en barbette*, openings are made in the parapet for their firing. See *Embrasure*, *Mierlon*.

There are different sorts of batteries, which are explained hereafter.

*Batterie-enterrée*, or *sunk or buried battery*, when the platt-form is sunk into the ground, so that openings are cut in the earth for their playing. These are only used in a siege, in making the first approaches.

*Batteries-Croisées*, or *cross batteries*, batteries which, firing athwart one another, form an angle upon the body they are beating.

*Batterie en escharge ou par bricoles*, a battery which fires obliquely.

*Batterie en enfilade*, an enfilading battery, which, firing side-ways, sweeps the whole length of a straight line, as the face or flank of a work, the rank of a battalion, &c.

*Batterie de revers*, or *reverse battery*, a battery which plays upon the enemy's back.

*Batterie par camarade*, or *joint batterie*, when several guns fire at the same time upon one body.

*Berme*, a small space of ground between the rampart of a place and the ditch, left to receive what the enemy batters down, that it may not fill the ditch.

*Biovac*, an extraordinary guard performed every night during a siege, to hinder any succours from entering the town.

*Blockade*, is an enclosure made round a town by several detachments of troops, to hinder any succours of men or provisions from entering, or any body from going out.

*Bomb*, an iron hollow ball, filled with powder, and thrown into the air by a mortar. When the bomb falls in a besieged town, trenches, &c. it does great execution by firing what is about it, or by its bursting into pieces. See *Mortar*.

*To bombard*, is to throw shells or bombs into a place, in order to burn and destroy it.

*Bombardiers*, those who are employed about the service of the mortar.

*Bomb-proof*, this is said of vaults, which, by the strength and thickness of their masonry, may resist to the effort of the bomb. The powder magazines must be bomb-proof, that is, their arch-roof is to be, at least, between five or six feet thick.

*Bonnets-a-pretre*, a kind of fortification in the form of a great *tenaille*. It hath long been disused. See *Tenaille*.

*Breach*, the ruin of any parts of a work made by cannon or mines. It is by the breach that an out-work or a bastion is formed.

*Breast-work*. See *Parapet*.

*Bridges*, passages made over rivers.

There are several sorts. Some are made with common boats, and others with boats of copper, called *ponons*.

*Pont volant*, or a *flying bridge*, sometimes implies several boats fastened together with strong cords, on which are laid a great many planks in order to construct a platform upon it able to receive cannon.

*Pont*

*Pont volant*, or *flying bridge*, likewise signifies a bridge formed of one or several boats, which are made to move on the river by means of certain cords or pulleys, in order to pass over it.

*Pont volant*, or *flying bridge*, is also a bridge made over passages of no great breadth, as four or five fathoms. It consists of two bridges, which move one over the other, by the help of cords and pulleys. The uppermost is pushed forwards, so that it entirely finishes the passage.

*Brigade*, is applied in the artillery to part of the baggage and the train, under the command of a provincial commissary, &c.

*Brigadier*, an officer who commands several regiments united in one corps, which is called a *brigade*.

*Brisure de la courtine*, that part of the curtain in the *bastions with orillons*, that makes an obtuse angle towards the flanks. This *brisure* is about thirty feet long.

*Bulwark*, the antient name for rampart, and afterwards for bastion. It is now disused.

## C.

*Caïsson*, is a kind of covered waggon, to carry bread or ammunition to the army.

*Caïssons*, are small cases or chests two or three feet long, and a foot and a half broad, which are filled with powder, and set on fire by means of a faucisson, in the same manner as mines. There are some that are also filled with shells.

*Calibre*, is the diameter of the mouth of fire arms.

*Camp*, is in general a space of ground occupied by an army in the open country, where they pitch their tents with all their baggage.

*Camp-volant*, or *flying-camp*, a little body of an army that keeps the field, under its convoys, to curb the parties of the enemy, and keep them in continual alarm, &c.

*Campaign*, the time in every year that an army continues in the field.

*Canon*, fire arms, made of brass or iron, long, round, and hollow, and charged with powder and iron balls, or cartridges. The common battering cannon carries a ball of twenty-four pounds weight, and its charge of powder must be half the weight of the ball.

*Capital*, the line drawn from the flank'd angles of the bastion, or outwork, to the center of the polygon.

*Capitulation*, an agreement made by those who surrender a town, with those to whom they surrender it.

*Caponier*, is a kind of double covert-way, made at the bottom of the dry ditch opposite the curtains, to communicate with the outworks. Sometimes this same name is also given to a passage made in the glacis, in order to communicate with the opposite works which are at no great distance.

*Carabineers*, in *France* it is a select body of horse, to the number of 1,600,

in ten squadrons, chosen out of the whole cavalry of the army, and carrying longer carabines than the other horse.

*Carabine*, a kind of short fusil with a rifled barrel.

*Carcasse*, is a kind of fire-ball filled with grenades and several small pistol barrels, and other materials, which are fired off by mortars, in order to burn the magazines of towns, &c. The use of these machines is almost abolished.

*Carriages*, are two long pieces of wood joined together, and made to move by means of two wheels; they serve to keep the cannon in a proper situation for doing service.

*Cartridge*, is the charge of lead or old iron instead of cannon put into a linnen bag or tin box.

*Cartridge*, is also the charge of powder, lead, or old iron, for cannon, put into a bag, so that there is nothing more to do than to ram it in.

*Cartridge*, is also the charge for pistols and muskets, as well of powder as ball, made up in a roll of paper almost of the same diameter as the mouth of the piece.

*Casemates*, are subterraneous works which heretofore used to be made in the flanks, and in which there are openings to fire the cannon through. The name of casemates is still given to the lower flanks which we see in ancient fortifications, and in those constructed by Count Pagan, the Chevalier De Ville, &c.

*Casirns*, are particular buildings for lodging the officers and soldiers.

*Castrametation*, the art of tracing camps, and distributing the several parts of an army upon any ground.

*Cavalier*, a great work of earth usually elevated within the bastion upon the plane of the capital. In this case the cavalier has its flanks and faces parallel to those of the bastion, and its elevation, which is styled *Commandement*, is nine feet high.

Sometimes they are placed upon the middle of the curtain, in an oblong figure. When they are made semi-circular, they take the name of (*fer-à-cheval*) horse-shoe.

*Cavalier* of the trenches, is an elevation which the besiegers make by means of gabions, within half way or two thirds of the glacis, to discover or to enfilade the covert-way.

*Cavalry*, the body of soldiers that serves and fights on horseback.

*Center of the bastion*, is the point where the prolongments of the two neighbouring curtains intersect.

*Chamade*, is when a town besieged wants to capitulate, or to make some proposals to the enemy. In that case one or two drums mount the rampart, and beat what we call the *chamade*.

*Chamber* of a mine, is the extremity of the gallery where the powder is placed.

*Chemin covert*. See *Covert-way*.

*Clemin*



*Chemin des ronds*, or way of the rounds, a space, four or five feet wide, between the parapet and the wall of the rampart, for the rounds to go about.

*Chevaux-de-frise*, is a large joist or beam stuck full of wooden pins armed with iron, to stop up narrow passages, breaches, &c.

*Circumvallation*, a work made of earth, consisting of a parapet and a ditch, with which towns are surrounded when besieged.

*Citadel*, a place adjoining to the town, regularly fortified as well towards the town, as towards the country, the use of which is to check the inhabitants, and to punish them if they revolt.

*To clear*, is said of those that make a sally, when they fill up the trench and beat off the enemy.

*Commanding ground*, a hill or situation higher than the neighbouring fortification, which consequently may be battered from thence. There are several forts.

A *front* commanding ground, an *enfilade* commanding ground, and a *reverse* commanding ground.

A *front* commanding ground is that opposite to the faces of the works, or which plays upon them in front. An *enfilade* commanding ground is that which batters them obliquely, or scours their whole length; and a *reverse* commanding ground is that which batters them behind or upon their back; the latter is the most dangerous, and the most inconvenient of the three.

*Cordon*, is a projection of stone, commonly round, at the outward foot of the parapet.

*Corps de garde*, a post to receive a number of men, who watch in their turns for the security of some more considerable post. This word signifies also the men that compose the post.

*Covert-way*, is a space of five or six fathoms on the border of the ditch towards the country, covered by a rising ground which has a gentle slope towards the field. This slope is called the glacis of the covert-way.

*Second covert-way*, or *avant chemin couvert*, is the covert-way at the foot of the glacis.

*Counter-fort*, is a solid of masonry, built behind the revetement of the rampart, in order to strengthen it, and sustain the weight of the earth.

*Counter-guard*, a work built opposite the bastion, and which covers its faces.

*Counter-mine*, a subterraneous gallery, constructed parallel to the flanks, and faces of the bastions, at the time that the place is built, and sometimes even under the covert-way and the glacis; its use is to seek out the enemy's mine and disappoint it.

*Counter-scarp*, is properly the side of the ditch opposite the rampart. But sometimes by this name is understood the covert-way with its glacis.

*Counter-vallation*, is a fortification of earth like that of the circumvallation, the intent of which is to secure the troops employed in the siege against

any insult from the garrison. The army is between the circumvallation and the countervallation. The first fronts the country and the second the town.

*Counterscarp*, are the two lines which, in a double tenaille, are between the wings of that work and its flanked angle.

*Coupure*, an opening made in the parapet of the cover'd-way, to facilitate the going out of the besieged, &c. to sally the works of the besiegers.

*Crown-work*, this name is given to a work composed of two fronts which project towards the country, and are joined to the place like a horn-work, by two long sides. Hence it follows that a crown-work is composed of a bastion and two demi-bastions.

*Crows-feet*, a kind of large nails with four points, so made, that which way soever they fall, there is always one point up.

*Cuirassiers*, horse that wear armour, as back, breast, and head-pieces. Most of the German cavalry are cuirassiers. There is one regiment, or two squadrons of them, in France.

*Curtain*, that part of the wall that lies between two bastions.

*Cuvette*, or *Cunette*, a small ditch, generally filled with water, in the middle of a large dry ditch.

#### D.

*Defence*. See *Line of defence*.

*Defences of a place*, all those parts of fortification that flank other parts.

*Defile*, a narrow pass or way, where troops cannot march but by making a small front, and therefore are forced to file off.

*Demi-bastion*, a bastion that has but one face and flank, and is usually before a horn-work or crown-work.

*Demi-lune*, or *half moon*, an outwork consisting of two faces, which make an angle-salient, and is always placed before the curtain. It has its rampart and parapet like that of the place, and a ditch along its faces. Sometimes it has two short flanks, which are generally in a perpendicular direction upon the cover'd way.

*Demi-redoute*, a flanked angle with an entrenched line.

*Ditch*, a depth or trench cut round a town or fortress, which lies under the fire of the rampart; its breadth and depth is more or less according to the nature of the earth. The brink of the ditch next the rampart is called the *Scarp*, and that opposite, on the other side, is called the *Counter-scarp*, which form a re-entering angle before the curtain. The deepest and broadest ditches are the best; but a deep ditch is preferable to a broad one.

*Draw-bridge*, a bridge made fast only at one end with hinges, so that the other end may be lifted up, and then the bridge stands upright, to hinder the passage to the ditch.

*Donjon*, a place of retreat, to capitulate with more advantage, in case of necessity.

*Dragoons*,

*Dragoons*, a body of soldiers, that serve sometimes on foot and sometimes on horseback, being always ready upon any thing that requires expedition.

## E.

*Echarpe*, to batter *en echarpe*, is to batter a work under an angle of twenty degrees at the most.

*Embrazares*, are openings made in the parapet of the place, and in the epaulement of the batteries, to fire the cannon.

*To enfilade*, is to discover and batter a work side-way, or the whole length of its faces.

*Encinte*, the wall and rampart that surrounds a place.

*Engineer*, an officer whose business it is to conduct and direct the works as well in fortifying places, as in attacking and defending them.

*Envelope*, a work of earth raised sometimes in the ditch of a place when it is too wide, and sometimes beyond the ditch, to cover the bastion.

*Encampment*. See *Camp*.

*Entrenchment*, any work that fortifies a post against the enemy's attack; it is generally taken for a ditch with a parapet. They are also made of fascines, with earth thrown over them, of gabions, hogheads, or bags filled with earth, &c.

*Escarpe*, or *scarpe*. See *Ditch*.

*Epaulement*, is the parapet of a battery of cannon or mortars in a siege. This name is likewise given to elevations of earth, which are sometimes made in the lines, to cover the cavalry from the fire of the place.

*Epaulement* is also, in the covered flank, the return of the face to the *epaule*, or shoulder of the bastion, in a right line.

When this return is in a curve line, it is called *orillon*.

*Escalade*, or *Scalade*, is the attack of a place by surprize, and getting over the walls or rampart with ladders.

*Esplanade*, signified formerly the glacis, but now is only taken for the open space between the citadel and the town.

*Evolutions*, the motions made by a body of men in changing their posture, or form of drawing up, to make good the ground they are on, or possess themselves of another, that they may either attack the enemy, or secure his onset more advantageously.

*Excavation*, is the depth or hole made by the springing of mines.

## F.

*Faces* of the bastion, which form a salient angle towards the field.

Faces in general are the two sides of any work, which project towards the field.

*Fascine*, is a kind of faggot made of small branches of trees, which are used in carrying on a siege.

*A pitched Fascine*, is that dawbed over with pitch and tar, in order to destroy the enemy's works.

*Faucon*, or *falcon*, is a small cannon, which takes a charge from a pound to a quarter of a pound of ball.

*Fausse braye*, is a low inclosure parallel to the ordinary inclosure, which is level with the field, between the outside of the rampart and the border of the ditch. It is five or six fathoms broad, and covered by a parapet.

*Felling*, is cutting down a great number of trees, and laying one upon another, in order to hinder the enemy from advancing.

*Field-pieces*, small guns, proper to be carried along with an army into the field.

*File*, the strait line soldiers make that stand one before another, which is the depth of the battalion or squadron.

*Fire-works*, are particular compositions of different sorts, made with sulphur, salt-petre and charcoal. They are used in war, and upon rejoicing days.

*Fire raxant*, or grazing fire, is that made by fire arms, whose shot is parallel to the field, and three or four feet above its level.

We likewise give the name of *Fire raxant*, to that whose shot is parallel to the face of the works of the town.

*Fire of the curtain*, or second flank, is, when the produced face of the bastion falls upon the curtain, the part contained between this prolongation and the angle of the flank.

*Flank*, the side of the bastion which joins the curtain to the face.

*Flank (covered)*, is that whose greatest part re-enters the bastion, and is covered by another part, which immediately touches the angle of the shoulder.

*Flank (concave)*, is the covered flank, when in a curve line.

*Flank oblique*, or *second flank*, that part of the curtain that can discover and scour the face of the opposite bastion, and is the distance betwixt the line *razante* and *fichante*, this second flank serves to very little purpose.

*Flank raxante*, is when the soldier, placed in the angle of the flank, can graze the whole length of the face of the opposite bastion.

*Flank fichante*, is when the soldier cannot graze the length of the face of the opposite bastion.

*Flanking*, is in fortification the same as defending.

*Flank retiré*, or *low flank*, the platt-form of the *cazematte* which lies hid in the bastion, sometimes taken for the *cazematte* itself. They are a great defence to the passage of the moat.

*Fleche*, a breast-work, in the form of an arrow, elevated at the extremity of the falling angle of the glacis.

*Fosse*. See *Ditch*.



*Fort*, is a work environ'd on all sides with a ditch, rampart, parapet, &c. the design of which is to secure some high ground, the passage of a river or defile, to strengthen a line, &c. Their figure is generally determined according to the design they are built for.

*Fortification*, is the art of putting any place whatever into a state of defence, and to enable those who are shut up there, to defend themselves against a greater number of men, who should attempt to attack them.

There are two sorts, *regular* and *irregular*.

*Regular fortification*, is that which hath all its sides equally fortified, and all the similar parts of the same works equal.

*Irregular fortification*, is that which has an inequality in the angles and sides of its like parts.

*Fortin*, is the name given in *French* to the smaller sort of forts, and generally to the temporary ones.

*Fougass*, is a small mine from ten to twelve feet under ground.

*Fourneau*, is the same as the chamber of a mine. See *Chamber*.

*Fraise*, a kind of palisade, placed horizontally on the outside of a rampart, that has no revêtement. They are placed at the foot of the parapet, the point inclined toward the ditch. They are sometimes made use of in lines and retrenchments; they hinder the access to the rampart; and prevent desertion, and escalades.

*Front* of a fortification, is generally a side of the inclosure of a place, composed of a curtain and two demi-bastions.

*Fusée*, is a small piece of wood, made hollow within, and filled with mealed powder, and placed in the holes of grenades and shells, &c. whereby they are set on fire.

## G.

*Gabion*, is a kind of cylindric basket without a bottom, about two feet in diameter, and two feet and a half high; it is used in carrying on the sap, and making lodgments.

*Gabion (tust)*, is a large gabion filled with different things, to prevent its being perforated by musket shot; the sappers roll it before them, to cover themselves against the fire of the place.

*Gallery*, is a narrow passage under ground, leading to the place which is to be blown up by the mines.

It is also used in counter-mines, to signify the subterraneous passages in the works of a place, and in the neighbouring ground, to meet the enemy's miners. The principal of these are called the larger galleries; and the small ones, which branch out from the large, are called branches.

*Geni d'armes*, horsemen who formerly fought in complete armour, now a select body of horse in *France* consisting of eight squadrons.

*Glacis*, is the slope of the parapet of the cover'd way, which falls off even with the level of the field.

*Gorge*, of a bastion, is the opening or distance of its two flanks toward the town; and in the other parts of the fortification, it is the opening of the parts which terminates them opposite to the inside of the place.

*Grenade*, is a kind of small shell, or hollow bullet, filled with powder by an opening left in it, and which is stopped with a fusee that serves to set fire to the grenade. It is thrown with the hand.

*Guard*, the duty performed by a body of men to secure all against the attempts and surprises of an enemy.

*Main guard*, is that from whence all the other small guards are detached.

*Advanc'd guard*, is the party that march before a body to give them notice if any danger appears.

*Rear guard*, is that part of an army which brings up the rear.

*Grand guard*, are three or four squadrons of horse posted before the camp, towards the enemy.

*Picket guard*, a certain number of horse and foot, who are to keep themselves in readiness in case of an alarm.

*Guerites*, a kind of small towers, made of stone or wood, at the flanked angles of the works of the fortification, and at the angles of the shoulder of the bastions.

## H.

*Half-moon*. See *Demi-lune*.

*Head of the camp*, the ground before the camp on which the army draws out.

*Head of a work*, its front next to the enemy and farthest from the place.

*Herisson*, is a large beam or tree, of the length of the breach, stuck thick with iron spikes, and rolled upon the breach, to hinder the enemy from mounting.

*Thunder herisson*, is a kind of barrel, stuck thick with iron spikes, and moved on two wheels, by means of a stake or piece of wood, which runs through it, and serves as an axle-tree.

*Herse, port-cullis, or sarrazine*, several great pieces of wood, laid across one another, and which formerly hung over the gates of fortified places, to be ready to drop down in case of surprize. They are now laid aside, and the *orgues* are used in their room.

*Horn-work*, is the front of a fortification which projects towards the field, and is generally joined to the place by two long sides, which are called its *wings* or *branches*.

*Hobits*, a sort of mortars about three inches diameter. They throw small bombs at a great distance, and are very useful for annoying the enemy.

*Horse-shoe*. See *Cavalier*.

*Hurtar*,

*Hurtor*, is a piece of timber placed at the foot of the epaulement of the battery.

## I.

*Jetty*, a long work of stone or wood, built in the sea at the mouth of an harbour, as well to facilitate as to defend its entrance.

*Indented line*, or *redout*. See *Redans*.

*Insulting* a work, is to make a sudden and open attack upon it.

*Investing* a place, is to surround it with troops on all sides, so that the town shall receive no succours of men or provisions. This is properly the first operation of a siege.

## L.

*Line of defence*, is a line drawn from the angle of the flank to the flanked angle of the opposite bastion. It is *razant*, when it is in the produced face of the bastion; and *sicbant*, when this prolongment falls upon the curtain, and then there is a second flank. See the fire of the curtain.

*Line of circumvallation*, is a fortification of earth consisting of a parapet and a ditch, generally drawn around towns that are besieged, and especially when there is any apprehension that the enemy will attempt to raise the siege.

*Line of communication*, are the parts of the inclosure of a place, which join the citadel to the town.

*Line of countervallation*, is a line like that of circumvallation, the intent of which is to cover the assailant army against any enterprize from the garrison. Hence a circumvallation is made to oppose any attack of the enemy towards the country; and the countervallation to oppose the attacks of the garrison. The besieging army is encamped between these two lines, and the front of the camp faces the country.

*Line or Lines*, is also a fortification of earth, behind which an army is posted, in order to guard or defend, with more ease, a larger extent of country, than it could occupy in its ordinary encampment.

*Line of counter-approach*, is a trench going from the glacis, and is made by the besieged in order to meet the enemy in their approaches, and to enfilade their works.

*Ledgment*, is a kind of trench or rather retrenchment made openly in some part of a work from whence the enemy have been driven, in order to maintain that post, and to be covered from the fire of the neighbouring works.

*Loopholes*, are small openings made in the walls of a fortification, to put the musket through, and to fire upon the assailants.

*Lunettes*, are small half-moons, built sometimes opposite to the reentrant and salient angles of the glacis, and which have a communication with the covert-way by a kind of caponiers made in the glacis.

*Lunette*, is also a work that covers the two faces of the half-moons. There are two sorts, the *small* and the *large*. The large ones intirely cover the faces of the half-moon, and the small ones cover only a part. Since the siege of Lille, which was in 1708, the large lunettes have been commonly called *tenaillons*.

## M.

*Machicoulis*, a jutting out of stone, built around the top of ancient towers, with openings, through which the besieged could throw stones to defend the foot of the tower.

*Modriers*, are large thick planks, made use of in artillery, as well for the platforms of the batteries, as for several other purposes.

*Mantlet*, is a kind of screen made of several thick planks, which the sappers move before them upon wheels, and with a long pole fastened to it; they used to cover the sappers from the fire of the place; but at present they generally serve for the same purposes as the *stuffed gabion*.

*Matrosses*, a sort of soldiers in artillery, next in degree under the gunners, who assist them in the service of the guns.

*Merlon*, is a part of the parapet or of the epaulement of a battery between two embrasures.

*Mine*, is a kind of subterraneous gallery, made in order to come at the place or work intended to be blown up, at the end of which is built a chamber to hold the powder requisite for blowing up what is above it.

*To mine*, is to make galleries under ground for the above purpose.

*Moineau*, a small bastion that has not the ordinary proportions, and now to be found only in old fortifications.

*Mortar*, is a kind of cannon, shorter and wider than ordinary, and used for the throwing of shells.

*Mole*. See *Jetty*.

*Musketeer*, the name of a foot soldier. In France there are two companies, the grey and the black, called *Mousquetaires du roy*, composed all of gentlemen, who serve either on foot or horseback.

## N.

*To nail cannon*, is to drive a large spike by main force into the touch-hole of a gun, in order to stop it up.

A gun thus nailed is unserviceable, till a new touch-hole is drilled.

There is another way of rendering cannon unfit for service, which is to drive in by main force a ball of much larger caliber than the piece will bear. There is a remedy for nailing, but none for this last operation.

*Opening*



## O.

*Opening of the trenches*, is when the workmen begin to dig them.

*Orgues*, are pieces of wood, hung with ropes over the gate-way of towns, and which may be let drop to stop up the gate in case of any attempt to surprise. The orgues are preferable to herse, because the herse may be prevented from dropping, by clapping something under the gate or in the cullis; but as the pieces of wood that compose the orgues, are all severed from one another, nothing can hinder them from falling. If the enemy were to leave something under the orgues that could stop them, as for instance a cart, part of the pieces of wood would fall into the cart, and the rest on one side, by which means the gate would be stopped up.

*Orillon*, part of the flank, towards the shoulder of the bastion, which is made round, and serves to cover the rest of the flank.

*Outworks*, in general, are all works built beyond the ditch of the place.

*Outrage a cornu*. See *Horn-work*.

*Outrage a couronne*. See *Crown-work*.

## P.

*Palisades*, are a kind of stakes about three feet high, fixed three feet deep into the ground. They are placed on the banquette of the covert-way, and sometimes serve for retrenchments to works attacked by an enemy.

*Parallels*, or places of arms, are part of the trenches, which surround the whole front attacked, and serve to hold the soldiers, who are to protect and support the workmen.

*Parapet*, a bank of earth, cannon proof, raised above the rest of the rampart towards the outside, and serves to cover the troops, who are to defend the town, against the fire of the enemy.

*Park*, in artillery, is a place where all the ammunition and magazines are secured, either for an army carrying on a siege, or for an army in the field.

*Partisan-party*, a small body of troops, the commander of which is called *partisan*, to make incursions upon the enemy, lurk about their camp, disturb their forages, intercept their convoys, &c.

*Patrol*, a military round, going about in the night to see what is done in the streets, and keep peace and quietness in the town.

*Petard*, an engine of metal almost in the shape of a sugar loaf. It is charged with fine powder, and made for breaking gates, draw-bridges, barricades, &c.

*Picket*, is a stake sharp at the end, to hold together the fascines in saps, lodgments, and filling up of ditches.

*Pickets* is likewise a certain number of foot soldiers and troopers of each

company in an army, who are ready to march at the first command. The soldiers belonging to the picket do not undress, no more than the troopers; the latter have their horses saddled the whole time they are upon duty, which is generally four and twenty hours.

*Pioneers*, such as are commanded from the country to march along with an army for mending ways, working on intrenchments, and making approaches, &c.

*Place of arms* in the covert-way, is a part of it much wider than the rest, placed opposite to the salient and reentrant angles of the counterscarp.

*Place of arms* in a fortified town, is where the garrison meet to perform their exercises.

*Place of arms* in the dry ditch, is a kind of covert-way made at the extremity of the faces to defend the ditch.

*Place of arms* in the operations of a siege, is what we call by the name of parallels. They are the parts of trench opposite to the front attacked.

*Plan*, the design of a work, supposed to be cut horizontally or even with the ground. It is properly the design of the foundation of a work, the whole elevation of which is destroyed, except two or three feet above the level of the ground.

*Platform*, is a floor made of strong planks, on which the cannon are placed in batteries.

*Platoon*, a small square of musqueteers drawn out of a battalion of foot.

*To point a piece*, is to place it in such a direction, that the ball shall reach the place intended.

*Polygon*, in fortification is a figure of more than four sides. Also the figure that is to be or is fortified.

*Polygon exterior*, the distance between the points of two bastions.

*Polygon interior*, the distance between the angles of the gorge of two bastions.

*Ponton*, a boat of latten or tin, about eight yards long and two broad, having an anchor and cable, baulks and chests, belonging to it. They are slipped into the water, with each fastened with an anchor. The baulks are laid across the boats, and the chests upon them; which makes a bridge in a very short time, for horse, foot, or artillery to march over.

*Post*, any spot of ground, whether fortified or not, which is capable of lodging soldiers.

*Postern*, a small gate generally in the flank of a bastion, to march in and out unperceived by the enemy.

*Prime*, is the fine powder put to the touch-hole, in order to fire off the piece.

*Profil*, the design of the vertical section of a work.

*Props*, pieces of wood placed vertically in mines, and which serve to support the galleries.

*Queue d'hironde, or d'hirondelle*, the ancient name given to what is called now a-days *grande tenaille*.

*Quarter-general, or head-quarters*, the place where the commander in chief resides during the encampment of the troops.

*Winter quarters*, are the place or places where the troops are lodged during winter.

*Quarter-master*, an officer, whose principal business is to look after the quarters of the soldiers.

*Quarter*, at a siege, is part of the army consisting of one or more brigades, which are under the command of a lieutenant-general, or a marshal-de-camp.

## R.

*Radius exterior*, is a line drawn from the center of the place, to the flanked angle of a bastion.

*Radius interior*, is a line drawn from the center of the place to that of a bastion.

*Rampart*, is an elevation of earth that surrounds a town on every side. In the out-works, the rampart is an elevation of earth raised along the two sides exposed to the enemy.

*Rank*, is a number of soldiers placed in a right line side by side.

*Ration*, is a portion of bread or forage distributed among soldiers and officers according to their rank in the army. A soldier's ration of bread (in France) is a pound and a half a-day. Their ammunition loaf contains two rations.

*Ravelin*, the ancient name given to the *demi-lune*; now it signifies the little work erected in front of the great *lunettes*.

*Rear*, in general, is the hindmost part of a battalion or an army, or the ground behind it.

*Redans*, in the lines of circumvallation, are projections composed of two faces or sides, which form a salient angle, and the use of which is to flank the line.

We likewise give the name of *redans* to a line disposed in the nature of a saw, or consisting of salient and reentrant angles, which defend each other.

*Redoubt*, is a kind of small half moon or bastion, placed in different parts of the ground in the neighbourhood of a place. There are some of a square figure.

*Redoubt*, a bastion which strengthens the gorge of the side of the place, and serves for the same use as a citadel.

*Redoubt* is also a small half moon, constructed sometimes within the ordinary half-moon.

*Reduit*, is a bastion, the gorge of which is fortified on the side of the place, and serves for the same purpose as the citadel.

*Reduit* is likewise a small *demi-lune*, constructed in the *demi-lune*.

*Rendez-vous*, a place appointed by the general, where all the troops which compose the army are to assemble at a day prefixed.

*Reserve*, a body of troops sometimes drawn out of the army and encamped by themselves in a line, behind the other two lines.

*Retirade*, a retrenchment formed by the two faces of a re-entering angle in the gorge of the bastion, made to dispute every inch of ground in the bastion; generally the *retirade* is a temporary work built in time of a siege.

*Retrenchment*. See *Intrenchment*.

*Reverse of the orillon*, is that part or side of the orillon which is turned towards the place.

*Reverse of the trench*, is the side opposite to its parapet.

*Revetement*, is the stone or brick-work which supports the earth of the rampart, and prevents its rolling.

*Rideau*, a French military term to signify a small rising ground or eminence, commanding a plain.

## S.

*Sally, or sortie*, is when a body of troops go privately out of the town, fall suddenly upon the besiegers, and destroy part of their works.

*Sand-bag*, is a bag about two feet high, and eight or ten inches in diameter, which is filled with earth, and serves to cover the workmen in making their approaches.

*Sap*, in a siege, is a trench made by soldiers under cover from the fire of the place, behind a mantlet or stuf gabion. This work differs from the trenches, inasmuch as the latter are made uncovered. The sap has also less breadth; but when it is as wide as the trench, it bears the same name.

There are several sorts of saps; the *simple*, which has only a single parapet; the *double*, which has one on each side; and the *flying*, made with gabions that are not filled with earth.

*Saucisson*, a long pipe or bag made of leather, about an inch and a half diameter; it is filled with fine powder, and serves to set fire to the chamber of the mine.

*Saucisson* is likewise a fascine much longer than the common ones; it is made use of for the repairing of breaches, and the erecting of batteries.

*Scarp*. See *Ditch*.

*Shoulder of a bastion*, the point of the bastion where the face and flank meet.

*Siege*, to lay siege to a place is to attack it with an army, which shall surround the enemy on all sides, and oblige them at length to surrender, by destroying either their fortifications, or those that defend them.



*Souterrain*, the French name for all works made under ground.

*Squadron*, a body of horse of an unlimited number, but generally from one hundred to two hundred men. It is divided into troops, the eldest of which takes always the right of the squadron.

*Storm*. See *Assault*.

T.

*Tail or rear of the trench*, is the first work the besiegers make when they open the trenches.

*Tail or rear of the camp*, is the line which terminates it on the side opposite to where the soldier turns his face.

*Talus*, is the slope of the rampart on the inside. It signifies also the gradual slope or declivity of every elevation of earth.

*Tambour*, is a kind of traverse at the upper end of the path or cut made in the glacis, to communicate with the arrows.

*Tenaille*, a work made in the ditch upon the lines of defence opposite the curtains. There are some simple, and others flanked.

The simple consists only of two parts, which make a reentrant angle towards the curtain; and that which has flanks, forms a small front in fortification; that is, it has a curtain and two sorts of demi-bastions. *Tenailles*, generally speaking, are not higher than the level of the ground.

*Tenaille* is also a kind of horn-work, the front formed only of two sides, which make a reentrant angle.

*Tenailion*, is the same work as what we call the *grand lunette*. It is composed of two parts, each of which covers the faces of the half-moon before which it is constructed.

*Terre pleine* of the rampart, is the upper part, or the superficies, on which the engines are placed, and the men appointed to defend the place.

*Towers*, salient parts of the enclosure of a place, which are sometimes round, and sometimes of a square figure.

*Tower bastions*, a kind of small towers in the form of bastions, and invented by M. Vauban. They have rooms or cellars underneath bomb proof, the use of which is to cover the garrison and ammunition during the siege.

*Traverse*, is a work designed to stop the passage of the enemy in a gallery belonging to a mine.

*Traverse* is also a parapet raised of earth in the works of a place, to prevent enfilades. There are some in the covert-way.

This name is likewise given to a kind of retrenchment made in the dry ditch, to defend the passage over it.

*Trench*, is a kind of passage or turning dug in the earth, in order to approach a place without being seen from its defences.

*To turn a work*, is to cut off its communication with the place, endeavouring to take it by its gorge.

V.

*Van*, or *van-guard*, the first line of an army drawn up for battle, which gives the first charge upon the enemy.

*Vedette*, a centry on horseback, or a trooper upon a centry post.

W.

*Wall-gun*, is a kind of large fusil, supported by an iron hook, and chiefly made use of to fill up the battlements or loop-holes of ancient fortifications.

*Wells*, are a cylindrical depth which the miners sink into the ground, and from thence carry on the galleries or branches.

*Wings*, are the long sides that terminate on both sides the great out-works.

*Wings of an army*, are the regiments posted on the left or the right, when the army is drawn up for battle.

*Wool-pack* differs from a *sand-bag* in this only, that it is larger, and stuffed with wool. The use of it is to make lodgments in places where there is but little earth.



## D U N K I R K.

**T**HE most easterly harbour on that side of the *French* dominions which lies next to *Great Britain*, is that of *Dunkirk*, a Seaport Town of *French Flanders*, situated on a high sandy ground, in the north latitude of  $51^{\circ} 7'$ , and longitude of  $2^{\circ} 20'$ , east from the Meridian of *London*. It lies in the earldom of *Flanders*, fifteen miles from *Nieuport*, eleven from *Gravelines*, near twenty two from *Calais*; and is more considerable on account of the figure it has made in latter times, than for its antiquity. It was originally only a hamlet, consisting of a few fishermens cottages or huts; and we are told, that for the convenience of those fishers *St. Eloy* built a church, from which the place was called *Dunkirk*. *Dun* in the ancient language of the *Gauls* signifying a hill, or high ground, and *Kirk*, in the old *German* and *Flemish*, a church. Little notice is taken of this place before the middle of the twelfth century, and then it is called sometimes *Dunikerka*, sometimes *Dunkerka*, and at other times *Dunekerka*. The convenient situation of this hamlet determined *Baldwin*, surnamed the Young, earl of *Flanders*, to enlarge it, and make it a kind of small town, fortifying it with a plain wall round it, agreeably to the simplicity of those times. This was done about the year 960. *Robert* of *Flanders*, called also *Robert* of *Cassel*, who held *Dunkirk* as an apanage, built a castle here in the year 1322, which was afterwards demolished by the Revolters of *Flanders*. *Robert* of *Bar*, who had it by inheritance from the former, and was Earl of *Bar* in right of *Yoland* of *Flanders* the daughter of *Henry IV.* Earl of *Bar*, drew a new fortification round it, the remains of which are yet to be seen on the side next the harbour. The Emperor *Charles V.* built another castle at *Dunkirk* to defend the harbour, but this also was afterwards destroyed. In the year 1558, the Duke of *Guise* at the head of the *French* army having retaken *Calais*, which had been long in the hands of the Eng-

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*lish*, *France* being also engaged in a war with *Spain*, the Marshal de *Tbermes* laid siege to *Dunkirk*, and a few days after opening the Trenches, took it by assault; in consequence of which the place was almost intirely ruined. Thirteen days thereafter it was retaken by the *Spaniards*, who put all the *French* found in it to the sword. At this time *Philip II.* of *Spain*, pitying the wretched condition of the *Dunkirkers*, gave them some encouragement to struggle with their misfortunes, and by the peace concluded at *Chateau Cambresis* their strength and spirits were so much recruited, that in a few years after, their town rose more beautiful than ever. The considerable advantages they had gained by privateering induced some of the richest inhabitants to fit out a number of private ships of war, which did great prejudice to the *Dutch*. The latter, determined to have their revenge, armed their best ships and block'd up the harbour of *Dunkirk*, flattering themselves that no ship could get out or in without their permission. Soon after the famous *Damucire* of *Dunkirk* came in fight with a small squadron of five ships, and many prizes he had taken, and in spite of all the efforts of the *Dutch* carried his whole fleet safe into the harbour. In a short time he came out again to disturb their commerce: and before the winter returned with several of their men of war, besides a great number of merchant ships. The *Dutch* seeing their blockade had so little success, loaded a fly-boat with all sorts of combustibles, and by means of false colours conveyed her into that part of the harbour where most of the ships lay, then set fire to her in the night. Six of the ships that lay nearest to her were burnt, and a great many more damaged. From this time to the year 1591 the *Dunkirkers* continued their hostilities on the coast of *Holland*, by which means they acquired so great riches, that they were able to fortify their town and harbour at their own charge; which gave such umbrage to the *Dutch*, that they left no stone unturned to surprize the place; but their attempts not succeeding, and finding

B

moreover



moreover that the inhabitants of *Dunkirk* and *Calais* had entered into an association to unite their strength and endeavour to ruin intirely their trade and commerce, they determined to sink a number of large ships, filled with great stones and other materials proper for their purpose, in the mouths of the harbours of *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. But this resolution being defeated by precautions taken by those towns, and the *Dunkirkers* still continuing to enrich themselves at the expence of the *Dutch*, the latter were transported to such a degree of despair and rage, that the people of *Amsterdam* rose against their magistrates, and obliged them to deliver up the prisoners belonging to *Dunkirk* whom they had in custody, and hanged up nine and twenty of the principal men among them, as a sacrifice to their resentment. In the year 1627 thirty armed vessels sailed from *Dunkirk* for the northern seas, but they had scarce got out of their own road when they made prize of twenty *Dutch* ships, one of which had merchandizes and money on board to the value of 16,406 l. 5 s. sterling. The *Dutch*, to revenge this and other depredations, made a descent near *Mardick*; but a body of horse forced them to return with precipitation to their ships; and they also suffered much from the cannon of a fort. It was computed, that in the course of the year 1630 the privateers of *Dunkirk* took above eighty *Dutch* vessels. This success enabled the *Dunkirkers* to arm at their own expence fifteen ships of war; one merchant in particular, whose name was *Vaudevalle*, fitted out twelve at his own charge, carried them to *Spain*, and offered them to *Philip III.* on condition that he would create him a Knight of the order of *St. James*. In the year 1634 the *Dunkirkers* agreed with the inhabitants of *Bergues*, to dig a canal at their joint expence for a communication by water between the two towns. A new sluice was also made for this canal, the former having been broken down. The year following the canal of *Furnes* was compleated. By this time *Dunkirk*, on account of the considerable armaments which were fitted out

from it, was become the most noted harbour that the *Spaniards* were masters of on the coast of *Flanders*; which induced many foreigners to come and settle in it. It being necessary to enlarge the town for their accommodation, a new fortified wall was built round it at a considerable distance from the former. Whilst these works were carrying on, the privateers continued their hostilities with such success, that a hundred of the merchants of *Amsterdam* represented to the States, that unless methods were taken to curb the insolence of the privateers of *Dunkirk*, those who had acquired fortunes would be obliged to sit down contented with their present acquisitions, and not continue to trade to their inevitable ruin. The States, upon this representation, ordered Admiral *Tromp* to cruize before *Dunkirk*, to keep in the privateers. But this precaution signified little; for the *Dunkirkers* continued their depredations with as great success as before.

*Gaston Duke of Orleans* took *Mardick* toward the end of the campaign 1646, and when he returned to court, left the Prince of *Condé* to command the *French* army in *Flanders*. This Prince not satisfied with having defeated the Enemy in two battles, and taken the town of *Furnes* on the Sixth of *September*, could not think of going into winter quarters without performing something worthy of his character: but finding that the *Spaniards* were unwilling to hazard a battle, the loss of which might be followed with the total ruin of their affairs in *Flanders*, he resolved to besiege *Dunkirk*, notwithstanding the many difficulties he had to surmount. Having therefore secured *Furnes*, he marched with his army to *Dunkirk* on the 19th of *September*; and took his measures so, that should the enemy have come to raise the siege, they could not have succoured the place, nor forced his camp. The next day he began to draw lines of circumvallation round the place, employing in this work his whole army, which consisted of no more than nine thousand foot and five thousand horse.

The

The prince of *Condé* shewed the great superiority of his military genius on this occasion. His conduct merited the highest admiration, this being the most famous siege *Dunkirk* ever sustained. It was undertaken in the presence of an army sent to save a harbour of the utmost importance to *Spain*. The place was in a much better condition than it had been in former wars. The old walls were surrounded with new fortifications consisting of eleven bastions, which inclosed a large space of ground, called the New Town. A broad and deep ditch was drawn quite round the place; and that part of it which lies between the canal of *Furnes* and the gate of *Nieuport*, was defended by three half-moons, and a small horn-work before that gate; it had also a good covered way with places of arms, this being the most accessible part of the town, on account of the goodness of the ground, and the advantage the besiegers might have from the height of the Downs; while on the other sides of the place the ground was marshy, and might easily be laid under water. The garrison consisted of two thousand six hundred foot, and three hundred horse, with a great number of officers who had gone into the town on purpose to distinguish themselves. There were, besides, more than three thousand citizens trained to arms, and two thousand sailors, whom frequent engagements by sea had taught to despise danger. The fortifications were supplied with a numerous artillery; the place provided with every necessary for a long defence, and had for its governor the *Marquis de Lede*, an officer of great merit and reputation.

The same day that the Prince completed his lines he opened two attacks, the one facing the bastion farthest from the sea in the front of *Nieuport*, which was the true attack; the other fronting a horn-work in the place where the citadel now stands.

It would take up too much time to take notice of all the great actions performed at this siege: never were besiegers and be-

sieged seen to behave with greater bravery; every day produced signal conflicts, and instances of mutual emulation; every inch of ground was so disputed, that after much bloodshed to gain lodgments, the assailants were often repulsed, and the same posts several times successively taken and retaken. After all, when a post was irretrievably lost to the besieged, the aggressors were surprised to find retrenchments after retrenchments, raised with amazing expedition, and defended with the same vigour and obstinacy as the others. While the Prince was pushing forward his attacks, the *Spanish* army assembled at *Nieuport*: they had lost much time in consulting what measures ought to be taken to save the town; and the Prince had improved their slowness so effectually to his own advantage, that when they were upon the point of putting their army in motion to raise the siege, they had certain information from their own spies and *French* prisoners, that the besiegers were so securely entrenched that it would be the greatest temerity to attempt to force their lines. So that tho' the *Spanish* army was twelve thousand strong, they did not think they had strength sufficient to venture upon an enterprize so full of difficulty and danger. This however did not in the least damp the minds of the garrison. On the contrary, their courage seemed to increase in proportion to the progress of the siege; they were still raising new difficulties to the assailants, who were not a little vexed, that by the bravery of the besieged they sometimes lost more ground in an hour, than they could gain in a whole day.

Mean time *Piccolomini* and *Caraffene*, who commanded the *Spanish* army, seeing that they could make no attempt to save the place by land, to avoid the shame of doing nothing, resolved to try whether they could not convey succours into it by sea. For this purpose they filled thirty large bilanders with some of their best troops, and sent them to sea, in hopes that they might get into the harbour. The *Dunkirkers*, seeing this fleet approach, expressed great joy; but this joy did not last long: for the bilanders



landers observing some *Dutch* ships which block'd up the harbour, advancing to meet them, under the command of Admiral *Tromp*, made the best of their way back to *Nieuport*. By this time the Prince of *Condé* had carried his works to the horn-work before the bastion in the front of *Nieuport*, where having sprung a mine which made a large breach, the *French* endeavoured to make a lodgment in it; but the besieged fell upon them with such fury, that not able to stand the violence of the shock, they were forced to abandon their post. However a little after, recovering from their consternation, and provoked by the shouts of joy they heard from the town, they returned to the charge with great spirit; and the engagement began again with such fierceness on both sides as can hardly be expressed. The smoke, occasioned by the fire from the trenches and the town at the same time, joined to the noise and confusion of the combatants, obscured the light of day, and stunned both sides to such a degree, that neither knew the true situation of affairs; each thought itself defeated, and the enemy possessed of the post; both retreated in great disorder and confusion, leaving the lodgment quite empty; and under this mistake they continued near two hours. The *French*, luckily for them, first discovered it, and immediately mounted the breach, where they secured themselves so effectually, that the garrison gave them no further trouble. Next day they forced a retrenchment the besieged had made in the gorge of the horn-work, and raised a battery to open the bastion. At the same time they laboured to fill up the ditch before the body of the place. In consequence of which measures, the Marquis *de Lede*, seeing that he would be soon reduced to extremity, agreed to deliver up the town to the Prince of *Condé*, if he should not be relieved in three days. *Picolomini* had advice sent him of this Marquis's situation; but being unable to attempt any thing in his favour, the Prince, according to the capitulation, was put in possession of it seventeen days after he had opened the trenches, and the

garrison marched out with the honours of war on the 11th of October, to join the *Spanish* army at *Nieuport*.

In the year 1652, the *Spaniards*, taking advantage of the intestine commotions by which the *French* were distressed, recovered what they had lost in several former campaigns. The Archduke *Leopold*, at that time Governour of the *Netherlands*, after making himself master of *Furnes*, *Bergues*, *Bourbourg* and *Gravelines*, laid siege to *Dunkirk*. The Marquis *d'Esstrades*, who then had the command in it, defended it to the last extremity; when having no expectation of being relieved, he yielded it to the Archduke on the 11th day of September. The next year, viz. 1653, the *United Provinces* having concluded a peace with *Spain*, the King of *France* courted an alliance with the *English*, and actually entered into a treaty with them on the 3d of December 1655. In consequence of which, *Cromwel* directly sent to sea a fleet of five and forty sail, to distress the trade of *Spain*. The *Dunkirkers*, always inspired by the love of gain, exerted themselves with great activity in fitting out armaments against the *English* and *French*; and scarce a day passed but they brought in some prizes, to the great detriment of the *English* merchants, who, upon that occasion, presented petitions to *Cromwel*, intreating that he would put a stop to these depredations. Upon which the Protector sent twelve ships of war to block up the harbour of *Dunkirk*. But all this force could not keep in the privateers of that place, nor prevent their making five and twenty considerable captures in the course of the month of July in the year 1656. However this success of the *Dunkirkers* did not last long; measures were taken in *England* and *France* for laying siege to their town, which indeed had been the main design of the late treaty. With this view, *Cromwel* sent to *France* six thousand men with pay for six months, to join the *French* army under the command of the Viscount *de Turenne*, who after several conquests in *Flanders* during the campaign 1657, having besieged and taken the fort of

Mardick,

*Mardick*, put it into the hands of the *English*. This gave *Cromwel* so much pleasure, that, it is said, he offered the King of *France* ten thousand more of his troops, if there should be occasion for them. In April 1658, the Viscount *de Turenne*, having made all the necessary dispositions for the siege of *Dunkirk*, drew lines of circumvallation and contravallation quite round the town on the land-side. These lines began at the sea on the east, and came over the Downs and all the Canals, till they reached the sea again on the west, representing a crescent, the open part of which was guarded by the sea. *Cromwel*, on the other hand, in performance of his part of the treaty with *France*, sent a naval force to invest the place by sea, and prevent throwing succours into it.

As soon as the lines were completed, and bridges of communication laid over the canals, the trenches were opened the 4th or 5th of June, for two attacks, one conducted by the *French* against the front of *Nieuport*, the other by the *English* against that front on which the citadel has been since constructed. The garrison made several sallies, in which, tho' they were always repulsed with loss, yet they discovered great courage and intrepidity. The trenches were pushed forward with all possible expedition; and therefore in four or five days time they were so far advanced, that the besiegers were in condition to attempt a lodgment on the covered way. Mean time, as there was no place in all the Catholic King's dominions of greater importance to him than *Dunkirk*, the *Spanish* army thought seriously of marching to its relief. At first indeed they could not imagine the *French* would venture upon an enterprize of so great importance, without first making themselves masters of the towns in the neighbourhood. When they could no longer doubt of this, they assembled all their forces at *Ypres*, to march and attack the *French* in their lines. Accordingly, on the 13th of June, their army appeared near *Dunkirk*, without artillery or any thing necessary for a battle; they had not so much as

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gun-powder enough for their infantry. Yet notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, the *Spanish* army did not hesitate to encamp within two cannon-shots of the Viscount *de Turenne's* lines, without intrenchments; from which circumstance the latter concluded, that they intended to attack him in his Camp. In this persuasion he was confirmed by a *Spanish* officer, who had been made prisoner as he was viewing the *French* lines, from whom he also learned several interesting particulars with regard to their situation, and among other things that they did not expect their cannon till two days thereafter. This news confirmed the *French* General in the resolution he had formed to march out of his lines, and save the enemies the trouble of coming to him, by giving them battle next morning. Accordingly he made the proper dispositions for this purpose, and gave the necessary orders for the security of the trenches. But the *Spanish* Generals, far from thinking that the Viscount would venture upon so bold a measure, allowed their troops to go out a foraging that evening; which gave the Duke of *York*, afterwards King *James II.* then in the *Spanish* army, occasion to say to the Marquis *de Caraffene*, that *he was apprehensive the Viscount de Turenne would come and attack him to morrow*. The Marquis replied, it was the very thing he wanted. *Have patience then, said the Duke, I know the Viscount de Turenne, and you'll have your wish*. The next day about five o'clock in the morning, the Prince of *Condé*, who on account of a disgust had taken part with the *Spaniards*, having walked out in company with the Duke of *York* as far as the sentries, perceived the *French* army on their march toward them; upon which he came directly back to acquaint the *Spanish* Generals. They would by no means believe it. The Prince, a little vexed, asked the Duke of *York*, if he had ever seen a battle won? The young Prince answered he had not. *Well then, said the Prince, in half an hour's time you'll see us lose one*. The *Spaniards*, when they could no longer doubt of the Viscount *de Turenne's* march, made

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a disposition to receive him. Their army consisted of six thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; *Don John* commanded the right wing, and the Prince of *Condé* the left; the infantry were ranged in one line which reached from the strand to the fields; the cavalry of the right wing were drawn up in two lines behind the foot. As those of the left wing could not be ranged in the same manner, the Prince of *Condé* drew them up in such order as the ground would admit. The Viscount *de Turenne*, after providing for the security of the baggage and the lines, brought nine thousand foot and six thousand horse into the field. The infantry were placed in two lines, the first consisting of 10 battalions and 28 squadrons, 14 on the right, and as many on the left, with the cannon in the front; the second line of six battalions and twenty squadrons, equally divided between the two wings. Four squadrons of the Gens d'armes supported the infantry; and six squadrons were placed in reserve at a good distance behind, that they might be at hand to support those that were left in the trenches, in case the garrison should fall out during the engagement. The Marquis *de Crequi* had the command of the right wing, the Marquis *de Castelneau* of the left, and the Marquises *de Gadagne* and *Bellefond* of the main body. Lord *Lockart*, who commanded the *English* troops, being confined by sickness, they were posted at the sea-side under the conduct of their Major General *Morgan*. By this time the two armies were within less than three quarters of a mile of one another, and the *French* began to cannonade their enemies; but the latter, tho' they had no cannon to return the fire, without attempting to advance, stood firm in their posts till the former came up with them. This was about eight o'clock; and a little after, the Viscount *de Turenne* gave the signal for the battle, with a confidence and composure which the soldiers considered as a happy presage of victory. The *English* began the attack with a boldness and intrepidity, which, tho' natural to them, excited the admiration of the *French* and *Spaniards*. As they were posted

opposite to one of the Downs which the enemy had taken possession of, the Viscount *de Turenne* sent orders to Major General *Morgan* to make himself master of it; which he did in a short time notwithstanding the difficulties he met with in climbing up the steep ascent. The *Spaniards* with their pikes did their utmost to keep down the *English*; but this opposition, instead of damping, served only to excite their courage: the hind ranks supporting those who were before them with the butt ends of their muskets, they soon got up the Down, planted their colours on the top of it, and drove down the precipice those of the *Spaniards* whom they had not slain. Meantime the Marquis *de Crequi* charged the enemy's left wing, while the Marquis *de Castelneau* led his division along the shore, to attack their right in flank; and the *French* infantry, having joined the *English* on the other side of the Down, from which the latter had driven the enemy, two *Spanish* battalions, with the horse that were designed to support them, were broken, and put to flight. At the same time the Marquis *de Castelneau*, throwing himself with his corps between the enemy's first and second line, took them at once both in flank and rear, and put them into the greatest confusion. The Viscount *de Turenne*, who had taken post on one of the Downs in the center of the army, whence he might send his orders and troops wherever he found there was occasion, observing that the Marquis *de Crequi* had advanced too far, and that the Prince of *Condé* was bringing up a large body of horse to fall upon him, went himself to his assistance at the head of the cavalry of his right wing, and several battalions of foot. When the Viscount joined the Marquis, he found the Prince had already begun his attack, and broke several of *Crequi's* ranks; but the troops which came to his relief soon surrounded the *Spaniards*, so that many of them on every side fell down dead or wounded, and those that escaped death were forced to fly in great disorder and confusion. The Prince rallied his broken squadrons no less than three times, and, to animate his

his soldiers, performed prodigies of valour himself; but being repulsed they all abandoned him, except a few *French* Gentlemen, who had engaged so far in his party that they were determined to share his fortune. On this occasion also the Prince's horse was killed under him; which would have exposed his life to great danger, if one of those Gentlemen had not given him his to make his escape. Thus both wings of the *Spaniards* being defeated, they fled with great precipitation, and were pursued by the conquerors to *Furnes*, where they collected the scattered remains of their army, so compleatly broken and vanquished, that, all the rest of that campaign, they were scarce able to assemble together eight or nine thousand men. The modesty of the Viscount *de Turenne*, who had all the glory of this signal victory, cannot be enough admired; the letter he wrote to his Lady on the field of battle being conceived in these terms: *The enemies came up to us, they are beaten, God be thanked. I have been a little fatigued, I wish you good night, I am going to bed.*

Tho' by the defeat of the *Spanish* army the garrison of *Dunkirk* was cut off from all hope of relief, yet they defended the place with the same vigour as before, and the besiegers spent three days before they could secure a lodgment on the counterescarp, tho' they had carried their works to the foot of it before the battle. The town held out ten days after this; and the siege might perhaps have been still longer, had not the Marquis *de Lede*, who was Governour of it, and a man of distinguished merit, received a dangerous wound, of which he died in a few days: which sunk the spirits of the garrison so, that, seeing all their outworks taken, the principal officers met together to take into consideration the present state of their affairs; and, in consequence of their resolution, the town was delivered to the Viscount *de Turenne* the eighteenth day after the opening of the trenches. The King of *France* came from *Mardick* to the Viscount's quarters, to see the garrison march

out. It consisted of six hundred horse and twelve hundred foot under the command of Mr. *de Bassécourt*, who having taken this opportunity to pay his compliments to his Most Christian Majesty, met with a very favourable reception, and afterwards followed his garrison to *St. Omer*. The King, having taken possession of *Dunkirk*, immediately put it into the hands of the *English*, in consequence of the treaty with them, on condition that they should make no alteration in religion, and maintain the citizens in their privileges. Thus this famous city, so accustomed to changes and revolutions, was in less than the course of one day successively under the dominion of three of the most considerable powers in *Europe*. It is not easy to express the joy which *Cromwel* felt upon the conquest of this place; which as it was a proof of the success of his arms, and the wisdom of his counsels, so it delivered the *English* nation from the ravages of the *Dunkirkers*, who during this war had taken no less than two hundred and fifty *English* ships. From *Dunkirk* the Viscount *de Turenne* led his victorious army successively to *Bergues*, *Furnes*, *Dixmude*, and *Oudenard*; and having easily made himself master of them all, concluded the campaign with the defeat of the Prince of *Lignes*. But notwithstanding these advantages, *France* growing weary of the war as well as *Spain*, a treaty of peace was concluded next year, by which the cities of *Bergues*, *Furnes*, *Dixmude*, *Ypres*, *Oudenard*, *Merville*, and *Menin*, were restored to *Spain*; but the *English* resolved to keep *Dunkirk*, and therefore put the fortifications of it in a proper state of defence, and built a citadel on the spot where Fort *Lion* had stood.

The *English* nation thought themselves very happy in the acquisition of this important place, which in former times had been of so great detriment to their trade, and was like to be so again in any other hands but their own. Nor could it have been believed at that time that any thing but mere force and hard necessity could ever have wrested it from them. Yet after



after all they kept it only four years: for in 1662, two years after the Restoration, King *Charles II.* to the lasting reproach of his reign, was mean enough to sell this valuable acquisition to the King of *France* for the paltry sum of 5,000,000 of livres, that is in our money 218,750 *l.* The negotiation of this sale began in July, and was concluded in October. King *Charles* demanded at first twelve millions of livres, and the Count *d'Eftrades*, who managed the affair for *Lewis XIV.* offered but fifteen hundred thousand. The great disproportion between the sum demanded and that which was offered, was the only subject of the negotiation. Each pretended to be unwilling to recede from his first proposals, tho' they were both equally impatient, the one to sell, and the other to buy, and well knew one another's real intentions. Some time after, King *Charles* reduced his demand to seven millions, and the Count *d'Eftrades* offered first two, then two and a half, and at last three, tho' he had power from his master to offer four; but the King of *England* could not be persuaded to reduce his demand lower than five, and therefore the *French* King was obliged to come up to his price, rather than run the hazard of being disappointed by standing out longer. There was also some difficulty about the time of payment: *Charles* wanted to have all the money paid down upon the delivery of the place to the *French*: *Lewis* proposed to pay it at three different terms. But at last it was agreed, that one half should be paid at the delivery of the town, and the rest in two years. Soon after this affair came to be known, many pamphlets were published, shewing the bad consequences of this infamous negotiation, and the injury the nation suffered by it; in opposition to which, the court, as commonly happens in such cases, found writers who pretended not only to prove the expediency, but even to demonstrate the necessity of it. But the principal disputes on this subject were, Whether the first proposal came from *England* or *France*, and Whether the Earl of *Clarendon*, at that time Lord Chancellor,

was the author and promoter of this sale, as was generally believed. And indeed it is no wonder that there were different opinions upon these subjects at that time, when it was so much the interest of the court to disguise the affair, and stifle the evidences of facts, and the Earl of *Clarendon* had so many friends. But since the Count *d'Eftrades's* letters have been made public, there is not the least ground to doubt that the first proposal was made by *England*; and tho' probably the first thought of parting with *Dunkirk* occurred to the King himself, yet the Earl of *Clarendon* was the person who proposed the sale to the Count *d'Eftrades*, and conducted the whole negotiation to its final conclusion. In consequence of this treaty of sale, the town was delivered the 29th of October 1662 into the hands of the Count *d'Eftrades*, who had repaired to *Dunkirk* on the 28th for that purpose. *Lewis XIV.* was so well pleased with his new acquisition, that he took post-horses on the 30th of November, and arrived at *Dunkirk* the 2d of December. Next day he rode round the town, to take a distinct view of the fortifications; and having admitted to an audience the magistrates of the town, who waited on him to offer their acknowledgements for the privileges and immunities he had been pleased to grant them, he gave them such a favourable reception, that they protested in the strongest terms, nothing should ever divert them from their inviolable attachment and fidelity to him. The King also, the more to recommend himself to the *Dunkirkers*, supped in public, and dismissed his guards, as an evident proof of the great confidence he reposed in his newly acquired subjects. Before he left the town, he gave orders to finish the works of the citadel, which the *English* had left imperfect, and to build a part of the castle near the gate of *Nieuport*. Having also acquainted Mr. *de Vauban*, that he intended to make *Dunkirk* one of the strongest places in *Europe*, that able Engineer drew a plan for the fortifications of it both by sea and land, but such a plan as could only be executed by degrees, and in a large compass.

pass of time, on account of the vast expence it required. By the death of Prince *Balthazar*, brother to the Queen of *France*, in the year 1667, *Lewis* found himself involved in a war with *Spain* in support of his pretensions to a part of the *Spanish Netherlands*, which he claimed in right of his Queen. This war put a stop for some time to his projects for the improvement of *Dunkirk*; but as soon as it was brought to a period, he gave orders for building there an arsenal large enough to contain all the stores necessary for fitting out and maintaining a large fleet of ships of war. Soon after this, having made a progress through a part of *Flanders* to observe the state of the conquests he had lately made in that country, he came to *Dunkirk* on the 29th of May 1670, to give directions about the works he intended to begin at that place; and next year he returned the 3d of May, and stay'd to the 27th, to forward the execution of them. For this purpose he ordered a body of thirty thousand men to encamp near the town, and to work on the fortifications by turns in the manner following. A cannon was discharged at four o'clock in the morning, as a signal for ten thousand of those troops to take their arms, and march in order to the working place, where they were to ground their arms, and, taking up the mechanical tools, labour without intermission till nine o'clock, when, upon the repetition of the same signal, they resumed their arms, and marched back to the camp, whence other ten thousand marched at the same time, to take their places at the works, and continue there till four o'clock in the afternoon. At this hour another gun was discharged to give them notice to retire and give place to the last division, consisting also of ten thousand men, who were to carry on the work till eight o'clock in the evening. These thirty thousand men, supervised by their officers, and animated by the presence of their King, who, while he continued at *Dunkirk*, took horse twice every day to observe them, laboured with such application and diligence,

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that it is not easy to imagine how much work was done in the course of that summer. On the 25th of April 1677 the King of *France* once more returned to *Dunkirk*, to view the fortifications on the land-side, which by this time were completed, and to give orders for what might be further necessary to make the place as considerable toward the sea, as it then was toward the land. Mr. *de Vauban* laid before him the plans he had drawn for this purpose; and the King ordered them to be put in execution. The first care was to form the entrance into the harbour, and construct the jetties; then *Fort Vert* or *The Green Fort*, and *The Fort of Good Hope*, were built at the extremities of those jetties, to secure them, and keep enemies at a good distance from the mouth of the harbour. And to guard the town against any surprize, the famous risbank was erected on one side of the jetties, and *Fort Gaillart* on the other. These works were all completed in the year 1683; and in 1685 the whole circumference of the basin was faced with mason-work, and the quays formed. At the same time care was taken to build at the entrance of this basin a sluice almost 45 feet wide, that the ships in it might constantly be afloat. Moreover, *Lewis* intending still more effectually to secure the town, in the year 1689 gave orders to build the fort called *The Cornichon*, or *The Reverse Battery*, and some more works for the further improvement of the harbour, which by means of the sluices of the canals of *Bergues* and the *Moer* became gradually deeper and deeper.

From what has been already suggested it appears, that *Lewis XIV.* had now employed near 30 years, with immense labour and an enormous expence, in improving the old fortifications of *Dunkirk*, and adding new; yet still he had not brought it to that pitch of strength and perfection he intended. For in the year 1706, when the loss of the Battle of *Ramillies*, and other disasters, had taught that haughty Monarch to think more of defending his own dominions, than of making new acquisitions;

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sitions; he employed Mr. *de Vauban* to make a retrenched incampment toward the country, which he had long designed as an effectual means to secure the place from any insult on that side. He also intended another large sluice on the canal of *Bourbourg*, and several other improvements, which were never executed. But it is now time to see, how far *Dunkirk* thus improved answered his intentions to strengthen his own marine, and distress his neighbours.

In the year 1690, after the defeat of the combined fleets of *England* and *Holland* by the *French* under the command of Mr. *Torville*, off *Beachy Head*, *John Bart*, who had in recompense of his services obtained the command of a ship of war the year before, sailed from *Dunkirk* with design to disturb the *Dutch* fishery; and succeeded beyond his own expectations: for he not only distressed, but quite ruined it for that year, and thereafter took two transports with troops on board, which were soon after ransomed at 300,000 *French* crowns. The *English*, upon information of this, sent a considerable squadron to cruise before *Dunkirk*, that they might confine the privateers which were there to the harbour, and intercept *Bart* in his return home. Nevertheless, the privateers in the harbour of *Dunkirk* sailed with the first favourable wind, and soon after *Bart* returned with a great many prizes, and went into the harbour triumphantly in sight of the *English* squadron. Some years after, corn having risen to a very high price in *France*, the King had caused a large quantity of that commodity to be bought in the north, and ordered *Bart* to sail with his squadron, and guard the ships which were to bring it home. *Bart* sailed accordingly: but the corn-fleet, consisting of an hundred sail, through impatience had sailed from *Sweden* under the convoy of three *Swedish* men of war; and falling in with the Vice-Admiral of *Friseland* with eight men of war near the *Texel*, were by him made prizes. *Bart* next day

met this fleet in the possession of the *Dutch*; and though his force was inferior to that of the opposite squadron, yet he did not in the least hesitate to attack them; and having in a short time taken the *Dutch* Admiral with two more of his squadron, put the rest to flight, and recovering the whole fleet of *French* ships, brought them safe to *Dunkirk*, together with the three *Dutch* men of war. In the year 1694, the *English* provoked by the frequent captures of their ships by the *Dunkirk* privateers, determined to have their revenge. With this intention they fitted out a fleet of sixty ships, consisting of men of war, frigates, bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and transports with troops. This fleet took its station off *Mardick* on the 20th of September, and the Admirals ordered the frigates and sloops to take the foundings all round the road; but they were so roughly treated by the cannon of the citadel, the risbank, and two frigates stationed at the extremities of the jetties, that they were soon obliged to retire. On the 22d the *English* attempted to set on fire the two forts at the extremities of the jetties. For this purpose thirty six frigates, bomb-ketches, and fire-ships, took their station in the road opposite to the harbour, and about five o'clock a fire-ship was sent against *Fort Vert*; but a cannon-ball from that fort having reached it before it came to the place for which it was designed, it blew up without effect. Another fire-ship, sent against the fort of *Good Hope*, had the same misfortune, and blew up without success. On the 24th the *English* fleet came before the town, and continued till the 26th, when they retired without success, and went to bombard *Calais*. Next year a combined fleet of *Dutch* and *English* ships, to the number, as the *French* pretend, of 114 sail of one kind or other, came before the town on the 4th of August, and continued till the 11th at night, but with much the same success that they had had before. The fire-ships blew up at a great distance from the forts they were designed

to annoy; and though, on the eleventh, the bomb-vessels fired from 8 in the morning till 3 in the afternoon upon the forts which guarded the mouth of the harbour, and during that time threw more than twelve hundred bombs, a very few only fell upon the risbank, and, if we may believe the *French*, there was but one *Frenchman* killed. Meantime Mr. *Bart*, by the *French* King's order, sailed from *Dunkirk* with a squadron to cruize in the northern seas. He weighed anchor the 12th of May at night, and got safely through a squadron of twenty two *English* ships of war, which were at anchor without the banks to intercept him; and having cruized some time, met with a *Dutch* fleet of a hundred sail under the convoy of five men of war. *Bart* without loss of time attacked the escorte, and having boarded them, made himself master of them all. Some *Dunkirk* privateers, who attended him in this expedition, took five and forty large ships, and ransomed the rest. The most extraordinary circumstance of this capture was, that when *Bart* began his engagement, there were thirteen *Dutch* ships of war within three leagues of him, and within two cannon-shot of him when he concluded it; which put him under the necessity of burning four of the ships of war he had taken, and of making all the sail he could to get the wind of the enemy's squadron.

Soon after this a general peace was concluded, which lasted not long. The King of *Spain* dying in the year 1700, the succession of his kingdoms set *Europe* again in a flame, and almost all the powers of it made preparations for a new war, which broke out in 1701. *Lewis XIV.* not doubting that *Dunkirk* would on that occasion excite as much, if not more than ever, the jealousy of *England* and *Holland*, gave orders for building a new risbank, which he called *Fort Blanc*. It was built about 850 fathoms from the town, and intended to secure the side of it next the road to *Nieuport* from bombardment, and command the approaches to the fronts which lie

on the same side between the horn-work and the sea. On the other hand, having sent orders to all the sea-ports of *France* to arm all his ships of war, a squadron was equipped at *Dunkirk*, which was to be commanded by Mr. *Bart*; but he had exerted himself so much in fitting out this squadron, that he was seized with a pleurisy, of which he died the 27th of April in the 52d year of his age. However there were at that time several more good sea-officers at *Dunkirk*. In the year 1703 Mr. *de St. Paul*, having sailed from *Dunkirk* the 22d of June with four ships of war, burnt the *Dutch* fleet at the island of *Hiltand*, and Mr. *Bart*, the son of *John Bart* just mentioned, burnt 40 ships ranged along the shore, while he was exposed to the fire of the musquetry of all their crews, who had intrenched themselves behind some rocks of difficult access. In 1706 the Chevalier *de Forbin* left the road of *Dunkirk* on the 2d of June, at the head of a squadron of eight ships of war. On the 6th he took six ships richly laden, and the 7th he took another with two chests of silver on board. The 2d of October, at break of day, he perceived a fleet of sixty ships under the convoy of six ships of war; and having attacked them, he first took three of them, then came to close engagement with the Admiral, who after an obstinate fight, seeing no way to escape, set his ship on fire. After this expedition Mr. *de Forbin* returned to *Dunkirk*, and, sailing again with the same squadron to the north on the 21st of May 1707, took three *English* ships, and carried them to *Brest*, whence he sailed again the 19th of October with six ships of his own squadron, and six more of Mr. *du Guay's*. He had been only two days out of the harbour, when he discovered an *English* fleet consisting of 130 ships, under the convoy of five ships of war, whereof the Commodore and another mounted 80 guns each, a third 60, and the other two 50. *Forbin* made a vigorous attack upon the escorte, who defended themselves with equal bravery; but after a long struggle

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three of them were obliged to strike to the *French*, and a fourth unluckily took fire in the time of the engagement. This last happening to have troops on board for the King of *Portugal*, five hundred men were obliged to jump into the sea, to avoid the flames. All attempts to put a stop to the fire were fruitless, and this accident occasioned the death of more than a thousand men. After the action *Forbin* returned to *Brest* on the 17th with his own squadron, and a vast number of merchant ships which he had made prizes, and soon after sailed for *Dunkirk*.

Many more instances might be given of the activity and success of the *Dunkirkers* in the war which immediately preceded the peace of *Utrecht*; and it would be easy to shew at great length how much they promoted the interest of *France*, and distressed the trade of the maritime powers: but it will be sufficient for our purpose to conclude what we have already offered on this subject with this general observation, *viz.* That in the war we have just now mentioned, which lasted but twelve years, the ships of war and privateers belonging to the port of *Dunkirk* took from the *English* no less than 1614 prizes, which were valued at 30,500,000 livres, in our money 1,334,375*l.* exclusive of the ships which were sold in *France* and *Spain* by the privateers.

But notwithstanding these successes, the prosperity of *Dunkirk* did not last long. Tho' the *French* in this war had sometimes the advantage at sea, at land they were almost always on the losing hand. They had no reason to brag of their affairs in *Spain* and *Italy*; but in *Germany* they were quite ruined; and the history of the transactions in *Flanders* during this period, consists merely of a series of the Duke of *Marlborough's* victories, and of the blunders and misfortunes of the *French*. Their armies were consumed, their finances exhausted, and their country reduced to the greatest poverty and distress. Their King was extremely sensible of this, and

had several times endeavoured to get out of a war so ruinous and destructive to his kingdom; but the terms insisted on by the allies were such as he could not prevail upon himself to submit to, so that his affairs went on daily from bad to worse, till the year 1711, when, luckily for him, a total revolution was brought about in the court of *Great Britain*, by the removal of the Duke of *Marlborough*, with the Earl of *Godolphin* and the rest of that ministry, from the helm of affairs, to make room for the Earl of *Oxford* with Lord *Bolingbroke* and their friends. These last seemed to be as hearty and sincere in their endeavours to raise *France* from her dejected state, even at the expence of the honour and interest of the *English* nation, as the former had been to reduce her exorbitant power. Accordingly an end was soon after put to the war by the famous treaty of *Utrecht*, on terms much more honourable and agreeable to the *French* King than he could have hoped or expected, and less calculated for the advantage of *Great Britain* and her allies, than those which *France* had offered some years before, when she was not reduced to so great distress. Yet by this treaty, in other respects so favourable to *France*, it was expressly provided, that the fortifications of the city and port of *Dunkirk*, both by sea and land, should be intirely demolished, and the harbour filled up so as never to be a harbour again. This must have been a sensible mortification to *Lewis XIV.* who had valued himself so much upon rendering that place one of the strongest fortresses and best harbours in *Europe*, at a prodigious expence of time and treasure; but peace was now become so necessary to him and his kingdom, that he would have been glad to purchase it at a much dearer rate. Besides, by this treaty he had a great many advantages secured to him, which, a little before this time, his most sanguine hopes could not have promised him. Since then the general tenor of the whole treaty was so much in his favour, he had no reason to complain,

complain if he found himself a little galled by one of the articles of it, especially as even by this treaty he was to have an equivalent for the loss he should sustain by the demolition of this fortress and harbour. He was sensible that the *English* ministry, who had been so very generous to him in other instances, could not carry their complaisance so far as to gratify him directly in this, knowing that as the treaty in general was the aversion of the wisest and best part of the *English* nation, so the Demolition of *Dunkirk* was the demand and expectation of almost every individual, and they could not reasonably hope they could prevail with the Queen to disoblige and discourage all her subjects at once. But after all it is plain he was not without hopes, that tho' this article should be ratified with the rest of the treaty, the execution of it might be afterwards dispensed with; and if even this expectation should fail, he doubted not but he should find means to elude the force of this hated article by some evasion, which might seem consistent with the words of the treaty, tho' directly contrary to the real end and intention of it; a kind of artifice which had been very useful to him and his ancestors on many occasions. On these considerations *Lewis* made no great difficulty of consenting to this article, and even of giving it a place among the preliminaries. The treaty was accordingly signed by order of the powers concerned, the ratifications of it exchanged at *Utrecht* the 28th of April 1713, and in consequence thereof the peace proclaimed at *London* on the 5th of May following; but the demolition of *Dunkirk* did not take place till the month of September thereafter. Mean time the inhabitants of *Dunkirk* were in the greatest distress when they heard that the destruction of their harbour was finally determined, seeing it had been the source of all the wealth and affluence they had enjoyed for some time past. They had nothing before their eyes but misery and ruin; they considered not only their late gainful trade of privateering as

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lost for ever, but that every branch of commerce must fail with their harbour. Under these dismal apprehensions they deputed one of their magistrates, to make the most humble remonstrances in their name to the Queen of *Great Britain*, and by the warmest and most earnest solicitations endeavour to excite her compassion, and prevail with her to be satisfied with the demolition of the works and fortifications of their city, and spare their harbour as the only means of their subsistence. This again alarmed the jealousy and fears of the nation, and the clamour of the people of *England* against the *Dunkirkers* and their harbour became, if possible, more general and loud than ever. Pamphlets and essays were daily published, representing the many calamities and distresses the national commerce had in former times been exposed to by the depredations of the privateers and ships of war equipt in that harbour; the dangers and mischiefs which might be justly apprehended from a place of such naval force in the very neighbourhood of the *British Isles*; the embarkations that might be made there; the facility wherewith the King of *France* might from thence disturb the tranquillity, surprize the coasts, or invade the dominions of *Great Britain*; and finally proving by many arguments the absolute necessity of the intire destruction of that sea-port, to secure the quiet and happiness of the nation. These representations seem to have had some effect. The *Dunkirk* orator was sent home without success; and the Queen appointed Colonel *Armstrong* and Colonel *Clayton*, her commissioners, to oversee the execution of the treaty of *Utrecht* as far as concerned the works and harbour of *Dunkirk*.

It may be expected that, before we proceed further, we should give some account of the works that were to be demolished, the strength of the place, and the defence of which it was capable; but as this would detain us too long, the compleat and distinct plan hereto annexed will render a detail of

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this kind less necessary, and give as just an idea of the fortifications, and the uses to which they might be applied, as any thing we could offer. It will therefore be sufficient to say in general, that the town was flanked by ten large bastions and as many half-moons, with a broad and deep ditch, covered way and glacis, quite round it; and on the side on which it seemed to be most exposed, *viz.* that which lay next to *Nieuport*, it had also a second covered way and advanced ditch. The citadel was an irregular pentagon, between the harbour and the sea; the body of it consisted of several irregular buildings and works, and it had no ditch nor covered way, but on the side which lay next the sea. We have already mentioned the harbour and basin, the jetties, the forts which defended the points of them, the two risbanks, *Fort Gaillard*, and *The Reverse Battery*. Of these works the fortifications on the land-side were first demolished, and two thousand men were employed upon them.

On the 26th of September 1713, they began to pull down the palisades on the covered way, then broke down the places of arms, filled up the ditches, and destroyed the demilunes, bastions, and curtains. Whilst these things were doing the winter approached, and it was agreed to delay the demolition of the citadel and works toward the sea till the middle of April following, when the citadel was razed, and the harbour and basin filled up. The jetties also were destroyed and levelled with the strand, and the risbanks and other forts, which served to defend the entrance into the harbour, quite demolished. Besides all this, a large batardeau or dam was built across the mouth of the harbour between the jetties and the town, that all communication might be for ever cut off between the harbour, and the canal which formed its entrance. Finally, the grand sluice between the jetties and the harbour, the sluice of the canal of *Bergues*, and all the other sluices but that of *Furnes*, which had no connexion with the fortifications, were broke up, and the materials of them quite broke to pieces.

Thus were the fortifications of *Dunkirk* intirely demolished, its harbour quite spoiled, and rendered useless, and with regard to this place the treaty seemed to be completely executed. Yet *Lewis XIV.* had taken his measures, and contrived a scheme, whereby he thought to have intirely eluded that clause of it which concerned the harbour, and, notwithstanding what was therein stipulated, to have provided *Dunkirk* with as good a harbour as it had before. This was the project of the famous canal and sluices of *Mardick*, which *Lewis* began before the works of *Dunkirk* were quite demolished, and carried on with such expedition and vigour, that in a short time a sixty-gun ship passed through the great sluice of *Mardick*, and sailed quite up to the canal of *Bergues*. But of this canal of *Mardick* we shall have occasion to treat more fully in the next article; we shall only add here, that while this canal continued in its original state, the commerce of *Dunkirk* suffered but little by what had been done in consequence of the treaty of *Utrecht*; but when the great sluice of *Mardick* was broken down, and the lesser one reduced to narrower bounds, the *Dunkirkers* found their trade fast declining, and their prosperity giving place to poverty and distress. Many of the inhabitants removed to other countries and trading cities to seek new habitations, and leave a place which seemed devoted to indigence and desolation. But their affairs did not continue long in this unhappy situation; for, luckily for them, in the year 1720, the sea in time of a great storm broke up the great batardeau or dam which had been built between the jetties and the town, and thereby restored in some measure their harbour, which by their own industry, and the help of the little sluice of *Furnes*, which was not destroyed with the rest when the works of the town were demolished, they have made deep enough to receive ships of ordinary burden; so that by means of it they now carry on a considerable

derable trade, and by their privateers, in this and the late war, have been of some detriment to the *British* commerce. And because, on account of the ruins of the jetties and forts which had been demolished near the mouth of the harbour, ships cannot now get in or out of it without difficulty and danger, the Court of Admiralty published some regulations with regard to the pilotage of the harbour, on the 8th of May 1723, appointed such a number of pilots as they judged would be sufficient to attend ships and vessels in their coming in and going out, and ascertained the wages they should receive for their service. More regulations were also made on the 15th of October 1728, to supply the defects of the former; and both were duly respected and obeyed, because they served to promote the interests of trade, and the security of navigation. But some time thereafter disputes arose between the Court of Admiralty and the Board of Trade, concerning the nomination of these pilots, and the funds which were necessary to support them. These differences were attended with some inconveniences till the year 1740, when the King of *France*, by an arret of his council dated the 10th of February, confirmed the regulations which had been made before, added some new ones, and put an end to the disputes which had arisen upon this subject.

But if the harbour of *Dunkirk* has its imperfections, the road is one of the best and securest in *Europe*. It lies at the distance of two miles and a half from the town, about three from the new harbour of *Mardick*, and is bounded by a sand-bank called the *Brack*. Upon this bank the sea is not above four feet deep at low water, and therefore ships cannot get over it but in the time of flood; but there are two passes at the east and west ends of the road by which they may go in and out at pleasure, by the assistance of the pilots; and, by the by, the persons of this denomination, who are authorized to ply about the harbour and road of *Dunkirk*, are no less than ninety, a circumstance that proves

the commerce of the place to be very considerable. The depth of the sea in the road at low water is nine fathom: the bottom is sandy; fifty ships of the largest sort, and forty of lesser size, may anchor in it, at the same time, with great ease.

We have already seen what kind of trade the *Dunkirkers* chuse to carry on in time of war, and the success with which it has been attended; but their most ancient trade was that of the herring-fishery. This branch of commerce arrived at its greatest height at *Dunkirk* in the year 1532, at which period most part of the inhabitants were engaged in it, and sent to sea between four and five hundred busses, or fishing-sloops, from fifty to sixty tun, having ten hands on board. Among the nets which were put on board these busses, they had some which were called the *holy nets*; these they employed upon all occasions, and all the fish caught in them were sold, and the money they fetched consecrated to the use of the parish-church. We are also told, that by the produce of these nets this church was rebuilt, after it had been burnt by the *French* in the year 1558. The devotion of some particular fishermen had given rise to this institution, and without all doubt what they gave originally was free and unconstrained; but in process of time the master of every fishing-sloop was obliged to have one of these holy nets on board, and bestow the produce of it as above, by a severe and indispensable law; and the Earls of *Flanders* authorized this exaction, tho' no good reason could ever be assigned for it. They dried the greatest part of the herrings they caught, in a particular manner, of which they possessed the secret; and the herrings thus prepared were at that time, and are now, thought preferable to all others. They had also this privilege, that the herrings which had the *Dunkirk* mark, paid no duty in any of the towns of *Flanders*. This fishery was also in a very flourishing condition about the year 1550. The *Dunkirkers* had then a vast number



of buffes, and the returns they received yearly by means of them amounted to more than 400,000 ducats, in our money 177,696 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* This profitable trade met with some interruption by the difference which happened between *France* and the Empire; and the armaments in the maritime towns of the Low Countries, which opposed the measures of their Governour, exposed it to greater distress. But the war which broke out between *Spain* and the *Dutch* compleated its ruin: the latter having by artful insinuations, and promises of great privileges and encouragements, from time to time, prevailed upon almost all the fishers of *Dunkirk* to come and settle among them, that by this means they might improve their own fishery, which at that time was of very little consequence, but is now considered as the greatest support of their state. The truce concluded between *Spain* and the *Dutch* in the year 1609 gave some sort of new life and vigour to the fishery at *Dunkirk*; but the farmers of the revenues of *Spain* having laid some new taxes upon their herrings, they were obliged to carry their complaints to the Court of *Brussels*; which, by an arret of the 16th of April 1615, confirmed the privileges formerly granted to that fishery. But the wars which followed soon after again reduced this branch of trade to the lowest ebb, and the inhabitants turned their thoughts to privateering, especially when they fell under the dominion of *France*; and soon became formidable to the maritime powers. Besides this, the *Dutch*, always attentive to the interests of their trade, not only insisted, at the treaty of *Utrecht*, on the destruction of the harbour at *Dunkirk*, and a barrier, which, by a very large accession of territory, has greatly improved their trade, but also got a freedom of navigation, and an exemption of their commodities from the tax of 2 *s.* 6 *d.* per tun, together with the privilege of introducing their salt-herrings into *France*, which they could not obtain at the treaty of *Ryfwick*; by which means the subjects of that kingdom are deprived of all encour-

agement to revive or continue their fishery in opposition to them, because they spare no cost or pains to ruin the fisheries of *France*, especially that at *Dunkirk*, and prevent its being established upon its antient footing. For as they are in possession of the herring-trade in *France*, and, with respect to that commodity, are treated as the subjects of that kingdom, they are so jealous of this branch of commerce, that they scruple not to throw away great sums of money by selling their herring much under prime cost, as oft as they are apprehensive of any design to rival them in that trade, or set up any fishery of this sort. We had a clear proof of this in the year 1719, when the *Dunkirkers* having fished about six thousand tons of herrings, the *Dutch*, to supplant them, and at the same time deter them from continuing that trade, imported large quantities of their own herrings into *France*, and sold them so much under their true value, that the others, not able to part with theirs at that rate, were put under the necessity of exporting them to *Spain* and the *West Indies*. In a word, so long as the *Dutch* can carry their herrings into *France* duty-free, and carry on trade with more frugality and œconomy than any other nation, it will be impossible to set on foot a herring-fishery in any part of the *French* dominions, especially at *Dunkirk*, which lies so near to *Holland*.

To conclude, the desolation which now reigns at *Dunkirk* is not only owing to the destruction of the greater, and the reduction of the lesser sluice at *Mardick*, but also to the ruin of the herring-fishery at that place. The loss of this valuable branch of trade has obliged vast numbers of the *Dunkirkers*, from time to time, to remove from their native city, to seek in other places the means of subsistence which they could not find at home. Before the demolition of the works at *Dunkirk*, and the ruin of the herring-fishery, there were upwards of twenty six thousand communicants in the place, exclusive of those in the citadel, suburbs, risbanks, and other places, wherein there were chaplains; but things are

are so much changed, says *Mr. Piganiol de la Force* in his *Nouvelle Description de la France*, that all the inhabitants taken together do not exceed six thousand. This might be true when he wrote, which seems to have been in the year 1740, or very soon after; but since that time *Dunkirk* has been made a free-port, and all goods imported by land, and both imports and exports by sea, are free from all duties; the sailors residing in it have obtained the privilege of exemption from the *Classes*, or serving on board the King's ships; and these advantages (which are not allowed to the inhabitants of the Lower Town) together with the recovery of the harbour, have contributed so much to the increase of sailors and other inhabitants at *Dunkirk*, that we are assured the number of communicants there last year were at least twelve thousand.

This town is a bailiwick subject to the provincial council of *Artois*. The principal buildings in it are the town-house, in which is a public library for the use of the citizens and officers of the garrison; the exchange, lately built, opposite to the town-house, and in it an apartment in which the members of the *Chambre de Commerce* hold their meetings; the barracks for the soldiers; the armoury, the rope-walk, the magazine for naval stores, the park of artillery, and the royal hospital, the church of *St. Eloy* with fifteen chapels round it, the church and college of the Jesuits, the four convents of the Capuchins, Recolets, Minims, and Carmelites, and five nunneries, viz. that of the *English* Benedictines, the *English* Nuns of *St. Clara*, the Recollectine Penitents, the Sisters of the Conception, and the Black Sisters.

Although it was stipulated by the treaty of *Utrecht*, confirmed by another treaty in the year 1717, That the works of *Dunkirk* should never be rebuilt, nor its harbour restored; yet *Lewis XV.* whose conscience, like his great-grandfather's, seems not to be very scrupulous with regard to treaties, resolved to be very free with both these, as soon as he should have an opportunity of doing it with safety. Therefore about

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the year 1740, when *Great Britain* was engaged in a war with *Spain*, he set about restoring the works of *Dunkirk*, and having built new fortifications on the land-side of the town, proceeded to make improvements also on the harbour, restore the jetties that had been demolished in 1714, build new forts to defend the town and harbour from attacks by sea, in place of the old risbanks and other forts that had been destroyed in consequence of the treaty of *Utrecht*; and, in hopes that he could by the success of his arms oblige the *British* nation to submit to his encroachments, and ratify the most public barefaced violation of the faith of treaties, afterwards openly espouses the cause of *Spain*, and becomes a principal in the war, which took its rise at first from his intrigues, and had been supported and fomented by him during its progress. This war was for a few years carried on with great vigour and spirit on both sides; but if the *French* gained some advantages by land, they suffered much by sea, for having lost almost their whole navy, so that they had hardly a ship of war to put to sea, their trade was reduced to the greatest difficulties. In consequence whereof they soon became heartily weary of the war; and the other powers at variance having also their reasons for listening to proposals of accommodation, a general peace was concluded at *Aix la Chapelle* in the year 1748, whereby it was agreed, with regard to *Dunkirk*, that the works toward the land should remain as they were at that time, and that all the fortifications toward the sea should be entirely demolished. But when *Lewis* concluded this peace, we are not to imagine the Court of *France* intended it should be of long continuance. At the very time of the negotiations at *Aix la Chapelle*, whilst the *French* ministers at all the Courts in *Europe* were boasting, as usual, of their King's disinterestedness, of his love of peace, his integrity of heart, his religious regard to treaties, and the sincerity and purity of his intentions, they were secretly kindling a war which has since

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broke out with great fury in all parts of the world. The peace was scarce signed and ratified in *Europe* by the Most Christian King, when his subjects began hostilities in *North America*. And with respect to the fortifications of *Dunkirk*, we shall not pretend to say with what exactness the demolition of them, stipulated by the treaty, was performed; but before the present war was declared, that place was in as good a posture of defence towards the sea, as well as the land, as it had been before the peace. After all, to compleat the restitution of the place and harbour, and make it every way as good as before the treaty of *Utrecht*, the great sluice of *Bergues* was restored in 1756; and we are assured, that the old harbour and bason, being cleaned in 1757, were found in every other respect as sufficient as ever. So that it would seem nothing was done in the year 1714 to ruin the harbour and bason of that place, so as they should never answer the end of making them, which appears to have been the design of the treaty, and was certainly expected and insisted upon by the *British* nation, and not barely the filling them up with mud. The least that can be said on this subject is, that if this was executing the treaty of *Utrecht* in its full extent, as far as concerned the harbour of *Dunkirk*, the *English* Plenipotentiaries at that treaty must have been very deficient in point of capacity or integrity; if this was not the case, the conduct of the *English* Commissioners sent to oversee the execution of this part of the treaty, especially of the Engineer, who must be presumed to have known better, can never be accounted for. The truth is, it is not easy to conceive that the great dam or batardeau, which was built at that time to cut off the communication between the harbour and the sea, should have failed in the year 1720, if it had been sufficient at first; nor is it less strange that Colonel *Armstrong* could contrive no means for carrying off the superfluous water of the

country, but should leave that affair intirely to the discretion of the *French*, and thereby give them a handle for eluding intirely one of the most important parts of the treaty of *Utrecht*, by digging the famous canal of *Mardick*. Be this as it may, the Most Christian King boasted of the new works he had made there in direct contradiction to the engagements he had so lately entered into, and openly declared that he would never more consent to the demolition of them. But notwithstanding any declaration of this kind that can be made, if *France* come off with the worst in this war, as there is some probability she may, she will once more consent to have those works razed and destroyed; and on the other hand, supposing this to happen, should her King come under ever so many of the most sacred and solemn engagements to the contrary, he will nevertheless be ready to embrace the first favourable opportunity to attempt the restitution of *Dunkirk*, if we may judge of the future from the past and present invariable practice of that faithless court.

That the reader may have a full view of the state of the fortifications and harbour of *Dunkirk* in its several periods, he will find subjoined,

- I. A Plan of *Dunkirk*, as first walled round in 960 by *Baldwin III. Earl of Flanders*.
- II. A Plan of *Dunkirk*, as it was first fortified in 1400 by *Robert de Marle*.
- III. A Plan of *Dunkirk*, as it was fortified when taken by *Marshal Turenne*, June 28, 1658.
- IV. A Plan of *Dunkirk*, as it was fortified by *M. de Vauban* before the demolition in 1713, and of the intrenched Camp made to defend it.
- V. A Plan of *Dunkirk*, with the Canal of *Mardick*, as they were in 1757, and probably still continue.

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## R E F E R E N C E S

To the PLAN of DUNKIRK, as it was fortified by Mr. *de Vauban* before the Demolition in 1713, and of the intrenched Camp.

## The CITADEL.

1. The small Half-Moon of the Citadel.
2. The second Half-Moon of the Citadel, to defend the Strand and the Mouth of the Harbour.
3. The third Half-Moon of the Citadel, to defend the Reverse Battery and the Esplanade of the Citadel.
4. The Bastion of the Sea, under which was a large Souterrain.
5. A Cavalier, on which the Culverin of *Nancy* was mounted.
6. The Demi-bastion of the Great Cavalier.
7. The Bastion *d'Esplanade*, which defended the Entrance of the Harbour.
8. The Cavalier, which commanded the Town.
9. The Harbour-Bastion, which also commanded the Town.
10. The Bastion of the Wind-mill against the Town.
11. The Bastion of the Citadel-Gate, designed also to command the Town.
12. The Demi-bastion of the Retrenchment.
13. The Bastion of the Downs, detached from the Body of the Citadel.
14. The Half-Moon of the Communication, to defend the Approaches of the Bastion [11.] towards the Town.

## The TOWN.

15. Demi-bastion of the Esplanade of the Citadel.
16. Half-Moon of the Esplanade of the Citadel.
17. The Bastion of *Mardick*, with a Cavalier, to command the Downs, and defend the West Side of the intrenched Camp.
18. The Half-Moon of the Creeks, which also defends the intrenched Camp.

19. The Bastion for the Royal Navy.
20. The Bastion of *Bourbourg*, where there was a Powder-Magazine.
21. The Half-Moon of the Canal of *Bergues*.
22. St. *Theresa's* Bastion, commanding the Lower Town.
23. The Half-Moon of the King's Gate [62], which leads to the Lower Town.
24. The Bastion of St. *Louis*, which defended the East Side of the intrenched Camp.
25. Half-Moon for the Defence of the intrenched Camp.
26. The Bastion of *Anjou*, which also defended the intrenched Camp.
27. The Half-Moon between the Queen's Bastion and the Bastion of *Anjou*.
28. The Queen's Bastion, where there was a Powder-magazine, as there was also in the Bastion of *Anjou*.
29. The Half-Moon of *Nieuport* Gate [63.]
30. The Dauphin Bastion, with a large Souterrain in its Gorge.
31. The Half-Moon between the Dauphin [30.] and the Royal Bastion [32.]
32. The Royal Bastion, with a large Cavalier [77.] which commanded the Downs.
33. The Counter-guard of the Royal Bastion.
34. The Half-Moon, in the Gorge of which the Dam or *Batardeau* [109.] was to have been placed, the better to conceal it from the Enemy.
35. The Bastion of the Castle, with a Cavalier, to defend the Strand, and the Entrance into the Harbour.

36. The



36. The Place in the City, where the Bastion of *Enguien* formerly stood.
37. The Harbour-Gate, opposite to the Fish-market Quay.
38. The Clock-Gate, opposite to the Quay.
39. The Crown-Gate, opposite also to the Quay.
40. The Gate leading to the Citadel.
41. The Mouth of the Canal of *Furnes*.
42. The intended Dock for building and careening Ships.
43. The old Tower, a Relict of the first Fortifications of *Dunkirk*.
44. The Sluice of *Furnes* within the Town, for carrying off the Soil of the Harbour.
45. The Sluice of the *Moer*, in the Town also, for cleaning and increasing the Depth of the Harbour.
46. The famous Sluice of *Bergues*, for cleaning the Harbour, and deepening the great Canal.
47. The Sluice designed for receiving the Waters of the Canal of *Bourbourg*, for deepening the Great Canal and the Harbour.
48. The Sluice of the Basin for the King's Ships.
49. The Avant-fossé communicating, by means of an Aqueduct under the Covered Way, with the Ditch of the Half-Moon [25].
50. A Redout of Masonry, in the Intrenchment lying between the Canals of the *Moer* and *Furnes*.
51. The Village of Little *Stindam* on the Canal of *Furnes*.
52. }  
53. } The Hornwork of *Nieuport*, with its Half-Moon.  
54. }
55. } Batardeaux, or Dams of the Branches of the Horn-  
56. } work of *Nieuport*.
57. The Redout of the Dead, built of Stone, for securing the Bridge on the Canal of *Furnes*.
58. The Road to *Nieuport*.
59. A Guard-Room, supplying the Place of a Redout in the Place of Arms at the Gate of *Nieuport*.
60. } Lunettes, to cross the Attack of the Horn-works o  
61. } *Nieuport*.
62. The Royal Gate, for a Communication with the Lower Town.
63. The Gate of *Nieuport* leading to the Road [58].
64. The Arsenal of the Town for Military Stores.
65. Hospital for the Garrison.
66. Pavilions and Barracks for accommodating the Garrison.
67. The Place of Arms, called *la Place Royale*.
68. *La Place Dauphine*, opposite to the Convent of *English Nuns*.
69. The Timber-Yard.
70. The Place where a Gate was to be made, to favour Succours coming from *Gravelines*.
71. Cistern under the Place of the Citadel.
72. Arsenal of the Citadel.
73. }  
74. } Crown-works to cover the Lower Town.  
75. }
76. The Intrenchment of the Dauphin Bastion [30].
77. Intrenchment of the Royal Bastion [32.] joined by a Curtain to [76.]
78. Intrenchment of the Castle Bastion [35.] joined by a Curtain to [77].
79. The Rope walks for making Ropes for the King's Navy.
80. A particular Magazine of Stores for the King's Ships.
81. A General Magazine for the King's Marine.
82. Mast-sheds for the King's Ships.
83. Smiths and other Artificers Shops for the Marine.
84. Creeks to be filled with Water, by the Cuts [85.] [119.] answering to the Ditches of the Place.
85. The Communication of the Creeks with the Canal of *Bourbourg* and the Ditch of the Town.

86. The

86. }  
87. } *See the Plan of the Intrenched Camp.*  
88. }  
89. } The Easterly Parts of the Retrenched Camp, defending  
90. } the Approaches of the Front of *Nieuport*.  
91. }  
92. }  
93. }  
94. }  
95. } The Western Parts of the Retrenched Camp, defending  
96. } the Road to *Gravelines*.  
97. }  
98. }  
99. } Half-Moons of the Avant-fossé, to cover the Gates  
100. } and Sally-ports of that Camp.  
101. }  
102. The Redout of Little *Stindam*.  
103. Sas or Bafon of the Canal of *Bourbourg*, to facilitate  
the Ascent and Descent of Boats.  
104. The Position of the Troops in the Retrenched Camp.  
105. } The Canal of Communication between the Canals of  
106. } *Bergues* and the *Moer*.  
107. }  
108. A detached Work before Fort [91.] at the Gorge of Great  
*Stindam*.

109. A Batardeau and Sluice, with a Fly-Gate, to make the  
Water of the Ditch of the Town play.  
110. A Batardeau and Sluice, with three Gates or Vannes, to  
let the Tide into the Ditch of the Town.  
111. } *See the Plan of Dunkirk.*  
112. }  
113. } Batardeaux to bear the Weight of the Waters of the  
114. } Canals of *Bergues*, the *Moer*, and *Furnes*, as they run  
115. } cross the Ditch of the Town.  
116. }  
117. }  
118. A Batardeau and Sluice, to make the Water circulate  
round the Town.  
119. A Batardeau and Sluice, to let the Tides into the Creeks.  
120. A Batardeau and Sluice, to discharge the Water of the Ditches  
of the Town and Citadel, and to let the Tide into them.  
121. } A Batardeau and Sluice, to make the Waters of the  
122. } Canals of *Bergues* and the *Moer* play into the Ditch  
of the Crown-work of the lower Town.  
123. A Batardeau and Sluice, to give Motion to the Waters of  
the Avant-fossé of the Front of *Nieuport*.  
124. The Position of a large Sluice, planned in the year 1710  
for deepening the Great Channel.  
125. Redout for securing the Boats on the Canals of *Bergues*  
and *Bourbourg*.

R E F E R E N C E S

To the PLAN of DUNKIRK with the CANAL of MARDICK, as they were in 1757.

1. The Western Jetty } Since the Demolition, made of Earth,  
2. The Eastern Jetty } Hurdles, and Fascines.  
3. The Bafon } These were cleaned by the Soldiers in 1757,  
4. The Harbour } who took out of it 22 Feet depth of Mud.  
5. The great Sluice of *Bergues*, finished in 1756.  
N° III.

6. Rope-walks.  
7. Artillery Park.  
8. The old Fortifications.  
9. Barracks.  
10. Powder Magazines.

G

11. The



## D U N K I R K.

11. The Superintendant's House.
12. Intendant of the Navy's House.
13. *La Place Dauphine*, and Butter-market, planted with Poplar Trees.
14. Notre-Dame, the Principal Church.
15. The Church and College of the Jesuits.
16. The New Convents.
17. The Capuchins Convent.
18. The Sailors Chapel of Notre-Dame.
19. The New Sluice begun in 1751, against which the *English* remonstrated.

20. The Passage under the old Rampart for the Water of the Canal of *Furnes*.
  21. The old Sluice of the *Moer* or *Cromdike* demolished.
  22. The Red Bridge, finished in 1749.
  23. The Sas or Basen of the Canal of *Bourbourg*.
  24. The new Fortifications of Earth on the West Side.
  25. — — — — — East Side.
  26. — — — — — at the Head of the Lower Town.
  27. The Retrenchments of Mr. *Noaille's* army in 1744.
- A. B. C. Sand-banks made since the Demolition of the Sluice.

## M A R D I C K.

**M**ARDICK, *Mardicum*, though dignified with the title of a Town by Geographers, consists of a number of thatched houses only, without order or regularity. It is however of great antiquity, and was formerly famous for an excellent harbour, which by the negligence of the inhabitants has been suffered to go to ruin. And we are told by historians, that it was to supply the want of this harbour, and of another at a place called *Lombardens* on the same coast, which had been also lost by the indolence of those whose interest it was to have preserved it, that *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* first thought of improving that at *Dunkirk* in the year 960. After the loss of its harbour, *Mardick* owed its reputation to a fortification on the same coast, at the distance of two miles and a half from it, and called the *Fort of Mardick*. As it was to this fort it owed its fame, so on account thereof it suffered many revolutions. It was taken by an *English* crusade in the year 1383 under the command of *Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*, on the following occasion.

A schism had broke out in the Church of *Rome* in the year 1378, on account of the two Anti-popes, *Urban* VI. and

*Clement* VII. as he styled himself; which continued for more than thirty years. This schism divided *Christendom* into two parties, every state declaring itself for one or other of the two pretenders, tho' probably not so much upon spiritual, as temporal and political motives. The *French* warmly espoused the interests of *Clement*, because a *Frenchman*, elected by the *French* Cardinals, and residing at *Avignon*. The *English* were no less warm in their attachment to *Urban*, probably because the *French* opposed him, and declared for his rival. The two holy fathers fought long with spiritual arms, and satisfied themselves with darting ecclesiastical thunders at one another, and their respective partisans; but in the year 1383, *Urban*, who had the strongest party, finding that anathemas and execrations did not answer his intentions, and wisely judging that the arm of flesh might be more sensibly felt and carry greater conviction with it, resolved to employ it. In consequence of this resolution he publishes a crusade against *Clement* and his adherents, and declares the Bishop of *Norwich* General, granting to all who would engage in this enterprize the same indulgences and encouragements as used to be given to those who

bore arms against the Infidels. This crusade, when published in *England*, met with all the success that *Urban's* heart could wish; the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and People, joining in it with the same alacrity as if they had been engaged to make war in defence of their country against the most inveterate enemies of the Christian name. Whilst they waited for the approbation of the parliament, every one was busy in preparing himself to gain the promised indulgences by either serving personally in the war, or contributing money to defray the charges of it.

When the parliament met, it not only approved of the crusade, but also granted a considerable subsidy to carry it on. Every thing thus succeeding in favour of the intended expedition, the Bishop, who was General of the crusade, embarked his army, consisting of fifty thousand foot and two thousand horse; and on his arrival at *Calais* held a council of war, to consider which way he should turn his arms. Most were of opinion that they ought to attack *France*, as the crusade was published against *Clement* and his adherents, of which the King of *France* was the chief. But the General, for reasons of his own, which are not recorded in history, declared for invading *Flanders*; and by his influence this opinion at last prevailed. The only pretence for a measure so unaccountable was, that, *Flanders* being a fief of *France*, they could not make war against it without hurting that kingdom. Thus, contrary to the intention of the Court of *England*, which without doubt designed that the army should march against *France*, and contrary to the views of *Urban*, who could have no resentment against the Earl of *Flanders*, seeing he had actually acknowledged him as Pope, and could not be reckoned one of *Clement's* adherents, the crusade invaded *Flanders*, and took the towns of *Mardick*, *Dunkirk*, *Graveling*, and *Bourbourg*. The Earl of *Flanders*, surprized at this unforeseen attack, assembled in haste about twelve thousand men, and venturing to give battle to the

Bishop's army, was compleatly routed. Upon this disaster, seeing his country on the point of being intirely destroyed, he applied to the *French* Court, representing to the Council of the young King how much it was the interest of *France* to save *Flanders*, the rather that it did not appear the enemy would rest satisfied with the single conquest of this country. The *French*, roused by this alarming representation, thought their interest and honour greatly concerned in the affair; and therefore *Charles VI.* hastened to the relief of *Flanders* at the head of a numerous army. The *English*, upon his approach, raised the siege of *Ypres*, and retired to *Bourbourg*, where they were quickly invested by the *French* army. The General of the crusade being pent up in this small place without provisions, found himself involved in difficulties out of which he could hardly have extricated himself, had not the Duke of *Bretagne* interposed in his behalf, and by a seasonable mediation obtained liberty for him to retire with his army, upon making restitution of the places he had seized in *Flanders*. In consequence of this agreement the *English* army returned home, where the Bishop their General, and some of his principal officers, were called to an account for disobeying their instructions; and *Mardick*, with the other towns they had taken, returned to the obedience of their former master.

From this time we meet with little or nothing about *Mardick* till the sixteenth century. When *Dunkirk* began to be very considerable, *Mardick* became a kind of appendage to it, and almost always shared its fate. Thus both were taken by the Marshal de *Thermes* in the year 1558, and a few days thereafter both recovered by the *Spaniards*. In the year 1646 the *French* again became masters of both, *Mardick* being taken in the beginning of the campaign by *Gaston* Duke of *Orleans*, and *Dunkirk*, towards the end of it, by the famous Prince of *Condé*. After this they were both recovered by *Spain* at the same time, and again wrested from it in the year 1658; when the Marshal de *Turenne*, to make himself



himself master of *Dunkirk*, first reduced *Mardick*. They were both, as soon as the conquest of them was compleated, delivered into the hands of the *English*; and in the year 1662, when *Dunkirk* was shamefully sold to the *French* by King *Charles II.* *Mardick* seems to have been thrown in to the bargain.

But when *Dunkirk* ceased to be a fortress, and the fort to which *Mardick* formerly owed its reputation lay in ruins, the latter became more famous than ever, on account of the magnificent canal which took its name from it, and was made by the order of *Lewis XIV.* of *France*, towards the latter end of his reign.

When the *English* commissioners arrived at *Dunkirk*, to see the article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, which concerned that town and harbour, put in execution, the *French* began to apprehend, that by filling up that harbour, and cutting off the communication between the water of the canals and the sea, several leagues of the adjacent country would run the hazard of being overflowed; and therefore proposed, that to prevent this evil, and carry off the waters of the country, the sluice of *Bergues* should be left intire, and the harbour be so filled up as to give no ground of uneasiness to the *English* nation. The Court of *Great Britain* could not be reconciled to this expedient; and therefore Colonel *Armstrong*, the *English* Engineer who was sent over to see the Demolition compleated, acquainted Mr. *Le Blanc*, the Intendant of the province, that the treaty of *Utrecht* must be executed in its full extent, and that the waters of the country needed give no dismal apprehensions, because they might be made to run off by *Nieuport*. But as *Nieuport* was no part of the *French* dominions, this proposition was as little relished by *France*, as the other had been by *England*. Colonel *Armstrong* again proposed, that a drain should be made to carry off the superfluous water of the country by *Gravelines*; but after he himself had taken some pains, in concert with Mr. *Moyenneville* Director of the fortifications in that province, to bring this project to bear, they found it im-

practicable. Upon which it is pretended the former said, "Let the *French* make provision for carrying off their superfluous water how they can; it is the concern of *France* to find expedients for that purpose: the Queen of *Great Britain* has nothing to do with it." Whereupon Messieurs *Le Blanc* and *Moyenneville* sent to Court the project they had concerted while the disputes on this subject subsisted; and some difficulties occurring in it, the former was soon ordered to follow. The King, having considered the plan and profils which were laid before him, and heard Mr. *Le Blanc's* opinion, approved of the design, and ordered it to be put in execution. Accordingly seventeen battalions were for that purpose ordered to incamp at *Dunkirk*; and after the demolition of the citadel and fortifications of that place, eight battalions more were added, making in all twenty five battalions.

This new canal begins at that of *Bergues*, and is above three thousand fathoms long, viz. sixteen hundred fathoms in length, and from twenty seven to thirty two in breadth, from its beginning to the turning; from the turning to the sluice 320; from the sluice to the high-water mark 320 in length, and from thirty two to forty two in breadth; and from the high to the low-water mark 960 in length, and from forty two to fifty three in breadth. The sluice was a piece of excellent workmanship. It was in our measure nine and forty fathoms long, and a little more than twenty six broad at the foundation, exclusive of the counterforts. The side-walls of it were almost six and twenty feet thick, and the pillar in the middle thirty two. It had two passages, one of forty seven feet for large vessels, another of twenty eight nearly for those of lesser size. It was necessary to have a lesser passage, because of the enormous bulk of the gates of the large one, which, had they been opened and shut for every little bark that might go out or in, must soon have been wore out and torn to pieces by their own weight. Each of these passages had two pair of gates, one towards

towards the sea, and another toward the land, and the gates of the large passage were arched, that they might be the better fitted to bear the force of the water against them. Each of the great gates were more than fifty thousand weight, and yet they were set up both together, and put in their places with surprising address and expedition. Over the two passages of the sluice were two draw-bridges for the convenience of the carriages from *Gravelines*, *Dunkirk*, and other places. The bridge over the greater passage consisted of two pieces, which joined in the middle; that of the lesser, of one piece only. There was always on the sluice, in time of ordinary tides, from twenty one to twenty two feet of water, and in the highest which commonly happen near the equinoxes, above twenty five feet and an half. Ships of war could have sailed the whole length of this canal, and gone into that of *Bergues* by means of a sluice which was intended to have been made upon it. The slopes on each side of the canal were covered with fascines and rich earth, to prevent their receiving damage by the water; and high banks were formed on each side about twelve fathoms broad, which afforded a very agreeable prospect; but as these banks were raised of sand only, the slopes on the in-side were covered with green turf, that none of this sand might be blown away by the wind.

The maritime powers saw the advantages resulting to *France* from this canal, and the bad consequences which might arise from it to the neighbouring States, as well as its inconsistency with the treaty of *Utrecht*, too clearly, to omit vigorous remonstrances against it. Several memorials, conceived in very strong terms, were presented by the *English* ambassador to *Lewis XIV.* who seemed but little disposed to pay regard to them. But when the administration of the *French* government came into the hands of the Duke of *Orleans*, during the minority of the present King, a treaty was concluded at the *Hague*, on the 4th of January 1717, between *England*, *France*,  
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and *Holland*; whereby it was stipulated, that the great passage of the sluice of *Mardick*, in breadth forty four feet *French* measure (almost forty seven in ours) should be intirely destroyed, its side-walls quite demolished, its iron and wood work separated and taken away, and its gates removed out of their places, and taken to pieces. Secondly, That the lesser passage should remain as it was at that time, with regard to its depth, but that the breadth of it should be reduced to sixteen feet *French* measure, something more than seventeen of ours, and the side-walls, gates, and every other part, so altered and regulated as was expressed in the treaty; particularly, so as they never should be employed again in a sluice of such breadth as this had been. Thirdly, That the jetties or peers, from the Downs, or that part of the strand to which the tide reaches when at its greatest height, to the low-water mark, should be razed all along the great canal to the level of the strand. Fourthly, it was stipulated by the same treaty, That immediately after the ratification of it, a sufficient number of workmen should be employed in destroying the said jetties along the great canal till they should be compleatly razed; and that this should be accomplished, if possible, within two months after the said ratification. But as the season of the year was then improper for works of this nature, it was afterwards agreed, that the execution of these stipulations should be begun on the 5th of April following, and compleated, if possible, before the end of June 1717.

The punctual performance of these articles put a final end to the differences and disputes which had subsisted for some years, with respect to this new canal of *Mardick*, and the execution of the treaty of *Utrecht* as far as concerned the demolition of the fortifications, and filling up the harbour of *Dunkirk*.

The canal of *Mardick* communicated with the other four canals of *Dunkirk*, viz. the canals of *Bourbourg*, *Bergues*, the *Moer* and *Furnes*. We have mentioned these already, but only as  
H subservient



subservient to the harbour, and contributing to the strength of the town of *Dunkirk*: we shall now consider them, so far as they afford conveniences for travelling, and tend to promote the traffic of the country. The first of these is commonly called the Canal of *St. Omer*. Its waters are fresh, as they are derived from the river *Aa*, which comes within a league of *Dunkirk*. It goes first to *St. Omer*; from *St. Omer* to *Waet*; from *Waet* to *Bourbourg*, which is about one and twenty of our miles from *Dunkirk*; and communicates with the Canal of *Bergues* by means of the *Colme*, a small river which rises near *Cassel*, and falls into the Canal of *Mardick*, where a sluice was built upon it in the year 1704, at the expence of 38,339 livres 14 sols and 3 deniers (1677 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* sterling) to prevent the mixing of the fresh water with that of the sea. This sluice makes a small bason, where the passage-boats lie which come from *St. Omer*; and the sluice is opened when any of them want to go to the new harbour of *Mardick* in their way to the road of *Dunkirk*. There is a passage also by this canal to *Calais*, by means of the river *Aa*, and on this, as on other canals, there are two passage-boats, the one going and the other coming, which are farmed at seven or eight hundred livres (30 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* or 35 *l.* sterling). The freight is eighteen sols (9  $\frac{1}{2}$  *d.*) each passenger. The Canal of *Bergues*, the water whereof is salt, begins at the river of *Colme*, and falls into the Canal of *Mardick* as soon as it has passed the wooden bridge called *Pont Rouge* (or the Red Bridge) between the Canals of *Bourbourg* and *Furnes*. Were the Sluice of *Mardick* to fail in the time of a high tide; the Canal of *Bergues* would overflow, and the whole adjacent country be covered with salt water, a consequence which could no otherwise be so well prevented as by a sluice at *Pont Rouge*, which would be a matter of no great expence. There were formerly two forts on the left of this canal, as you go from *Dunkirk* to *Bergues*, the one called *Fort Louis*, which was built in 1679, and demolished with the for-

tifications of *Dunkirk*; the other still remains, and is a work composed of four bastions, without a covered way, having a half-moon before the curtain of the gate. The two passage-boats on this canal are also farmed at seven or eight hundred livres, and passengers pay two sols and six deniers (about 2  $\frac{1}{4}$  *d.*) each. The Canal of the *Moer* or *Cromdike* lies between the Canals of *Bergues* and *Furnes*. It has a communication with the end of the Canal of *Mardick*, and passes through the sluice of the *Moer*, which is near the Royal Gate at *Dunkirk*, and the little harbour made in the year 1714; then it continues its course by the back of the Intendant of the Marine's house, till it is stopped by a batardeau or dam in the park of artillery, at the back of the house belonging to the Comptroller of the Navy. This Canal communicates with that of *Furnes*, and is continued to the lake of the *Moer*, near the village of *Homscoth*. This lake is between five and six leagues in circumference, and it is pretended that of old several villages were swallowed up in it. The water of the Canal of the *Moer* is salt, and it is stopped by a batardeau at *Stindam*, which is about a quarter of a league from *Dunkirk*, to avoid the expence of a sluice.

The fourth and last Canal is that of *Furnes*, consisting of salt water, which begins at the old harbour of *Dunkirk*, the park of artillery, and the old town. It was dug in the year 1638 by a public loan, which was reimbursed by a yearly revenue called *The Grant upon the Canal from Dunkirk to Bruges*. The passage-boats on this canal are farmed out by the three corporations of *Bruges*, *Furnes*, and *Dunkirk*, who meet together every year. This farm at present produces only 4200 florins of the current coin of *Flanders*, which, at one and twenty pence the florin, in our money comes to 367 *l.* 10 *s.* and is divided equally between these three corporations; but formerly it used to produce from fourteen to fifteen thousand florins yearly, that is in our money, from 1225 *l.* to 1312 *l.* 10 *s.* These passage-boats go from *Dunkirk* to *Furnes*, from *Furnes* to *Nieuport*, and entering into

into the Canal of *Nieuport*, proceed from *Nieuport* to *Bruges* in one day; from *Bruges* to *Ghent*, and through all *Flanders* and *Holland*, there being a communication between this and the Canals of that country. There are two passage-boats upon it, one coming and the other going; they have but one horse each to draw them, and a man and a boy each to guide them. The freight from *Dunkirk* to *Furnes* is six patars, or 7 sols six deniers, something less than four pence of our money, three patars from *Furnes* to *Nieuport*, and six from *Nieuport* to *Bruges*. These are the freights for single passen-

gers; but goods pay from *Dunkirk* to *Furnes* three florins (5 s. 3 d.), the ton-weight, from *Furnes* to *Nieuport* one florin, and six from *Nieuport* to *Bruges*: but for some time past goods for sale have not been suffered to come from *Flanders* by means of the three Canals.

There is also a land stage called the Caravan, a kind of chariot with four wheels, but not hung; which sets out from *Dunkirk* on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and goes by *Gravelines* to meet the *Paris* coach.

## G R A V E L I N E S.

**G**RAVELINES, *Gravengae*, *Gravenengae*, and *Gravelinga*, in the *Flemish* tongue called *Grewling*, is a small fortified town about eleven miles from *Dunkirk*, in the latitude of 50 deg. 59 min. north, and 2 deg. 12 min. of longitude east from *London*. It is situated in the earldom of *Flanders*, near the mouth of the *Aa*, a small river which rises at the village of *Bourte*, a little above *Renty*, in *Artois*; and takes its course by *Therouanne* to *St. Omer*, where it becomes navigable by means of sluices; afterwards dividing itself into two branches, which reunite near *Gravelines*, and empty themselves into the *British Channel*. *Gravelines* makes a part of the diocese of *St. Omer*, and is subject to the parliament of *Doway* and the intendance of *Bourbourg*. The authority of its governour extends not beyond the town itself, which is more considerable on account of its situation, than the number of its inhabitants. It stands in a plain cut and crossed by many canals, which render it almost inaccessible on the land-side. It was destroyed by the *Normans* in the ninth century; but built again by *Theodorick* Earl of *Flanders* on the ruins of the village of *St. Willebrod*, whose name the church of *Gravelines* still bears, about the year

1168, and appears to have been considerable so early as 1214, since an historian who wrote before that year calls it *Graveringas villam opulentam, in finibus Flandriae, super mare Anglicum sitam*. The Lords of the manor of *Bourbourg* were in ancient times also possessed of the manor of *Gravelines*; and both these manors came to the family of *Guines*, in the year 1213, by the marriage of *Beatrix* of *Bourbourg* to *Arnold* II. Earl of *Guines*: but their son *Arnold* III. to pay his ransom to the Earl of *Holland*, to whom he had for a long time been prisoner, was obliged to sell the manors of *Bourbourg* and *Gravelines* to *Margaret* Countess of *Flanders*. It was sacked and burnt in the year 1383 by the *English* crusado under the command of the Bishop of *Norwich*; but of this expedition we have given a full account in the preceeding article, and therefore shall say nothing farther of it here. In the year 1558 it became famous by a signal battle fought in its neighbourhood, between the *Spaniards* under the command of the brave Count *Egmont*, and the *French* conducted by the Marishal de *Thermes*; wherein the latter were totally overthrown. As this proved the decisive blow which determined the fate of that war, and put *Spain* in condition



condition to give law to *France*, a short account of it will not, we presume, be disagreeable to the reader.

The affairs of *France*, which had suffered greatly the preceding year by the unfortunate battle of *St. Quintin*, seemed, in the beginning of this, to take a more favourable turn. The Duke of *Guise*, having taken *Calais* and the places depending upon it from the *English* about the middle of January, followed the *Sieur de Bourdillon* to the province of *Luxemburg*, and in conjunction with him reduced the important town of *Tbionville*, about the latter end of June. These successes might have been followed by much greater advantages, if after the surrender of *Tbionville*, instead of losing his time by expeditions of little consequence, he had led his army directly to *Flanders*, and joined the Marshal *de Thermes*, as he easily might, and his instructions seemed to require. For the Court of *France*, in concerting the operations of the war, had agreed, that as soon as the Marshal *de Thermes*, who with this view was made Governour of *Calais*, should march into *Flanders* and alarm that province, the Duke of *Guise* should make haste to join him with the *German* auxiliaries which he was to draw together in the country of *Messin* and *Toul*, and then wait for the troops which his brother the Duke *d'Aumale* was assembling at *Fere* in *Picardie*. Had this been done, the King of *Spain* must have been soon reduced to so great difficulties, that the *French* might have prescribed to him such terms of peace as they were afterwards forced to submit to themselves. But private ambition prevailing over the interest of the public, this excellent plan was disconcerted by a fatal, and, as was generally thought, an affected delay.

The Marshal *de Thermes*, according to his instructions, marched in the beginning of June with five thousand foot, whereof the greater part were *Germans*, and the rest *Gascons*, and fifteen hundred horse; and taking with him the *Sieur de Villebon*, Messieurs *Annebaut*, *Senarpont*, and the Count *de*

*Chaulnes*, passed the *Aa*, and dispersed a great number of country people, who had assembled to dispute his passage; then leaving *Gravelines* and *Bourbourg* behind, led his army to *Dunkirk*, which after four days siege he took and plundered in a most barbarous manner. Having put a garrison into *Dunkirk*, he next proceeded to *Bergues St. Vinnock*, a place of considerable wealth, which he soon became master of, and likewise plundered. Here being seized with a fit of the gout, to which he was very subject, he gave the command of the army to the *Sieur de Villebon*, an officer accustomed to rapine, fire and sword; whose extravagant indulgence to the soldiers encouraged them to exercise the greatest cruelties over all the country about *Dunkirk*, and make excursions as far as *Nieuport*. Meantime *Philip II.* of *Spain* being informed of the design of his enemies, and apprehensive of the consequences of the project they had formed, that he might, if possible, divert the storm which he saw impending, had sent the Duke of *Savoy* into the territory of *Namur*, to assemble all the troops he could about *Maubeuge* to distress the Duke of *Guise* in his march, and prevent his junction with *de Thermes*.

But when he found, that after the reduction of *Tbionville*, the Duke of *Guise* was losing his time before *Arlon* and *Vireton*, two forts in the province of *Luxemburg*, he resolved to take the opportunity to attack that body of the *French*, which was carelessly dispersed in small parties about *Dunkirk* and the places adjacent, and loaded with the spoils of the country, before they should get reinforcements. In this expedition he thought proper to employ Count *Egmont*, Governour of *Flanders*, an excellent officer, to whose activity and good conduct he was indebted for the signal victory he had obtained, the year before, at *St. Quintin*. Count *Egmont*, having received his instructions, repaired to *Gravelines*, which lies in the middle between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, the latter being the only place to which the *French* could retreat. There he joined Field Marshal *Lalain-de Bignicourt*,

*Bignicourt*, and having drawn out the garrisons of *Bethune*, *St. Omer*, *Air*, and *Bourbourg*, and got the reinforcement which the Duke of *Savoy* sent him from *Maubeuge*, he found himself at the head of an army of twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, besides a vast number of country people and even women, who flocked to his camp in great rage to assist in taking vengeance for the recent injuries they had received from the *French*. The Marshal *de Thermes*, who still waited for the Duke of *Guise*, being apprized of these motions, calls together his scattered troops, which by this time were increased to twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, and tho' he was ill of the gout, being helped to his horse, he appeared at their head, and encamped near *Gravelines*, intending, if possible, to avoid a battle, and retreat to *Calais*. But it was too late to think of retreating; for Count *Egmont* with his army were already in sight, and within cannon-shot of him. However, having called a council of war at night, it was the general opinion that they should pass at the mouth of the *Aa* next ebb-tide, and endeavour to make good their retreat along the shore. Accordingly, it being low water early next morning, the *French* army found no difficulty in passing; but Count *Egmont* having discovered their design, he also passed the river below *Gravelines*, and without waiting for his cannon, placed himself directly in the way of the *French*, who by this time had also compleated their passage. The Marshal finding himself so beset on all hands, that he could not turn to the right because on that side he was confined by the sea, nor retire, because the *Aa* behind him was, by the return of the tide, become impassable, and the enemy ready to fall on his left, and attack him at the same time in front, was satisfied that he had no resource left but in the valour of his troops. Therefore thinking his right wing and rear effectually secured by the sea and the river, he placed his artillery, consisting of six culverins and three falcons, in the front, and his waggons and baggage on the left, leaving room

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enough for his horse, whom he placed in the centre, with a body of *Gasconne* infantry on each wing; his second line or body of reserve consisting of the *German* and *French* foot. Count *Egmont*, on the other hand, would by no means wait for his artillery, for fear the enemy should in the mean time get away, but divided his cavalry into three bodies, placing his light-armed horse in the front, who advanced in three divisions; the Count *de Pont de Vaux* commanded the right wing; *Don Henrique Henriquez* of *Arragon* the left; and Count *Egmont* himself took post in the center. The second line, which was formed at a small distance from the first, consisted of *German* horse under the command of *Lazarus Schwendius* in the center, with a body of low-country cuirassiers on each wing commanded by the *Sieur de Renty* and the Count *de Roeux*. The foot were ranged in three divisions according to the different nations of which it consisted, viz. *Germans*, *Flemings*, who were most numerous, and veteran troops of *Spain*; the first commanded by *Hildmar Munkhausen* a *Saxon* Knight; the second by the *Sieur de Bignicourt*; and the third by *Don Carviala* a *Spanish* officer. These dispositions made, Count *Egmont*, impatient of further delay, cry'd out, "The victory is ours, if every one that has a passion for glory, and loves his country, will but follow me." With these words he put spurs to his horse, and began the attack. The *Gascons* for some time vigorously sustained the charge by the assistance of their artillery, whereby the *Spanish* army were severely galled, and Count *Egmont's* horse killed under him; but the latter being superior in number, when they came to close engagement, the battle grew exceeding fierce and obstinate, both sides exerting their utmost, the one animated by strong hopes of victory, the other rendered furious by despair. The fate of the day was long doubtful, the *Gascons* giving the most signal proofs of that valour which is natural to them, in the sight of their *German* auxiliaries, who, instead of following their example, are said to



have stood still with their lances erected, as idle spectators of the fight, whilst the cavalry who were straitned for room could do but little. At last an unexpected accident put an end to the dispute. Ten large *English* ships of war happening to sail that way, and observing the battle at a distance, approached, and discharged their artillery on the right wing of the *French*, where they thought themselves absolutely safe. By this unexpected shock, their foot already exhausted with fatigue were much discouraged, the horse thrown into some disorder; and soon after, the latter being intirely routed, the former after a long and obstinate defence were also put to flight.

In this battle, according to Mr. *de Thou*, from whom this account is taken, fifteen hundred of the *French* were slain; another historian of their own nation makes their number amount to two thousand; others represent their loss as still more considerable: but all agree, that many more than fell in the battle were cruelly knocked in the head by the country people, enraged by the sight of the villages the *French* army had set on fire, not yet quite extinguished, and other recent marks of their rapine and barbarity. *Mezeray* says, the *Flemish* women were transported to such a pitch of fury by the recent and shocking marks they saw of *French* rapine and cruelty, that some of the unhappy wretches who escaped out of the battle they stoned to death, others they beat with sticks till they expired under the blows, some they hewed to pieces with axes, and even carried their rage so far as to tear their flesh with their teeth and nails, and suck their blood as greedily as the most delicious liquor. Almost all the principal officers were made prisoners; particularly the Marshal *de Thermes*, the *Sieur de Villebon*, *Annebaud*, *Senarpont*, the Count *de Chaulnes* and *Morvilliere*. The *English* sailors took two hundred prisoners, whom they chose to carry to *England* to be led in triumph before their Queen, rather than throw them into the sea. Nor did the *Spanish* army obtain this victory without blood; five hundred of

them were slain, and among others the Chevalier *de Pelou*—a *Flemish* gentleman, and an excellent officer. The Marshal *de Thermes* has been blamed for indulging his soldiers in plundering the country, and that he had not in time foreseen the danger and prevented it, but by a fatal indolence delayed his retreat to the last moment, and did not at least begin his march to *Calais* the night before the battle; but he is in part excused by his illness, and partly by what his enemies have owned, *viz.* that he had the King's orders to wait in *Flanders* for the Duke of *Guise*, whom he expected every day to come and join him, according to concert. Be this as it may, it is certain the loss of the battle of *Gravelines* plunged *France* into new and grievous misfortunes, after it had begun to recover the losses it had suffered the year before by the unfortunate battle of *St. Quintin*, and determined the King, notwithstanding his natural inclination to arms, to submit to very hard terms of peace. But who can hear without concern, that the brave Count *Egmont*, who in the space of two years had gained two of the most compleat victories, and raised the reputation of the arms of *Spain*, twice raised the sinking head of his country, enabled his King to triumph over his most inveterate enemy, and give law to that ambitious power which has long aspired to give law to all the rest of *Europe*; who, I say, can hear without concern, that this brave man, instead of being rewarded for those and other signal services, at last lost his life upon a scaffold, by the injustice and cruel oppression of that inhuman monster—the Duke *de Alva*? Now to return to *Gravelines*.

*Gaston* Duke of *Orleans*, and brother to *Lewis XIII.* of *France*, laid siege to it in the year 1644, and took it. It was recovered by the Archduke *Leopold* in 1652; but the *French* in 1658 having again laid siege to it, became a second time masters of it, and the next year it was ceded to them by the treaty of the *Pyrenees*.

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In this last siege of *Gravelines Maltus* the chief Engineer of the *French* army was killed; and the manner of his death had something in it so very uncommon, that we cannot help taking notice of it. This Gentleman, who was a native of *England*, having gone into *Holland*, and there acquired a great reputation in his profession, *Lewis XIII.* sent to invite him into *France*, and engage him in his service. He was the first that made use of bombs in that kingdom with great success, especially in the siege of *La Motte* in *Lorraine* in 1634, and that of *Colivure* in *Rouffillon* in the year 1642. Being employed to direct the attacks in this last siege of *Gravelines*, he had observed a particular post near the enemy's counterscarp, to which he intended to carry his works. Towards the evening he acquainted the General Officer with his design, and jumped up in the trench, that he might point out to him the particular spot he had in view. The officer jumped up after him, but not having obtained a distinct view of the place, intreated *Maltus* to jump up once more, that he might be sure of it. *Maltus* jumped; but while he was in the air, a ball took him on the head, and killed him on the spot; which gave men of humour occasion to say, that he was shot flying.

There are but two gates at *Gravelines*; the one leading to *Dunkirk*, the other to *Calais*; and they are almost opposite to one another. The town is very regular, the streets broad, and tolerably straight. The parade lies under the castle; it is sufficiently large, but none of the most regular. There are also here three fine beautiful powder-magazines, built of stone and vaulted. They are constructed in an excellent manner. The parochial church bears the name of *St. Wilebrod*, and there are to be seen in it two stately monuments of marble erected to the memory of two famous warriors, who at different times were governours of the town; *Valentine Pardieu* for the King of *Spain*, and *Claud Barbier* of *Metz* for the *French* King. The whole town makes but one parish, and that but a small one,

the number of the inhabitants not exceeding 1200; yet there are in it no less than three Convents; one of the *Recollet* Monks, another of the *English* Nuns of *St. Clara*, and a third of the *Gray Sisters*.

The town of *Gravelines* was first walled by the Earl of *Flanders*, soon after he recovered it out of the hands of the *English*; but the present fortifications were built by the Emperor *Charles V.* They consist of six bastions and at many curtains, each of the latter having a half-moon before it. The castle stands in one of the bastions, and projects into the town, which it flanks with two towers, each of which has embrasures for two cannon. The curtains are rather too long considering the size of the bastions; but *Charles V.* would have it so contrary to the positive opinion of the Engineer, who said upon that occasion, *That every one ought to mind his own business.* The town-ditch is one of the broadest and best contrived. Five of the half-moons in it are constructed according to the Marshal *de Vauban's* method, and it has round it a covered way with traverses and places of arms, as usual. Beyond the glacis is an advanced ditch, the broadest of the kind in *Europe*, and on the out-side of all these a great horn-work which contains the low town, with the river *Aa* running through the middle of it. On one of the sides of the horn-work there is a large sluice, and over that gate of it which is next the country, a small half-moon.

In former times there was no harbour at *Gravelines* but the mouth of the *Aa*, and that so shallow, and so much choaked up with sand, that no vessel of any tolerable burden could enter it; nor was this the only, or even the greatest inconvenience which the inhabitants of the town and adjacent country laboured under from the state of that river.

We have already traced the course of it to *Gravelines*. Here, before the year 1730, it run along the glacis of the fronts which lie next the sea, into which it emptied itself after an indirect course of more than a mile in length, in which it crossed  
a little



a little sandy plain full of downs, where it was divided into several winding branches having little or no depth of channel. It is also to be observed of the *Aa*, that from *St. Omer* to *Gravelines*, which is seven leagues, or nearly eighteen *English* miles distant from the former, the country it runs through is exceeding fertile, but at the same time so very flat that the course of its waters is almost imperceptible; by which means it used daily to rise above its banks, and overflowed successively more than an hundred thousand acres of the best land in *Flanders*; as on the one hand the tide, which flows up as far as *Gravelines*, drove back the waters of the river, and on the other, the sand, blowed off the neighbouring downs by the wind, filled up its channel, and increased the disorder.

To this we may add, that the water in the town-ditch could never be changed, which made it so unwholsome a place of residence, that, time out of mind, *Gravelines* has been looked upon as the burial-place of all the garrisons which have been sent to it.

This was the situation of things, when *Philip III.* of *Spain*, in the beginning of the last century, caused a canal to be dug, to carry the waters of the *Aa* from *Gravelines* to the sea by a shorter and more direct line, that he might thereby redress the grievances just now mentioned, and at the same time provide a harbour of refuge for *Spanish* ships which might be exposed to danger by stress of weather, or the neighbourhood of the town of *Calais*. The canal began at the town of *Gravelines*, and proceeded to the sea in a straight and shorter line, lying nearly south-east and north-west, whereby it had almost the same direction with the winds that generally blow upon this coast, whereas they crossed the ancient channel, a circumstance much to be regarded in drawing canals of this kind, when one is left at liberty to dispose them in the best manner. About nine hundred and sixty fathoms from the counterscarp, at the high-water-mark, the *Spaniards* built a large sluice with two pair of gates, so that by shutting one of them, while the tide

run off, the ships in the harbour might be kept afloat, yet matters were so ordered that the course of the river should not be thereby stopt. But as a sluice so far from the town must have been much exposed in time of war, which the *French* and *Dutch* were then carrying on with great vigour against *Spain*, *Philip* ordered a fort with four bastions to be built to secure the sluice, and at the same time defend the head of the canal against attacks from the sea. This canal and sluice were compleated, the river *Aa* had begun to take its new course, and the fort was far advanced, when Cardinal *Richelieu*, considering the advantages which *Spain* was like to draw from these improvements, and how much she might be thereby enabled to distress the harbours of *Calais* and *Boulogne*, formed a scheme for destroying intirely all these new works. With this view he ordered seven or eight thousand men to be assembled in the two last-mentioned places, and so well disguised his design, that they came upon the *Spaniards* quite unawares, surrounded the troops, which were encamped at a small distance to defend the works, filled up the canal, broke down the sluice, and razed Fort *Philip* to the very foundation; nor durst the garrison of *Gravelines*, which at that time was very weak, make the least opposition to the *French*, or so much as fire upon them, for fear of killing their own men, whom they had made prisoners. In short, the works were so compleatly ruined, that the *Spaniards* never after attempted to repair them. The river *Aa* resumed its ancient course; the country continued covered with water; and *Gravelines* became as unwholsome as ever.

It may seem a little strange, that tho' this town was ceded to the *French* by the treaty of the *Pyrenees* in the year 1659, and the restitution of the canal of *Gravelines* would have put them in possession of all the advantages which the *Spaniards* had lost together with it; yet they never attempted any thing of this sort, nor, as far as appears, so much as thought of it till the year 1730. Possibly for some years after this new acquisition was made,

made, the *French* Court were engaged in other projects, which they thought of greater importance, and in the mean time the memory of a canal, destroyed almost as soon as formed, might be intirely lost. This is the more probable, as no memorial of the canal, nor any thing that had a necessary connexion with it, was left, except some faint vestiges of *Fort Philip* still to be seen, which might easily pass for the remains of some old work erected for the defence of the coast. And indeed, as the Marshal *de Vauban* was always attentive to every thing that tended to agrandize the *French* monarchy, and must have been perfectly acquainted with the circumstances of the river *Aa*, as the sluice with the fly-gate at B, opposite to the right branch of the horn-work of the low town, was built by his direction, to increase the velocity of its waters and deepen the channel, it is not easy to conceive that he would have neglected to represent in the strongest manner the necessity of restoring the old canal, if he had known that such a canal ever existed. But not to insist upon conjectures of this kind, it is now time to take notice of the circumstances which concurred to bring about the execution of the new canal which was dug at *Gravelines* in the year 1737, on the same spot with that which the *Spaniards* had made before, and differs from it in nothing but the position of the sluice; which, by the by, is one of the best contrived in all the *French* dominions.

The channel of the *Aa*, from *Gravelines* to the sea, was now more choaked up than ever, so that the water in it was not above a foot and a half in depth, and the sluice constructed by the Marshal *de Vauban* buried in the sand, as also that at C, formerly made for changing the water in the ditch of the town. More and more of the country was daily lost by the overflowing of the river, and the air of *Gravelines* grew so very unwholesome, that the *French* King was on that account obliged to augment the pay of the troops that were sent to keep garrison

N° V.

in it; and during the summer months even this garrison were put under the necessity of encamping at a distance, leaving none of their number in the town, but barely so many as were necessary to guard the principal posts; when, in the year 1730, the *Sieur d'Averdoing*, one of the most considerable men in the town, whose ancestors had been undertakers in building the sluice and *Fort Philip* for the King of *Spain*, pitying the wretched condition of the place of his nativity, came to the Court of *France*, with a number of schemes, charts, plans, and profils, which he had found among the papers of his family. He applied first to the Marshal *d'Asfeld*, who gave him a very favourable reception, and introduced him to Cardinal *Fleury*, at that time Prime Minister. *D'Averdoing* had drawn in his memorials such a lively picture of the miserable condition of the people of *Gravelines* and the neighbouring places, that the Court were sensible of the necessity of finding out some remedy for the evils complained of, and easily approved of his proposal for restoring the old canal of the *Spaniards*. In consequence of this he was sent to *Gravelines*, to take a distinct view of the place, and qualify himself for answering all the questions about which the ministry wanted to be satisfied, before they could come to a determination with regard to an enterprize which might involve them in an expence of 65,625 *l.* sterling.

At the same time the Engineers in the service of *France*, upon the coast of *Flanders*, had orders to inquire into the state of the place, and to consider what was most proper to be done for the public service. In short, the Court were so ready to concur with the proposal, that it would seem the affair had never been laid before them, in such a manner as the urgent necessity of the country required: otherwise they would have taken some notice of it much sooner. The Engineers, according to their orders, finished their inquiry, and having made their report, were ready to enter upon the grand project, when the war broke out in 1733; and as enterprizes which require great

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expencc are commonly the works of peace, this gave occasion to put off the affair till the year 1737. After all, the work was for some time delayed by a dispute between those who were to have the direction of it; not concerning the canal itself, for they were all agreed that it ought to be the same in every respect with that which had been formerly made by the *Spaniards*, but with regard to the position of the sluice, which one party wanted to be built upon the foundations of the old one, in consequence whereof they must have also rebuilt *Fort Philip*, or raised some work of equal force, that the part of the canal between the fort and the town might serve as a basin for the ships which come to *Gravelines*. This reasoning seemed plausible; but the other party maintained that the new sluice ought not to be built upon the foundations of the old one, because these were improperly laid, as they could prove by authentic documents; and since they were to make a new sluice, it would be much better to place it immediately under the fire of the counterscarp of the town, at A in the plan, than put it so far

off, as to make it necessary to erect a considerable fort to secure it; which, beside the expence, would be very troublesome to the garrison of *Gravelines*. Besides, by a sluice placed near the counterscarp, they would have the advantage of filling the ditch of the town with fresh water every tide; and this same water let out at every time of low water would not only keep the whole canal in good order, but also, in a little time, make it considerably deeper, as they might for this purpose employ the old sluice at B. and the other two at A. and C. at the same time. After much altercation an end was put to this controversy by Mr. *de la Fond*, Director of the fortifications of *Dunkirk* and its department, who advanced such convincing arguments in support of the second opinion, that it at last prevailed. In consequence of which the canal was soon executed, and by means thereof the grievances of the inhabitants and garrison of *Gravelines* redressed, the town provided with a good harbour, and the overflowing of the river prevented.

## R E F E R E N C E S

## To the PLAN of GRAVELINES.

- A The new Sluice constructed in the year 1737.
- B The Sluice with a Fly-gate, built under the Inspection of the Marshal *de Vauban*.
- C The Sluice for letting the Water into, and out of the Ditch of the Town, called by the *French*, *L'Ecluse de Chasse & de Fuite*.
- D The Batardeau.

- E A small Sluice, called *L'Ecluse de la Renardiere*, on the covered way, with an Arch over it.
- F A Sluice upon the Passage of Communication between the River *Aa* and the Canal of *Bourbourg*.
- G H F I The Passage of Communication, just now mentioned, to let the Waters of the *Aa* run off when they rise too high.

C A L A I S.

## C A L A I S.

**C**ALAIS, *Caleſium*, *Calafium*, and *Caletium*, is at preſent a city of importance; but it was only a village till the year 1222, when *Philip of France*, the ſon of *Philip Auguſtus* and *Agnes de Meranie*, having married the Counteſs of *Mabault*, took the title of Earl of *Boulogne*, incloſed *Calais* with walls, and made it a royal borough. It is ſituated in the north latitude of 50 degrees 57 minutes, the longitude of 2 degrees 2 minutes eaſt from the meridian of *London*; being four leagues or ten *Engliſh* miles diſtant from *Gravelines*, between ſeven and eight leagues from *Boulogne*. The narrow ſea, which ſeparates *France* from *England*, is at this place called by the *French* *le Pas de Calais*, that is, the Strait or Paſs of *Calais*. The breadth of this ſtrait has been aſcertained by obſervations made by Meſſ. *Picart* and *La Hire*, two excellent aſtronomers of the Royal Academy of Sciences, in the year 1681. In the morning of the 20th of November, when the ſea was very low, they meaſured, upon the ſtrand of the harbour of *Calais*, a line drawn from the point of the baſtion of the riſbank next the ſea, towards *Boulogne*, of 10,000 *French* toiſes, and having placed a quadrant at the point of this baſtion, and obſerved the angle which the meaſured baſe-line made with the intermediate point between the two moſt viſible towers of the caſtle of *Dover*, they found it to be  $37^{\circ} 58'$ . Then removing the inſtrument to the other extremity of the baſe-line toward *Boulogne*, they meaſured the other angle, and found it  $137^{\circ} 30'$ : whence they concluded that the vertical angle at the caſtle of *Dover* muſt be  $4^{\circ} 32'$ , and conſequently the diſtance between the point of the above mentioned baſtion of the riſbank at *Calais* and the caſtle of *Dover*, 21,363 toiſes, 128,178 feet *Paris* meaſure, that is nearly 22,787 fathoms, or 136,728 *Engliſh* feet. This agrees very well with the common eſtimation, which puts it at twenty three miles or

ſeven leagues, allowing a ſea-mile to contain ſix thouſand feet, but is much leſs than what we find commonly laid down in maps and charts.

Father *Gouye* the Jeſuit, a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, in the year 1712 communicated to that ſociety an obſervation made by a ſailor, who by ſounding in this channel had found, that the water roſe higher in the middle, during the ebbing tide on the oppoſite ſhores, than at the time of high water. This phenomenon at firſt ſeemed ſtrange, but, after a little conſideration, it appeared very reaſonable that the waters that returned from the coaſt of *England*, and thoſe that come from the coaſt of *France* at the ſame time, meeting in the middle, ſhould ſupport one another, and conſequently increaſe the depth of the channel. And indeed, without being verſed in the theory of the tides, it is obvious from the nature of water, that the leſs room it takes, the deeper it muſt be. Since therefore the waters of any ſea whatever occupy a leſs ſpace while the tide ebbs, than while it flows towards the ſhores, it ſeems plain that it muſt be deeper in the former than the latter caſe.

The village of *Calais* being, as has been mentioned, encompassed with walls by *Philip of France*, was ſoon greatly improved both with regard to ſtrength, and the number of its inhabitants; at leaſt it was become a very conſiderable and well fortified city in the year 1347, when it was beſieged by the *Engliſh* under the command of the brave and victorious King *Edward III.* This Prince, upon the death of *Charles* ſurnamed *le Bel*, King of *France*, without male iſſue, claimed the ſucceſſion of that crown, as being the nephew and neareſt relation of the deceaſed. This claim, however juſt, having been rejected by the *French*, who preferred the pretenſions of *Philip de Valois*, and



put him in actual possession of the throne, *Edward* resolved, as soon as the situation of his affairs would permit, to support his claim by force of arms. Accordingly, having entered into alliances with the Emperor, and several Princes of *Germany*, and drawn together a numerous army, he began a long and bloody war against *France*, in which he often met with surprizing success; particularly in the year 1340, when with a fleet of 300 ships he fell in with the *French* fleet, consisting of 400 sail, on the coast of *Flanders*; and, in an engagement, the greatest and most memorable that ever had been in those seas, continued with the greatest obstinacy and resolution on both sides, from eight o'clock in the morning to seven at night, he obtained so signal and compleat a victory, that vast numbers of the *French* were forced to jump over-board into the sea, to avoid the sword of their enemies; and of all their numerous fleet no more than 30 ships escaped, the rest being all taken or sunk. Immediately upon this victory he landed his troops in *Flanders* without the least opposition, and soon assembled an army of 150,000 men, consisting of *English*, *Germans*, *Flemings*, and *Gascons*; the finest army that ever was commanded by any King of *England*, and one which the *French* durst not meet in the field all that campaign. The success of his arms was also considerable in *Britany* and *Guienne*; and a few days before he invested *Calais*, he gained the famous battle of *Cressy*, and thereby obtained one of the most signal and compleat victories recorded in history. The *French* themselves acknowledge that they lost, besides 30,000 foot, 12 hundred Knights, the King of *Bohemia*, the Earl of *Alenston* brother to the *French* King, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl *Blois*, and fifteen of their prime nobility. *Edward* having continued some days near the field of battle to bury the dead and take care of the wounded, marched his army through the *Bollonois*, and approached *Calais* in order to besiege it. This place, as has been observed, was exceeding strong, and no less troublesome to the

*English*, than *Dunkirk* has been in latter times. By becoming master of it, he not only freed himself from an uneasy neighbourhood, but also had, as it were, the keys of *France* in his own power, and might enter it at his pleasure. The place was invested the 8th of September 1346, and *Edward* summoned the Governour to surrender, threatening, in case of refusal, to put the garrison and all the inhabitants to the sword: but this threat having produced nothing to his advantage, he took an exact view of the fortifications, and finding the strength of them to be such, that it would be a matter of great difficulty and danger to carry the town by force, he resolved to reduce it by famine. To this end he drew round it, on the land-side, four lines of circumvallation regularly fortified, and by sea blocked it up with no less than 700 ships, so that no supplies of any kind could be carried into it.

The Governour, observing these operations, and foreseeing the length of the siege, took care to turn all the useless mouths out of the city that the provisions might hold out the longer; and though by the maxims of war *Edward* was not obliged to have compassion on those unhappy people, who are said to have been 1700 in number, yet he generously received them into his camp, gave them a good dinner and two sterlings apiece, then left them at liberty to go where they pleased.

Meantime *Philip* was exceeding uneasy at the prospect of losing a place of such importance, and sought all possible means of raising the blockade, but found none effectual to his purpose. The King of *England* was so well fortified in his lines, that nothing but disgrace and disappointment could be got by attacking them; and, on the other hand, no provocation could engage him to leave them, and give his rival battle, till the fate of *Calais* should be determined. The only promising expedient was that of employing the arms of the King of *Scotland* to make a diversion by invading *England*. This was accordingly attempted without success. *David* King of *Scotland*,

land, to oblige *Philip* his ally, put himself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, and penetrated into *England* as far as the city of *Durham*; but this did not in the least disturb *Edward's* measures; for his Queen *Philippa*, drawing together with great expedition all the forces that remained in the country, gave the *Scots* battle; and their King had not only the mortification to see his army defeated, but also to find himself a prisoner in the hands of the *English*. In fine, when *Philip* had employed all his arts to save *Calais* from falling into the hands of the *English*, and the blockade had continued near a year, provisions began to be exceeding scarce in the town, and the inhabitants, despairing of relief, desired to capitulate; but a capitulation deferred to the last extremity was not like to be very favourable to the besieged. *Edward* agreed to grant the garrison, and the citizens in general, their lives; but at the same time, to punish them for their obstinacy in keeping him so long at their gates, he excepted out of the latter six of the principal men among them, to be the victims of his resentment; and, to distress the inhabitants the more, left the choice of these six to themselves. This severity caused the greatest consternation in the town; such a cruel choice could not be easily made, and yet there was no time to be lost; all places were full of confusion and amazement, till the brave *Eustace de Pierre*, one of the principal men of the city, seeing fear and despair painted on the faces of his fellow-citizens, voluntarily offered himself to be one of the six. The example of so great generosity soon animated five others to join with him in offering up their lives as a sacrifice to satisfy the rage of the conqueror, and devoting themselves to death to save the rest of the inhabitants. They set out therefore for King *Edward's* camp, bare-footed, in their shirts, with ropes about their necks, and presented to him the keys of the city.

But however much they found him incensed, at the intercession of his Queen, who cast herself at his feet, and with many  
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tears, in the most moving terms, intreated for them, their lives were spared. And that excellent Princess, who had saved them from death, not satisfied therewith, ordered cloaths to be brought them; and having entertained them in her own tent, dismissed them with a present of six pieces of gold each. *Edward* having made his entry into the city, turned out all the *French*, and peopled it with *English* inhabitants; which possibly is the reason why it remained so long in the hands of the *English*, who continued in the uninterrupted possession of it more than 200 years.

Soon after the reduction of *Calais*, the Pope sent two Cardinals, to negotiate some sort of accommodation between the two Kings, neither of whom was averse to a short respite from the toils of war. *Edward* was willing to allow his army rest and ease, after the fatigues of so long a siege; and, on the other hand, *Philip* was weary of a war wherein he had met with nothing but disasters and discouragements: so both readily consented to a truce, which was to continue for a year from the 28th of September 1347. Upon the conclusion of this truce, *Edward* having left a strong garrison in *Calais*, returned in triumph to *England*; and *Philip* began to make preparations for renewing the war, being determined, if possible, by any means to recover *Calais*. The loss of that important place lay heavy upon him, because he foresaw the consequences of its remaining in the hands of the *English*. But as he was sensible he could not make himself master of it by open force, he resolved to try whether he could not succeed by bribing the Governour, who being a foreigner, might, he hoped, be the more easily prevailed upon to betray it to him. The *Seigneur de Montmorency*, and *Geoffrey Seigneur de Charny*, at that time Governour of *St. Omer*, to oblige their Prince, undertook the management of the affair, notwithstanding the ignominy that must necessarily attend so base an action; and having practised upon *Aymeri de Pavia* a native of *Lombardy*, and Governour of the  
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the town, obtained of him a solemn promise, that, upon the receipt of twenty thousand crowns, he would secretly admit into the castle of *Calais* an hundred *Frenchmen* at arms, with twelve knights, and with their assistance, on a certain night to be agreed on between them, open the gates, and let in a sufficient body of *French*, who were to be at hand for that purpose, and to surprize the garrison. Matters were so far carried, that the very night for betraying the town was appointed, the money received by the Governour, and the hundred men at arms let in, at different times, by the postern gate into the castle, with such secrecy that the Governour and the *French* conspirators were now quite secure of the success of their plot. But notwithstanding all the caution that had been used, King *Edward* had got some hints of the design; and having sent for the Governour of *Calais*, offered him a full and free pardon, if, instead of delivering the town to the *French*, he would betray the *French* to him, and suffer them to fall into the pit which themselves had digged. The traitor, considering that he was infallibly undone if he did not comply with the King's desire, made a compleat discovery of the whole plot, and acquainted the King with the precise time concerted for betraying the town. *Edward*, fully informed of all the circumstances, took his measures so as to be at *Calais* the very night it was to have been surprized, with the Prince of *Wales* and eight hundred men at arms. The *French* authors say, the hundred *Frenchmen* were not received into the town, nor the money delivered till this night; but, be this as it will, they were all made prisoners, and next morning by break of day, the King sallied out at one of the gates, and the Prince of *Wales* at the other, to fall on the *French* who were waiting there, under the command of the *Seigneurs de Charny* and *Ribaumont*, to seize the town as soon as the gates should be opened. They were not a little surprized at their disappointment; however they fought bravely. The King chose to fight on foot under the banner of Lord *Walter*

*de Manny*; and happening to engage in single combat with *Eustace de Ribaumont*, who commanded that body of the *French*, the latter struck the King twice down upon his knees; but being seasonably relieved by his own men, he escaped the danger, defeated *Ribaumont's* party, and made himself prisoner.

Mean time the Prince of *Wales* attacked *de Charny* with great vigour, who on his part made a long and obstinate defence, but was at last routed and taken prisoner. The *French* in this action lost six hundred men, besides a good number of prisoners, who with their two commanders were led in a sort of triumph to *Calais*, where they expected by this time to have been masters. And notwithstanding the expedition in which they had been engaged was not very honourable, yet as they had undertaken it in obedience to their King, *Edward* treated them with great civility, and entertained the principal officers with a splendid supper. When they were at table he visited them himself, and could not forbear upbraiding *Charny* with his dishonourable conduct in attempting to take from him by treachery, and in open violation of treaty, a place which he had fairly won: but, on the contrary, he greatly commended *Eustace de Ribaumont* for his valour, and, as a testimony of his esteem, made him a present of a string of pearls which he used to carry in his cap, bidding him wear them as a badge of his regard; adding, that the ladies, of whom he understood *Ribaumont* was a great admirer, would not value him the less for it, and after several obliging expressions set him at liberty without ransom. Before the King left *Calais*, he made *John de Beauchamp* Governour of it, thinking it imprudent to trust any longer a place of so great importance in the hands of a foreigner who had suffered himself to be seduced by a bribe. But the loss of his place was not the heaviest punishment *Aymeri* met with for his double treachery; for some time after he fell into the hands of the *French*, who caused him to be torn to pieces by four horses.

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The attempt upon *Calais* having turned out quite contrary to the expectations of the *French*, *Philip* disowned it, and cast the blame intirely upon *De Charny* and *Montmorency*. *Edward* was not yet ready to renew the war, and therefore pretending to be contented with this satisfaction, suffered the truce to continue, tho' it had been thus shamefully violated by his enemies.

*Edward*, from this time, having obtained quiet and undisturbed possession of his new acquisition, first improved the fortifications of the town, and built fortresses in several other places of the district belonging to it. After this he removed the staple of *English* wool from *Middlebourg* in *Zealand* to *Calais* and some towns in *England*. In this he had two views; first, to be avenged of the *Flemings* for a partial inclination they had lately discovered to the interests of the *French*; and, in the next place, to enrich *Calais*, and improve his revenue. In both these designs he succeeded to his wish: the removal of the staple of wool did infinite prejudice to the trade of the *Netherlands*, and improved his revenue to such a pitch, that *Philip de Comines*, who lived in the reign of *Lewis XI.* of *France*, in his memoirs says, that in his time *Calais* furnished the most considerable branch of the *English* revenue.

Merchants were drawn to *Calais* from all parts of *Europe*; and that old and stately building, now called *The Court of Guise*, remains to this day as a monument of the vast commerce of that place. It was originally the exchange of the *English* merchants at *Calais*, the staple for wool was held in it; and its magnificent structure, and vast extent, shew the immense riches of the merchants of that place, while it was in the possession of the *English*. In a word, the revenue which the Kings of *England* drew from *Calais* was so considerable, that in the year 1472 *Edward IV.* offered *Lewis XI.* to come into *France* with all his forces, and assist him against the Duke of *Burgundy*, if he would repay him but the tax of the wool which had been sent from his dominions into the Low Countries. This

prosperity might have continued long, had it not been for the inauspicious and wicked reign of *Queen Mary*, of whose weakness, and absolute want of true policy, the *French* took advantage to wrest *Calais* out of her hands.

This unhappy Princess had seasonable warning of the danger. Her consort *Philip* King of *Spain* had given her information, in the end of the year 1557, that the *French* were forming designs upon *Calais*, and she had also an offer made her of some of his troops to strengthen the garrison, which he knew to be weak. Lord *Wentworth*, who was Governour of *Calais*, had also frequently solicited supplies, as he had not at that time a fourth part of the troops and ammunition necessary to defend the place. This advice of King *Philip's*, tho' communicated to the *Queen's* Council, was quite neglected, as were also Lord *Wentworth's* solicitations; nothing being done for securing the town. The bigotted *Queen's* thoughts were so taken up with schemes for the ruin of the Protestants that she could think of nothing else; and her Council, chiefly composed of persecuting priests, were no less warm in the prosecution of those pious projects. By this means the *French* became easily masters of *Calais*. The Duke of *Guise* laid siege to it on the first of January 1558, and having carried the fort which commanded the avenues on the land-side, and the risbank, which gave him also the command of the harbour, obliged the Governour to capitulate the seventh day of the siege. Soon after the capitulation, he ordered all the *English* to leave the place, as *Edward III.* had dealt by the *French* when it fell into the hands of the *English*. Upon the death of *Queen Mary*, which happened that same year, *Queen Elizabeth*, her successor in the throne, finding that the continuation of the war with *France* would be very inconvenient in the situation her affairs were in at that time, concluded a peace with the *French* King on the 2d of April 1559; whereby it was agreed, that *Calais* and the other places lately taken from the *English* should continue in the hands of the



*French* for eight years, and at the end of that term return to the *English*. But this, like the other treaties entered into by the *French*, which are not favourable to their interest, they never intended to observe. The excuses made by the *French* authors, for the conduct of their court upon this occasion, are various, but all equally inconsistent with reason and the express words as well as the design of the treaty. But *Calais* was yet to suffer another revolution.

*Henry IV.* of *France* having declared war against *Spain* in the year 1594, a *French* officer named *Rosne*, who had been a Field Marshal in time of the league, and a bigotted partisan against *Henry*, persuaded the Arch-duke *Albert*, who commanded the *Spanish* army, to attack *Calais*, and contributed not a little to the success of that undertaking. The Governour, whose name was *Bedossan*, having been killed, was succeeded in his command by *Bertrand de Patras de Campaigno*, called the Black Cadet, who in the time of the siege had found means to get into the citadel at the head of an hundred and fifty men. The *Spaniards* however and a great number of *Italians* made a general assault, in which almost all the garrison and townsmen that defended the citadel were killed, and the Governour *Campaigno* taken sword in hand; whereby the *Spaniards* became masters of the town and citadel the sixteenth day from the opening of the trenches. All the inhabitants, tho' by the capitulation they had liberty to stay in the city, retired to *France*, except two families, whose posterity have never yet been admitted to any place in the magistracy. The *Spanish* officers and soldiers seized all the goods in the town, and sold them at a rate so very low, that one of the houses still retains for its sign *The Gammon of Bacon*, as a memorial of its being purchased at that time for that joint of meat and some bottles of wine. The *Spaniards* thought they were not like to stay long there, and they were in the right; for the town was restored to *France* by the treaty of *Vervins* in 1598, two years after it had fallen under the dominion of *Spain*.

The city of *Calais*, as to its form, is an oblong square, almost regular: its length is from east to west, having the harbour on the north side, and the country on the south. The old rampart which inclosed it still remains, and is about 1200 *French* fathoms in circumference. There were formerly on this rampart a great many hollow towers, most part of which are still to be seen, but they are now chiefly filled up, except five or six which have been thrown down. On the east end of this rampart, which is called the *Tête de Gravelines*, there is a cavalier which covers the whole breadth of the town; upon which, among other fine pieces of dismounted brass cannon which were brought thither from *Dunkirk* in the year 1717, you may see the great culverin of *Nancy*, which, it is said, will carry an eighteen-pound ball a league into the sea. The new, or second inclosure, is of the same form with the old, from which it is separated by a broad and deep ditch, almost intirely faced with a stone-wall to sustain the pressure of the ground on each side. This new inclosure was built in the time of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and fortified with eight bastions, which defend the south and east sides of the place, and part of the north side, otherwise called the harbour. The west end is secured by the citadel, the glacis of which is contiguous to the two rows of cazerns which terminate this end of the city. The advanced or out-works of the town consist of a curtain furnished with loop-holes, four demi-lunes, three counterscarps, a retrenchment of mason-work with loop-holes, and in all proper places batardeaux of stone, defended by little towers, and furnished with sluices; two advanced ditches defended by three ravelins; two covered ways, and two glacis very large, secured against the impetuosity of the sea by a long and thick stone-wall with piles. The water which fills these advanced ditches comes from the canal of *St. Omer*. Part of this water runs through the town by a vaulted conveyance under one of the streets, which for that reason is called *River-Street*, or *Rue de la Riviere*, and by

by a small sluice discharges itself into the harbour. Another part of this water circulates in the ditches of the town, and empties itself into the sea by means of the great ditch which passes between the citadel and the city, and has a communication with the great sluice of sixteen feet in breadth, which was built in the year 1701. The design of this sluice is to drain off the waters of the country toward *St. Omer*; and it is said, that by means of it, and that of *Fort Niculet*, the whole country might be laid under water in the space of twenty four hours, or two tides, as far as *St. Omer*, which is no less than seven leagues from *Calais*; and consequently that this latter place is impregnable.

The citadel is situated in a marsh, which every tide lays under water. It is very irregular, and was originally only a retrenchment of the city, erected into a citadel two years after the town was taken from the *English*. On the east side it commands the town, on the north-east the harbour, on the north the sea, and on the south and west the country. It is also in the form of an oblong square from north to south, fortified on the east with two bastions faced with stone, a good rampart in the form of a cavalier, a half-moon with a covered way and glacis, which is contiguous to the barracks of the town. Between these bastions is the gate of communication with the town, and on the north of them a half-moon with a broad and deep ditch. The whole front is defended by a large cavalier and a covered way. The south front beyond the old inclosure is defended by a bastion, between which and one of the bastions already mentioned is the gate called *La Porte de Secours*, and sometimes, The Gate of *Boulogne*, of fine workmanship, with the arms of *France* over it, defended by a half-moon covered with mason-work. Those works are surrounded with wide ditches and covered ways well palisaded, besides a ditch and glacis that go round the whole city. The west side is defended by a great square tower upon the old wall, also by another

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called the *Tour pavée*, and beyond these by a detached bastion erected on the ruins of an old castle, built by the *English*, and often mentioned in history. This was the palace of the *English* Kings, and is said to have been very grand; but it is now so compleatly destroyed that no vestige of it remains. In the middle of the citadel is a large building, said to have been erected by Cardinal *Richelieu*'s order, now one of the finest arsenals in *France*. It consists of a large court surrounded with several edifices, among which are two halls filled and ornamented with fire-arms and other sorts of weapons; a third containing all kinds of machines and instruments proper to be employed in attacking or defending fortresses, and several corn-mills. In one of the wings of this great building are many ovens for ammunition-bread, with several granaries for corn and flour, of different sorts. In the middle of the court is a large cistern, the construction of which is not known, nor the quantity of water it can contain. Near the gate of *Boulogne* is a monument of some antiquity called the *Hotel d'Escalles*, which was built by one who was brother in law to King *Edward III.* of *England*, to whom that Prince gave the title of Lord *Escalles*, from the name of a village three leagues distant from *Calais*. This *Hotel* was for a long time the lodging-place of the Governours of the town; but in the year 1636 they began to lodge in the city, and have continued so to do ever since. The citadel of *Calais* formerly contained a great number of inhabitants; but in the year 1660 the King ordered them all out, that the garrison might be the better accommodated: the circumference of it, including the glacis which separates it from the town, is 870 *French* fathoms. The commandant is well lodged, but the garrison very ill, because the barracks have only ground floors, and are in very bad condition for want of necessary repairs. The garrison usually consists of eight companies of foot, which, by the King's order, are distinct from those battalions that compose the garrison of the town.

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FORT NIEULET, or *Nieulay*, stands upon the old fort which served to secure and shut up the sluices of *Calais*, and lies a short half league west from it. The foundations of it were laid, by order of *Lewis XIV.* in the year 1678, and the whole building compleated in 1680, except the horn-work on the west side, which was not finished till 1690. The situation of this fort is very advantageous, as it has the sea on the north, and a marsh on the south. It is built on piles in the form of a regular oblong square, lying from east to west, fortified with four bastions and two half-moons, a horn-work faced with stone, and its curtain covered with a half-moon, which has a stone revêtement and two lunettes. The two first half-moons are designed for the defence of the gates. In the middle of the fort is a fine sluice erected on the same spot with the old one, which was begun in the year 1558, with four vents or vannes, which are all of great use for draining the country, and laying it under water in cases of necessity. The canal, which conveys the water to the sea, is faced with mason-work, and passes through the fort from south to north. Both ends of the sluice are shut with gates secured by grates of iron. The fort is very handsome both within and without. The bastions are neat and solid, quite covered with slate. The gates are beautiful, and ornamented in a magnificent manner; and the arsenal, magazines, and *souterrains*, are quite regular. There are in this fort one of the King's Lieutenants Commandant, a Major, and a Chaplain, and at all times a strong garrison.

On the north side of this fort, in the Downs, is a redout called *Laubanie*. In the year 1690 a wall was raised which forms a communication from east to west between the citadel of *Calais* and Fort *Nieulet*. One half of this wall is defended on the land-side by a good square fort, called the Redout of *Crabs*, because built in a place where formerly there had been a lake of salt water, which abounded with those animals. Along

this wall, but between it and the fort, runs a canal which is a branch of that of *St. Omer*, and has a good parapet on the side next the sea. There are five other forts that defend the entrance of the harbour and the road, and serve to prevent descents on the side of the *Strand*.

The first of these is the risbank on the sands on the north side of the town, and westward of the entrance of the harbour, fortified toward the west with two bastions, and the curtain between them covered by a demilune, which is now ruinous and buried in the sand. The other sides are very irregularly flanked, and the whole fort is nearly in the form of a pentagon. It has three towers, one of which is fallen down, and of the two that remain one serves for a *souterrain*, and the other for a bomb-battery. It was built in 1622 by order of *Lewis XIII.* and the expence of it came to sixty thousand livres (2625 *l.* sterling). It has a good cistern, and barracks for a company of men. The second is *Fort Rouge*, which is built of wood upon piles, and is dry at low water. It lies north-west of the risbank, very near the jetties of wood which form the entrance into the harbour. It was built in the year 1695, mounts sixteen pieces of cannon, 18 and 24 pounders, and is guarded by a detachment of the garrison of the town consisting of a serjeant and ten soldiers, who are relieved every five days. The third is the small fort, or battery of the *Strand*, built also of wood upon piles in the year 1701; it lies more to the westward than *Fort Rouge*, and can mount eight pieces of cannon. The fourth is *Fort Lapin*, called the *Redout*, built in 1690, and faced with stone; it is still more to the westward than that of the *Strand*, and serves to prevent descents that might be attempted between the city and Fort *Nieulet*. It mounts only four pieces of cannon, and is kept by a detachment from the garrison of the city. The fifth and last is *Fort Vert*, built also on piles within the sea, at a good distance from the jetties, and  
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to the north-east of the town. It mounts thirteen pieces of cannon, and from time to time a detachment of the garrison of the city is sent to mount guard in it.

The city of *Calais* is divided into three parts, viz. the city properly so called; the *Cour-gain*; and low town or suburbs. In the city properly so called the streets are straight and beautiful, and almost all of them meet in the center, but they are very ill paved. The houses are of brick, and of a reasonable height. This part alone contains about four thousand souls. The *Cour-gain* is comprehended in one large bastion which lies next the harbour, on the north-east corner of the city. This is the place where the sailors and fishermen of *Calais* have their residence. It contains eight small streets, and the houses are of brick, and neatly built. The Commandant of the *Cour-gain* is under the direction of the Commandant of the city, and there is a chaplain belongs to the former, to assist the sick in the night-time, when they cannot be supplied from the town, with which they can have no communication, when the *Gate of Havre* is shut. The *Suburbs*, commonly called the Lower Town, lies on the south side of the town without the fortifications, and contains about four hundred and forty families.

The principal buildings in the city of *Calais* are the church of *Notre Dame*, the convents and churches of several monastic orders, viz. the *Minims* and *Capuchins*, the monks, and the nuns of the orders of *St. Benedict* and *St. Dominic*; the general hospital, called *la Chambre des pauvres*, erected in the year 1660; and another hospital supported by the King, for the use of the garrisons of the town and citadel; the town-house, which is very old and in bad order; the *Tour du Guet*, or watch-tower, and the *Cour de Guise*, which was originally the exchange where the merchants used to meet when the town was in the hands of the *English*, and presented by the King of *France* to the Duke of *Guise*, upon his recovering it from them in the year 1558, as has been already mentioned.

There are no springs or fountains at *Calais*; the inhabitants therefore have no fresh water in their houses but what falls from the clouds, which they receive into cisterns. Every house for the most part has one of these; but besides private cisterns, there are three very large ones, erected at first, and afterwards supported, at the public expence. One of them was built, by the King's order, in the year 1644, within the convent of the *Minims*, which will contain eight hundred tuns of water. There is another which belongs to the town, on the south side of the church of *Notre Dame*, which is said to contain 4320 muids or hogsheds, each containing 72 *English* gallons, in all 311,040 gallons, or 1234 tuns 1 hoghead and 9 gallons *English* measure; but the largest of all is that which was built by order of the *French King* in the year 1691. This cistern is on the north side of the same church, and, it is pretended, will hold 6480 muids or hogsheds of water, which is in our measure 1347 tuns 1 hoghead and 42 gallons. We are also told that, in very hot seasons, the water in this cistern does indeed sensibly decrease, but was never known to fail intirely.

The road of *Calais* lies at a considerable distance to the north-west of the harbour. It is covered by a sand-bank, which begins a little to the west of *Fort Lapin*, and gradually lessens till it ends in a point over against *Fort Verte*. Ships may anchor near this bank in ten, twelve, fifteen, or eighteen fathom water when the tide is at the lowest; and the ground is gravel mixt with shells and mud, which makes excellent anchorage. The entry into the harbour is formed by two good jetties of wood, whereof that which is on the west side is 365 fathoms long; sixty six fathoms of the other are built of stone with a parapet, the remaining part is of wood carried 407 fathoms into the sea; and on each of them there is a fort of wood to defend the mouth of the harbour. The water at the points of the jetties rises 21 feet, and, within the entrance, from 15 to 17, according as the wind happens to blow. The ends



ends of the jetties lie south-east and north-west; and to the east of them there is a bank of sand, which makes it a very difficult matter to get into the harbour. The harbour itself lies east and west, as the town does, and at the east end of it there is a basin called the *Paradise*, inclosed with quays and a jetty of wood, where there is room for thirty vessels of 150 tun; the rest of the harbour can contain about 100 ships of different sizes, to frigates of 18 or 20 guns.

From this account of the fortifications and harbour of *Calais* it is evident, First, That the strength and security of the place is not so much owing to the works that are raised about it, as to that abundance of water with which the inhabitants, by means of their sluices, can cover the country at their pleasure, and thereby disperse any army that can be supposed to attack them. Were it not for this, their works are by no means impregnable, especially on the east side, where they are too much crowded to be capable of a good defence; and this inconvenience would be the greater, as the place seems most exposed to an attack on this side. Secondly, The harbour of *Calais* can be of no great use, at least in its present state. Ships of burden cannot enter it for want of depth of water, nor can lesser vessels get in without great hazard; for if a ship keeps but a little to the westward to avoid the sand-bank we have taken notice of before, she is in danger of being dashed against the jetty; and if, to avoid this evil, she keep to the east, the danger is equally great. The *French* are very sensible of these evils, and have often proposed to remove them, at least in part, by lengthening the jetties, and carrying them much farther into the sea. This humour prevailed particularly, about the time of the demolition of *Dunkirk*, it seemed then to be the general demand of the *French* nation, that the harbour of *Calais* should be improved as far as possible, that it might supply the want of that of *Dunkirk*. To satisfy the impatience of the public, Mr. *Moyenneville*, director of the fortifications of the strong places

in that quarter, proposed several systems of sluices for this purpose, and among others one, which, had it been put in execution, would have been the grandest and most magnificent that hath ever yet been put in practice, and worthy of the great Marshal *de Vauban* who, upon a former occasion, was the original author of the contrivance.

A great part of the waters of the country about *Calais* cannot get to the sea, without passing between the citadel of that place and the wall, marked in the plan a b, built in 1728; a very great quantity of sea-water might be also suffered to pass this wall during the rising of the tide, and flow into a large space of ground between Fort *Nieulet* and the citadel, which might be made a reservoir for it. Now the design of the project was, to build a chain of sluices that might collect both these stores, and discharge them at low water, to deepen the harbour and the channel between the jetties. These sluices were to have been placed at AB. the most proper situation for them, as it lay under the fire of the citadel; and were to have been five in number. The largest was to have been in the middle, in the direction of the line A B, and to have two pair of gates on the side next the harbour, and as many on that toward the country. It was also to have been thirty eight feet and a quarter wide, and to form the entrance into a basin capable of containing a great number of the largest ships the harbour could admit, the present basin being by far too little. On the right and left of this great sluice were to be built two other sluices, seventeen feet wide each, with a fly-gate in the middle secured by a pair of breast gates on each side. These were not intended to be built in the same direction with the great one in the middle, but inclining a little, so that the streams of water proceeding from them might meet with that of the great sluice at K. and by their union with it form a current that should act with great force even beyond the extremities of the jetties, supposing them to be carried as far as possible into the sea.

sea. Again, on the right and left of these three were to have been built two other sluices between six and seven feet wide each, to discharge occasionally the reserved water without opening the great sluices; they were also to have been placed nearly in the same direction with the great sluice in the middle, that the streams of water proceeding from them, being almost parallel to that of the former, might serve to deepen the harbour and the mouth of it as much at the sides as in the middle. This chain of sluices was to have been joined to the stone-wall *ab*, by a batardeau with a small sluice in it, which would have served to drive away the sand which, in stormy weather, the wind and tides are apt to lodge in the harbour, and would soon fill it intirely in its present state, if the Sluices of *Asfeld* and the citadel did not carry it off as soon as it is brought in.

The side-walls of the three middle sluices, by this project, must have been so disposed and connected together, as that over them might have been constructed two strong batteries, by raising a parapet round them with embrasures for cannon, and making a communication by means of a draw-bridge between them. As these batteries would have had several different fronts, their fire might have been directed to all quarters for the defence of the harbour, the risbank, and *Fort Rouge*, which would have been less exposed to bombardment than at present, because these two batteries would have obliged the bomb-ketches to keep at a greater distance, than they need do as things are now situated. Such was the scheme proposed for the improvement of the harbour of *Calais*; and, had it been

put in execution, would, no doubt, have had the desired effect; but the immense expence, with which it must have been attended, obliged the *French* Court to lay it aside for that time, and it has never been resumed since. Such as desire to see more on this subject may consult Mr. *Belidor's Architecture Hydraulique*.

It is, doubtless, in a great measure owing to this badness of the harbour, that the trade of *Calais* is so very inconsiderable, and consists chiefly of conveying secretly into *England* some parcels of *French* manufactures, especially gold and silver lace: these pay no duty when they go out of *France*, if, (which is generally the case) it can be made appear that they were bought at the free fairs of *Lyons*; but they cannot be imported to *England* without great hazard, since they are prohibited there. Some *French* ships also arrive at *Calais* freighted with salt and wine, which, by means of the canals, are from thence conveyed into *Artois* and *French Flanders*. The *Irish* likewise bring some salt beef and leather to *Calais*; and notwithstanding the severe laws made in *England* against the exportation of wool, the ships of *Calais*, which are sent from time to time to hover on the coasts of *England* and *Ireland*, bring considerable quantities of it to *France*. Finally, *Calais* is one of the towns which, by an ordonnance in 1687, have the privilege of importing drugs and spices: but all this is but a mere trifle, when compared with the trade which might be expected to flow to a town in every other respect so advantageously situated for commerce, if its harbour were but tolerable.

## REFERENCES

To the PLAN of CALAIS.

- \* AB The Situation of the Sluices intended for improving the Harbour.
- \* CD The Direction of the Stream proceeding from the greatest of these Sluices.
- N° VI.

E *Fort Rouge*, or the Red Fort.

F The Reverse Battery.

G An Aqueduct conveying the Water of the Ditch into the Basin or Paradise by means of the Sluice *Joubert*.

N

\* H The



- \*H The Point to which the Jetties were to be carried by Mr. *Moyenneville's* Project for improving the Harbour.
- \*IK The Line of Direction of the Stream of the Great Sluice continued both Ways.
- \*LK The Line of Direction of the Water, proceeding from the Sluice next the great one on the Side next the Citadel.
- \*MK The Line of Direction of the Water of the Sluice next the great one, on the Side next the Sea.
- \*LN The Direction of the Waters of the Sluice of six Feet width, next the Citadel.
- \*MO The Direction of the Sluice of six Feet width, next the Sea.
- P The Sluice *Asfeld*, now existing, for conveying the Water of the Canal of Communication with that of *St. Omer*, to the Sea.
- Q The Sluice of the Citadel.

The country which belongs to the district of *Calais*, the greatest part whereof was in the hands of the *English* while they were in possession of this town, is by the *French* called *Pais reconquis*, or the recovered country, for an obvious reason. It is about one and twenty miles in length, seven and a half in breadth, and more than forty two in circumference, containing the counties of *Guines* and *Oye*, which are divided into

- R A Sluice for conveying the Water of the Canal of Communication into the Ditch of the Town.
- S A Sluice called the Crucifix, fifteen Feet wide, having a Vanne secured by a pair of Breast Gates to keep the salt Water from mixing with the fresh, that the latter may be conveyed into the Town-ditch by
- TV An Aqueduct passing under one of the Streets of the Town, and discharging itself at low water for the use of the Brewers, and from thence carried into the Basin by the Aqueduct G.
- X The Situation of a Sluice which might be proposed, but improperly for cleaning and deepening the Channel between the Jetties.
- \*XY and XZ The Direction of the Jetties, and the Stream of the Sluice supposed to be at X.

N. B. All the References marked with an Asterism, but the last, belong to Mr. *Moyenneville's* Project; the rest are those which are now existing.

twenty four parishes, besides those belonging to the town of *Calais*; and these parishes are reckoned to comprehend two thousand five hundred families, and about fifty nine thousand four hundred acres of arable land, each acre consisting of an hundred square yards. Next to *Calais*, which is the chief town of the county of *Oye*, the most considerable place is

## G U I N E S.

GUINES, *Guina*, or *Guifna*, the chief town of the county of the same name, which was originally a peerage belonging to the Earl of *Flanders*. *Sifrid* was the first Count of

*Guines*. *Philip*, surnamed the Bold, purchased it of *Arnold III.* for the sum of 3000 *French* livres, or 125 pounds sterling, in the year 1282. *John II.* Earl of *Eu*, who married *Joan* of *Guines*,

*Guines*, had it from *Philip* the Fair, in the year 1295. Upon the death of *Raoul* II. Constable of *France*, who was beheaded in the year 1360, his lands were seized by King *John*, who yielded the county of *Guines* to the King of *England* by the treaty he concluded with him the same year at *Britigny*. *Charles* VI. recovered it from the *English* in the year 1413. *Lewis* XI. gave it to *Charles* the Bold, Duke of *Burgundy*, on condition of homage and fealty only; but after his death it was reunited to the domains of the crown. The town of *Guines* is situated in a marshy country, about five miles from the sea. It was originally but a village holding of the abbey of *St. Bertin*; but *Sifrid* the first Count of *Guines* enlarged and fortified it. When the Duke of *Guise* laid siege to *Calais* in the year 1558, as has been mentioned, the Lord *Grey* held *Guines* for the Queen of *England*, with a garrison of 1100 men; but the success of the *French* against the former so frightened and dispirited the garrison of the latter, that as soon as the Duke marched his army from *Calais* and sat down before *Guines*, they abandoned the town, and retired to the citadel. The *French*, finding their conquest so easy, no sooner entered the place, than, forgetting discipline and order, they dispersed themselves through the streets to plunder; which the *English* Governour observing, took advantage of their confusion, and sallying out of the citadel, drove them quite out of the town. Yet still finding himself unable to defend it against the assailants, he set fire to it, and returned a second time to the citadel. The *French*, to recover their honour, soon after made a vigorous assault upon the citadel, and tho' they were repulsed, the garrison lost 300 men in the action, and found their strength too much impaired to stand a second attack; in consequence whereof they agreed to surrender themselves prisoners of war. From *Guines* the victorious army marched to *Hames*, a fortification situated in an almost inaccessible marsh, not far from the former, which might have made a good defence; but the rapid success of

the enemy against *Calais* and *Guines* had put the garrison in so great a consternation, that, instead of waiting for the approach of the *French*, they abandoned the fort without so much as seeing an enemy.

By the loss of *Calais*, *Guines*, and *Hames*, in the middle of winter, and in the short space of 15 days, the *English* saw themselves stript of the remains of all the conquests they had made in *France*, and deprived of all the fruits of the blood and treasure they had lavished in that kingdom, by the incapacity of their Queen, who seemed to think that nothing but the destruction of Protestants merited her regard; and the negligence, or something worse, of her Council, whose zeal in the same cause rendered them incapable of every other concern. The nation were extremely sensible of the greatness of this loss, and exclaimed bitterly against those who were the causes of it. The Protestants arraigned the Government, and the creatures of the Court were so confounded that they durst not open their mouths in vindication of the ministry. Some accused them of treason, others of incapacity, and their most zealous adherents could not help owning their negligence. The two noblemen who had commanded in *Calais* and *Guines* were particularly unhappy; for, besides the loss of their reputation, the Ministry, to insinuate that these important places were lost by their misconduct, suffered them to remain prisoners in *France* without taking any measures for getting them released. But none was more deeply concerned for the loss of *Calais* than the Queen, tho' she could not think of exerting herself to save it when it was in danger, which she might have effectually done. When she found it was lost, her grief was excessive; she said that *Calais* was written on her heart: and it was thought that the melancholy she contracted on this occasion, together with some other family discouragements, contributed to bring her, soon after, to her grave. Nor was the general concern of the nation for the loss of *Calais* without ground.



ground. While this place was in the hands of the *English*, they were the terror and dread of *France*; she was sensible of her dependance, and would not rashly venture to disoblige them, because they could then, in the space of four and twenty hours, land powerful armies on her coast, and attack the heart of her dominions; but experience has shewn, that since the *French* recovered *Calais*, they have no longer testified for *England* that consideration and regard which they were forced to pay her before.

Immediately after the taking of *Calais*, *Philip* strongly pressed the *Queen* to make a vigorous effort to recover it, before the *French* should have leisure to repair and fortify it. But her ministers could not find means to execute so great an undertaking. Upon a computation of the necessary expence for drawing together a sufficient force for an expedition of that nature, it was thought dangerous, considering the general dis-

satisfaction, to load the nation with so great a burden, even tho' the parliament should be brought to a compliance. Besides, the *Queen* and her ministry were afraid, that engaging in the siege of *Calais* would oblige them to interrupt their favourite scheme of persecuting the Protestants. They had gone so far in this work, that they hoped they should, in another year, be able to ruin the Reformation effectually by intirely cutting off the reformed; but an interruption in the execution of the project might ruin the whole design. On this account principally they put off the affair of *Calais*, as a matter of less consequence, to a more favourable opportunity. *Queen Elizabeth*, soon after her accession to the throne, made all the efforts to recover it, that the circumstances of her affairs would permit; but her measures were disappointed by the perfidy of the *French*, as has been already observed.

## A R D R E S.

**A**R DRES, *Arda*, or *Ardea*, is also situated in the middle of a marsh, about six miles from *Guines*, and nine from *Calais*. It lies within the territory of *Calais*, but was no part of the *English* dominions in *France*, at least for some time before they lost *Calais*. *Mezeray* tells us, that the foundations of this town were laid by *Arnold*, proprietor of *Selve*, on the ruins of his own castle, in the year 1069: but we hear nothing of its being a place of any strength till the year 1549; when it was fortified by *Francis* the First. It is now of no great consequence, nor is there any thing curious to be seen about it, but some old granaries of a very particular construction; they are built under ground, arched or vaulted above, and of a cylindrical form. The people of the country, on account of their roundness, call them the Pears, and they are nine in num-

ber. Some imagine they were built by *Charles* the Fifth; but we have no kind of evidence that that Emperor was ever in possession of *Ardres*: therefore others conclude, with greater appearance of reason, that they were erected by *Francis* the First, to whom this place undoubtedly belonged, and who built the fortifications of it, as has been already observed. Be this as it may, these nine cylinders of *Pears* contain 29,853 cubical feet according to the *Paris* standard, in our measure 36,228½: now one cubical foot *Paris* measure will hold three *French* bushels of corn; consequently these nine granaries can contain 89,559 *Paris* bushels, or 29,580 bushels *English*. At the bottom of each of these cylinders is a hole to which they applied a fountain and turn-cock, and to this fountain the sack or bag which they wanted to fill with corn. Upon turning the cock, the

the corn flowed into the mouth of the sack till it was full, then shutting the cock, and removing the full sack, they applied another empty one, and so on, as long as there was occasion.

Between *Guines* and *Ardres* lies the village of *Sandinfelt*, famous by the interview which the two Kings *Henry* the Eighth of *England*, and *Francis* the First of *France*, had there in the year 1520. This interview was concerted two years before; and so intent were the two Kings upon it, that an *English* Historian tells us they agreed not to cut off their beards till they should have the pleasure of seeing one another. To do honour to the King of *England*, *Francis* consented that the place of meeting should be in his dominions; and, on the other hand, to accommodate the King of *France*, *Henry* agreed to cross the sea, and receive his visit near the border of the *English* dominions. When the two Monarchs met, they appeared with the greatest splendor and magnificence, as well as the most brilliant attendance; and all the time they were together, there

was a continued series of entertainments and diversions of all kinds, jousts, tournaments, balls, and masquerades, every thing that was grand, and proper to inspire mirth and pleasure, or engage admiration. The Kings alighted in the vale of *Andréa*, and walked hand in hand to a tent covered with cloth of gold. King *Henry* had caused to be erected on the place a large building of 328 feet square, the parts whereof had been curiously framed in *England*, and after the interview was over, were carried back to *Greenwich*, where they were to be seen in Lord *Herbert's* time. The camp for the exercises was 300 yards long and 106 broad, with scaffolds built all round it for the convenience of the spectators. These scenes of grandeur and festivity continued during the interview, which lasted from the seventh to the twenty fifth of June; and from the tent just now mentioned, and other instances of magnificence attending that solemnity, the field in which it was erected was afterwards called the *Camp of Cloth of Gold*.

## W I S S A N.

ABOUT nine miles west from *Fort Nieulay* lies *WISSAN*, or *Wissant*, *Witsantum*. *Lambert* of *Ardres*, in his history of the Counts of *Guines*, tells us that the word *Wissant* is compounded of the word *Vuit*, which in the language of the *Morini* signified white, and *San* or sand; and therefore contends that this place had its name from the great quantities of white sand which are to be seen about it. Other learned authors are not satisfied with this etymology, for reasons adduced by Father *le Quien* in his dissertation concerning the *Iccius Portus* of the ancients, published in the *Memoirs* of History and Literature printed at *Paris*. *Flodard* speaks of *Wissant* as a city and harbour, under the name of *Guiesum*, and says that *Lewis* surnamed *Ostre-mer* caused them to be repaired: "Ludovicus  
N° VII.

"Rex maritima loca petens, quoddam castrum portumque supra mare, quem dicunt *Guiesum*, restaurare nifus est." It is a little town, or rather may now be called a large village of the *Bolonois* in *Picardy*, within the Diocese of *Boulogne*, subject to the Parliament of *Paris* and the Intendance of *Amiens*, containing about seven hundred inhabitants. It has a manor of its own, and is a bailiwick depending on the Seneschal of *Boulogne sur mer*. Several learned *French* authors, and our *Camden*, will have *Wissant* to be the *Portus Iccius* mentioned by *Cæsar*; but their reasons are founded on such verbal criticisms, as no great stress could be laid on if the controversy were of greater moment. Throughout the twelfth century its harbour was the most famous and most crowded of the  
O country,



country, as well as the great passage between *France* and *England*; but now it is in a great measure filled up with sand, and its trade declined so as to be very inconsiderable. However there are here every year two free fairs, and five fishing boats from three to six tuns burden belonging to the harbour, one of which is generally employed in the herring-fishing, the rest in that of mackrel, and all the five occasionally fish for ling. The place is between seven and eight miles distant from *Boulogne*, and about ten from *Calais*.

At a small distance from the town, on the top of a large eminence called the mount, are to be seen the remains of an old camp, called *Castellum Cæsaris*, *Cæsar's Castle*. The Abbé de *Fontenu*, in his dissertation in the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*, says, that the similitude between this camp, and that near the town of *Etoile* in *Picardy*, is so very great that they easily may be known to be the works of

the same age. They are both of an oval form, and have but one entrance. The camp near *Wissan* is about fifty three fathoms long, and of a proportional breadth. The hill on which it is situated lies at the confluence of two brooks, or rather hollow ways, which render the access to it difficult. Father *le Quien*, who had been upon the spot, is fully persuaded that this incampment was made about the time of *Julius Cæsar*, and imagines it to have been the work of three hundred of his soldiers, who having embarked with him, had been separated from the rest of the fleet by the force of currents, and reduced to the necessity of putting into this harbour at the foot of the hill; that after their landing, they had thought it prudent to throw up lines on the top of this mount, that they might be in condition to defend themselves against the people of the country, if they should have come to attack them.

## A M B L E T E U S E.

ABOUT three miles south of *Wissan*, and near thirteen from *Calais*, lies AMBLETEUSE, *Ambletosa*, formerly called *Ambleture*, a little sea-port in the *Boulonois*, about five miles to the north of the town of *Boulogne*, subject to the Parliament of *Paris* and the Intendance of *Amiens*, containing about five hundred and thirty inhabitants. It stands at the mouth of a little river called *Sclak*, which has its rise near a place called *Marquise*, and taking its course through several sandy plains, forms a turning or elbow near the sea. In the mouth of this little river the water in time of high tides used to rise about twelve feet; and from this and other circumstances, the *French* Ministry, towards the close of the last century, conceived hopes that it might be improved into a harbour sufficient to receive and shelter frigates from thirty six to forty guns. In this expectation they built a

sluice something more than half a mile from *Marquise*, which collects a sufficient quantity of water to clean and deepen the harbour: they also built jetties reaching to the low-water mark, and raised them to the height of the highest tides. Yet after all their labour and expence, they were obliged to drop the design, because they found by experience, that the waters collected by the sluice, being conducted to the harbour according to the course of the rivulet *Sclak*, the turn which it makes near the sea breaks the force of them so much, that they have not strength enough left to clear the harbour.

This inconvenience however might have been removed by conducting the waters collected by the sluice in a straight line to the harbour, and making a basin with another sluice to stop the water of the high tides, the two sluices operating by concert

cert must have made such a current as would have effectually answered the original design, and in a little time made the harbour and channel between the jetties deep enough to receive vessels of war of forty guns, as was first intended: or if other circumstances had been such that the collected waters could not have been carried in a straight line to the harbour, had the turn been made at some distance from the sea, the same ends would have been attained; for in this case the waters, before they had reached the harbour, would have recovered the force they had lost by the turning, and consequently produced the desired effect, especially when assisted by the second sluice just now mentioned. All this was understood at that time; but the work once laid aside has never yet been resumed; so that the harbour, instead of being improved by the attempts that have been made, is rather rendered worse than ever, for at present the tides rise above the jetties, so that a ship, by endeavouring to enter it, must run the hazard of being broke to pieces. The harbour of *Ambleteuse* opens into the middle of the road of *St. John*; and about the time of the demolition of *Dunkirk*, as well as since, it was a prevailing opinion, that if *France* should intirely lose the benefit

of that sea-port, a harbour might be made here to supply its place; and that no other spot upon the coast of *France* has so great advantages for such a purpose. In the year 1688, when King *James II.* abdicated his crown, and fled to *France*, to put himself under the protection of *Lewis XIV.* he landed at *Ambleteuse*.

At *Marquise*, about two miles and a half from *Ambleteuse*, there is a quarry of a beautiful gray marble, which, it is thought, would produce still finer blocks, if it was further pursued; and an easy vent for it might be found by means of this harbour, which lies so near. There is here also a strong fort, well provided with cannon, to defend the harbour and the road of *St. John*. The parochial church is dedicated to *St. Michael*. The town is now provided with several good houses lately built; it has always a garrison, and is under military government.

From the account we have given of the harbour, it will not be expected that the trade of the town is considerable; but to encourage it, the place is exempted from taxes upon goods imported or exported. It is also observed, that the air of *Ambleteuse* is very wholesome, and that it has great plenty of excellent water.

## B O U L O G N E.

FIVE miles south of *Ambleteuse* lies *BOULOGNE*, generally mentioned with the addition of *sur mer*, to distinguish it from three other places of the same name; one in the diocese of *Cambray* in *Flanders*; another in the *Isle of France*; and a third in the *Vivarez* in *Languedoc*. It stands on the side of the sea, at the mouth of the river *Lianne*, in the latitude of 50 degrees 42 minutes north, and longitude of 1 degree 42 minutes east, of *London*, being about seventeen miles distant

from *Calais*, fifteen from *Ardres*, thirteen from *Etaples*, nineteen from *Montreuil*, thirty one from *Crotoy*, almost thirty three from *St. Valery* on the *Somme*, and thirty eight from *Abbeville*.

The town is, without doubt, of great antiquity. We have evident proofs of this in the ruins of ancient edifices often found here, and composed of a kind of brown stones and red squares joined together with cement, according to the *Roman* method



method of building; a particular instance whereof may be seen in the *Tour d'ordre*, which stood several ages, and the antiquity whereof cannot be disputed. The same conclusion may be drawn from the ancient tombs, idols, urns, and medals, often found near the place; to which we may add the remains of *Roman* military ways or roads which are found to end here. These arguments are so convincing, that the Learned in general seem to be agreed, that *Boulogne* was a town of some note so far back as the times of the *Romans*; but it is still a question whether it is the same with the *Gessoriacum* of the Ancients. Many however think this question sufficiently determined by *Eumenius Pacatus*, who wrote about the time of the Emperor *Constantine*. This author, in his panegyric on *Constantius Chlorus* the father of the former, mentions an expedition he undertook against the tyrant *Carausius* and the pirates, who had possessed themselves of the town and harbour of *Gessoriacum*, and says that this Prince blocked up the harbour of that place, to prevent their getting out. But the same author, in his panegyric on *Constantine* the Great, takes occasion to make honourable mention of his Father *Constantius Chlorus* on account of the same expedition, and seems to say expressly, that the harbour he then blocked up was that of *Boulogne*: "Exercitum illum qui Bononiensis oppidi littus infederat, terra pariter ac mari sepfit." From these and some other passages of this and other authors they would conclude, that *Gessoriacum* and *Bononia* were two names indifferently used to express the same place. Those who are of this opinion think that *Gessoriacum* was the original name of the town, that from some circumstance or other, about which they have also formed conjectures, it came to be likewise called *Bononia*, and for some time both these names were indifferently used, till by degrees the latter prevailed, and the former was intirely lost. This opinion at first sight seems plausible, and accordingly has many followers: but one passage in *Florus* seems to put this whole

affair to rights, and fairly end the controversy. The author, speaking of *Augustus*, says, "*Bononium et Gessoriacum pontibus junxit, classibusque firmavit*," lib. iv. cap. 11. Here we see plainly, that this town was of some note in the time of *Augustus*, and that at that time it was called *Bononia*, or *Boulogne*: that *Gessoriacum* was a town separated or distinct from the other, yet situated so near it, that *Augustus* made a communication between them by means of a bridge; and that in the harbour belonging to these two towns in common, this Emperor kept the ships he employed in the northern seas. Again, this passage seems to fix the situation of *Gessoriacum*, and gives good ground to conclude, that it stood on the south side of the *Lianne* opposite to *Boulogne*, which then was, and still is, on the north side of that river; and tho' the former appears to have been in flourishing circumstances in the reign of *Constantius Chlorus*, it seems to have declined gradually under the first Christian Emperors, till at last it came to be quite deserted.

Another controversy among the learned is, Whether *Boulogne* is the *Portus Iccius* of *Cæsar*, or not? Father *le Quien* and others declare for the affirmative: our learned countryman *Camden* and many others are of a different opinion. The former endeavour to support their assertion by several arguments, and particularly from some circumstances taken notice of by *Cæsar* in the account he gives of his first voyage to *Britain*; but they do not seem to be very convincing: nor do the arguments of the opposite party appear to be much more conclusive. The truth is, the subject of the dispute is of no great importance, at least to our present purpose, and would give but little entertainment to the reader; on which accounts we hope he will excuse our entering into it.

While the *Romans* were masters of that part of *Gaul* which was called *Belgium*, the Governour of that district had his residence at *Boulogne*; and when those provinces came into the hands of the *French*, during the first and second race of their Kings,

Kings, the whole country of the *Morini* was parcelled out among several officers or governours called Counts or Earls, who were to govern these districts under the King, and be answerable to him for their conduct. Of these Counts or Earls *Boulogne* and its territory had one. But in process of time the Earls of *Boulogne*, instead of governing for the King, seized the sovereign power of the district assigned them, and made themselves independent. It does not appear when they first began to set up for themselves, and refuse obedience to their King; nor is there any accurate account of their succession, but many made a considerable figure in history, particularly *Eustace* Earl of *Boulogne*, who flourished in the tenth century. The earldom of *Boulogne* continued in his family till the year 1419; then *Philip* surnamed *le Hardi*, Earl of *Burgundy*, put himself in possession of it by force of arms; and it continued in his family till 1476, to the great prejudice of the House of *Avergne*, to whom it belonged by right of succession, tho' they were not able to wrest it out of the hands of the Earls of *Burgundy*, who were become formidable even to Kings. However *Lewis VI.* of *France* recovered it from the House of *Burgundy* in 1477; and next year treated with *Bernard de la Tour d'Avergne*, who in right of his mother had a just claim to the succession of the Earls of *Boulogne*, and gave him in exchange for it the county of *Lauragais*, which was reckoned to be of equal value. But the Earl of *Burgundy* still insisting upon his undoubted right to the superiority of the earldom of *Boulogne*, the King, tho' he could not disprove his claim, resolved not to become his vassal, and therefore declared that he would hold the earldom of *Boulogne* of the Virgin *Mary*. Accordingly he actually did homage to her in the cathedral church of *Boulogne*, and offered at her altar a golden heart weighing thirteen marks, ordering by letters patent, dated at *Hedin* in the month of April 1478, that all his successors in the kingdom of *France* should, as Earls of *Boulogne*, perform the

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same homage to the Virgin *Mary*, and offer the same oblation.

The town of *Boulogne* is divided into the upper and the lower towns, about the distance of an hundred paces from one another. The upper town stands upon a rising ground surrounded on every side with hills higher than itself, except on the south-west, where the lower town lies contiguous to the harbour and the river *Lianne*; so that to come at the town of *Boulogne*, you must first go down, on whatever side you approach it, and then go up again to get into the high town.

Nothing now remains of the old town of *Boulogne*, but some ruins and marks of its antiquity. The siege it sustained in the reign of *Constantius Chlorus*, when the tyrant *Carausius* had got possession of it, had hurt it much. In the year 882 some of the northern nations, who had long infested those parts of the *French* dominions which lay next the sea, made a descent at *Vimoreux*, about two miles and a half from *Boulogne*, which hitherto they had not ventured to attack. Count *Hernequin* drew together the militia of the country to oppose them; but he was defeated, and instead of retiring to the town to defend it, he passed the *Lianne*, and after that the *Canche*. The barbarians in the mean time laid siege to *Boulogne*, and having sap-ped and demolished the walls, got into the town, where they exercised unparalleled cruelties. From *Boulogne* they marched to *Ponthieu*, where they were joined by a number of their own troops, who had come on shore at the mouth of the *Somme*. *Hernequin*, with some other Lords and Counts in that neighbourhood, gave them battle, and was again defeated. He himself also happened to be dangerously wounded, which made him return with great haste to the *Boulonois*, and having repassed the *Authre* and the *Canche*, attended by one servant only, came to the monastery at *Samer*, to which *Bertha* his lady had retired, then went directly into the church, and expired on the steps of the altar. Mean time the barbarians had done inex-

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pressible mischief at *Boulogne*, and intirely ruined the town. They had broke down the walls which inclosed it, several remains of which, yet to be seen, appear to have been built in the same manner with the *Tour d'ordre*, and other works of the *Romans*, and prove to a demonstration, that the town was much larger at that time, than it is at present.

In the year 1231, *Philip* King of *France*, the son of *Philip* the August, and uncle of *St. Lewis*, having married *Mabault* Countess of *Boulogne*, contracted the walls, and reduced the town to a smaller compass. He built the castle, which is yet to be seen in the east corner of the town, as we are assured by an inscription upon a stone over the gate of the draw-bridge.

The town of *Boulogne*, thus contracted and reduced, being on the frontier of *France*, was often attacked, but had the good fortune to withstand all the attempts of enemies from the year 1477 to the 18th of July 1544, when it surrendered to *Henry VIII.* of *England* by capitulation.

This Prince had entered into a treaty with the Emperor against *France* the year before, and had formed vast projects to be executed this campaign; when the Emperor was to enter *France* by *Champagne*, and *Henry* by *Picardy*, each at the head of forty thousand men, and to join near *Paris*. Had this design been executed, *Paris* and all the country as far as the *Loire* would have been in great danger; for the *French* army was not above forty thousand strong, whereas their dominions were to be invaded by twice that number: but the Emperor having entered *France*, as he intended, instead of marching forward according to concert, formed the siege of *St. Didier*, which detained him six weeks. *Henry* in the mean time, finding that the Emperor did not advance to meet him as he expected, would not proceed towards *Paris*, but sat down before *Boulogne*. By these two sieges the concert was broken; the two allies began to entertain a diffidence of one another; *France* was saved from the danger with which

she had been threatned; and the Emperor, as *Henry* justly suspected, began to think of making a separate peace for himself, leaving his ally in the lurch. However, before this treaty of peace could be concluded between the Emperor and *France*, *Henry* had the good luck to make himself master of *Boulogne* on the 14th of September, after a siege of fifty days; and having left a strong garrison in it under the command of Admiral *Dudley*, returned himself to *England* while his army was marching to *Calais*. Some *French* authors say that *Henry* owed this acquisition to the cowardice of the Governour, Major *Vervin*, who, in opposition to the earnest remonstrances of the townsmen, was obstinately bent upon surrendring the place. They acknowledge, that he held out till the *English* had given one general assault; but this, they say, was more owing to the valour of Captain *Corse*, than any resolution of his own; and that the latter happening to fall in that assault, nothing could prevail with him to stand a second, tho' the burghers and inhabitants offered to defend the town themselves without any assistance from the garrison. They add, that before the hostages were delivered, he had certain information that the Dauphin was upon his march to raise the siege, and would be up at farthest in three days: besides, that so much rain had just fallen, and the ground was become so slippery by means of it, that it would have been impossible for the besiegers to give a second assault for some time: but the Governour's fears prevailed so far that nothing could divert him from his purpose, or prevent his surrendring the place. Others excuse the Governour, and assert, that after the reddition of the place, he was rewarded and honoured by his King for the brave defence he had made. Be this as it may, the *English*, having got possession of the town, drove out the *French* inhabitants, as they had formerly done at *Calais*.

Mean time the *French* King, having concluded a peace with the Emperor, ordered the Dauphin to march at the head of his army,

army, and endeavour to surprize the *English* before *Montrevil*, and then proceed to give King *Henry* battle before *Boulogne*; or, in case he should have retired, to retake the place before the breaches should be repaired. But the Duke of *Northfolk*, who was before *Montrevil*, hearing that the *French* army was advanced as far as *Hedin*, decamped with all expedition, for fear the Dauphin should cut off his retreat to *Boulogne*; and King *Henry* having lost a third of his army in the siege, and not thinking it prudent to hazard a battle against a force much superior to his own, the *French* being at that time forty thousand strong, retired, as we have already observed, to *Calais*, in such haste that he left a great part of his artillery and ammunition in the lower town of *Boulogne*. The Dauphin, finding the *English* army gone, thought he could easily surprize the town, as the works were in a ruinous condition immediately after the siege, and covered only with a few inconsiderable retrenchments. With this view he detached two officers, Messieurs *Tais* and *Fouqueffoles*, with two companies, and six thousand *Grifons* to support them. These two officers, coming up before day-light according to their orders, assaulted the lower town, put all they met with to the sword, and possessed themselves of all the stores that were in it; but having neglected to post troops between the upper and lower town, the Governour sallying out of the former with five companies of men, and finding the *French* in disorder, and busy about the plunder, fell upon them with great fury, and put them into such confusion, that they could not be rallied again. In this scuffle *Fouqueffoles* was killed, and *Tais* wounded with an arrow. The Dauphin, having failed in this enterprize, could not stay to renew the attack, because he had marched in such haste, that he had brought no provisions along with him; nor could he find any nearer than *Abbeville*, the whole country of the *Boulonois* having been spoiled and burnt. He therefore dismissed the *Swiss* and *Grifon* troops, and went himself to Court, leaving

the Marshal de *Biez* at *Montrevil* with the *Italian* and *French* troops, to make head against the garrison of *Boulogne*.

*Henry* did not doubt in the least, but next campaign the *French* would renew their attacks upon that place; and therefore neglected nothing that was proper to secure a conquest of so great importance. He fortified the *Tour d'ordre* by building round it four stone bastions, and as many of earth, the whole covering a large space. The convent of the *Cordeliers* in the lower town he inclosed with a fortification of stone and a deep ditch. He ordered a fort to be built on the cliff between the *Tour d'ordre* and the lower town, called *Fort Rouge*, or the Red Fort. Two other forts were built in the inclosure of the lower town, opposite to the hill of *Outreau*: one of these was called the *Paradise*, and contiguous to the harbour; the other stood at the end of the lower town next the place called *Broqueroque*: a part of the first still remains, and the second is yet intire, and serves for a wall to the garden of the *Capuchins*.

The King of *England* also built a fort upon Mount *Lambert*, about a mile and a quarter from *Boulogne*, in the way to *Desfores*; and to secure the harbour, he inclosed it with a wall reaching from *Fort Paradise* to the low-water mark. And, last of all, he raised a fort at the corner of the village of *Semur*, which had the name of the *Dunete*, and another near the hill of *Outreau*, called the *Jardinet*. All these improvements were not made at the same time; but we thought proper to mention at once what the *English* added to the fortifications of the place, that we may not be obliged to resume this subject.

Mean time *Francis*, as King *Henry* expected, made great preparations for renewing the war next campaign. He put himself to infinite expence in equipping a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, to invade the coast of *England*; but without effect. His preparations by land were no less considerable, nor more successful. He drew together an army of four and thirty thousand



thousand men, and gave the command of it to the Marshal *de Biez*, with orders to encamp on the side of the *Lianne* opposite to *Boulogne*, and build a royal fort opposite to the *Tour d'ordre*, capable of containing four or five thousand men, of keeping the *English* from crossing the river in quest of provisions, and able to sink all the ships which should attempt to enter the harbour. *Biez* promised to have the fort ready against the middle of August following; but, upon what motives is not known, unless it were to prolong the war, disappointed his King in every part of his expectations. Instead of building the fort where it ought to have been placed, that it might command the harbour, he built it in another place where it could not hurt the ships which came either in or out. The Engineer also had so far mistaken his measures, that the bastions were too little, no cannon could be mounted on them, and the whole fort could scarce contain five hundred men; in consequence of which they were obliged to demolish it, and begin another. Nor was this other ever brought to perfection. In a word, *Francis* was disappointed in every attempt; so that at last, being quite weary of the war, he concluded a peace with *Henry* in the year 1446, upon conditions which shall be presently mentioned.

*Francis* dying next year was succeeded by his son *Henry* the Second, who, notwithstanding the peace concluded the year before, left nothing unattempted to wrest *Boulogne* from the *English*. For this end he built a fort on the hill of *Outreau*, called *Mountpleasure*, and another at the foot of the same hill, by the sea, to block up the harbour. This last fort was called *Chatillon* Fort, because it was built by the direction of the Admiral *Gaspar de Chatillon*. All this was, in direct violation of the treaty concluded between *Henry VIII.* and *Francis I.* whereby it was expressly stipulated, that the *English* should have peaceable possession of *Boulogne* for eight years, and that at the end of that term it should be restored to *France* upon payment of two millions of crowns to the King of *England*. But

the most solemn treaties are nothing in the way of a *French* King. *Henry II.* no sooner came to the crown, than he began to disturb the *English* in their possession, as above narrated; and soon after he seized several of their forts in the *Boulonois*, and at last laid siege to the town of *Boulogne* itself, which he was in a little time obliged to raise, and retire without success; but after all, the affairs of *England* were so distressed in the minority of *Edward VI.* that the Court thought it prudent to conclude a treaty with the *French*, at *Outreau*, the 24th of March 1550; in consequence of which, *Boulogne* was to be restored to *France* in consideration of four thousand crowns of gold to be paid to the King of *England*, one half on the day of the restitution, and the other half in August following. Upon the restitution of *Boulogne* to the *French*, the forts of the *Cordeliers*, *Mount Pleasure*, *Red House*, *Mount Lambert*, *Chatillon*, and *du Jardin*, were razed. Those of the *Tour d'ordre* and the *Dunete* remained for some time; but time and the ravages of the sea have so far effaced them, that the place where they stood could not be known, were it not for some ruins that yet remain upon the spot.

The *Tour d'ordre* was originally a light-house built by order of the Emperor *Caligula* when he was at *Boulogne*, and pretended to make preparations for sailing with his fleet to *Britain*. It was an edifice worthy of *Roman* grandeur, and well deserved to have its memory preserved, which Father *Montfaucon* has done to good purpose in a dissertation he read before the Royal Academy of *Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*, the 7th of January 1721. We shall only take notice of the following particulars.

This tour was built upon the promontory or eminence which commands the harbour, in the form of an octagon. Each of its sides, according to *Bucherius*, was almost twenty seven feet in length, the whole circumference being two hundred and fourteen, and its diagonal almost thirty nine. It had twelve

twelve entablements or galleries, all visible on the outside, except the lowest, which was covered by the fort the *English* had built about it. Each entablement was taken off the breadth of the wall below it, and formed a kind of gallery of a foot and a half in breadth. By this means it decreased gradually, as other light-houses do, to the top, on which a fire was lighted every night to direct the ships which sailed in the channel. Those who have observed it narrowly give the following account of its structure. The layers of stone and brick, with which it was built, were varied in this manner, with a certain mixture of colour, which rendered the aspect of the whole very agreeable. First were to be seen three layers of such stones as are to be found on that coast, of an iron-coloured gray; next, two layers of a yellowish and softer stone; over them two rows of bricks very red and hard, each being two inches thick, a little more than a foot long, and something more than half a foot broad. This order continued throughout the building.

The name given to this tower for several centuries has been *Turris ordans*, *Turris ordensis*. The author of the life of *St. Folquin*, an ancient writer of the abbay of *St. Bertin*, calls it *Pharus ordans*; but it would seem that *ordans* is a corruption of the word *ordans*, as this latter is of the word *ardens*, and consequently that the original name has been *Turris ardens*, the burning tower, a very proper title for a light-house, whereon a fire is lighted every night. However the learned *Thuanus* does not follow this etymology, but translating the French name of it into *Latin*, calls it *Turris ordinis*.

*Eginard* tells us, that *Charles* the Great caused a fleet to be fitted out in the harbour of *Boulogne*, and came to it himself next year: That he gave directions for repairing the light-house which had been there in ancient times, and ordered a fire to be lighted in it every night. We find nothing more of this light-house in history till the year 1545, when we are told that the *English*, having made themselves masters of *Boulogne*, built

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this year, round the light-house, a small fort with towers, so that the former served as a kind of dungeon to their fortress. That part of the eminence or rock, which projected into the sea, stood instead of a rampart to secure the light-house and fort from the violence of the tides and waves: but the inhabitants having opened quarries in it to sell stone to the *Dutch*, and to some towns in their own neighbourhood, all the fore part of the rock was at last broke down. Then the sea, no longer meeting with the old barrier in its way, came to break at the foot of the tower and fort, and carried away every day some part of them. On the other hand, the waters, which run down the eminence, insensibly undermined the rock, and sapped the foundations of the tower and fortress; so that on the 29th of July in the year 1644, they both fell down at mid-day.

When *Boulogne* was restored to *France* in the year 1550, the King put himself to an immense charge in improving the fortifications of it. We have already observed, that the walls of the town form an oblong square, and that at one of its angles the castle was built in the year 1231. The first improvement the King ordered to be made, was to construct *faussebrayes* quite round these walls and castle; and this was accordingly effected. At another angle a work was erected called the *French Tower*; at a third angle another called *la Tour Gayette*; and at the fourth angle, *la Tour de Notre Dame*, between which and the castle there was a half-moon to cover the new gate leading to *Calais*. Between the castle and the *Tour Francoise*, was a bulwark to cover the gate called *Gayette* which opens toward *Montrevil*. Between the *Tour Francoise* and *Tour Gayette* was a fort called *le Moineau*, and by corruption *le Moniau*, opposite to an ancient gate, now shut up, which opened toward *Outreau*; and between *Tour Gayette* and the tower *de Notre Dame* another bulwark was constructed to cover the gate of the Downs which leads to the lower town. All these fortifications were casemated, countermined, and surrounded with broad and

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deep



deep ditches, and out-works of earth flanked with four half-moons, which were also built of earth.

The lower town was inclosed with a wall which began at the gate of the Downs, and was carried over the eminence to the place where the *English* had built their *Red-house Fort* already mentioned; in place of which the *French* now erected a strong bastion, with an *eperon*, near the mouth of the harbour. The castle is also surrounded with a bulwark called *le Pas de Cheval*, and a large and strong bastion faced with thick stone walls, with a *faussebraye*, a deep ditch, and a work constructed of earth in the form of a double *queue d'hirondelle*.

In the year 1687 all these towers, bulwarks, *faussebrayes*, and out-works, were blown up or demolished, and no fortifications left about the upper town but the old wall with little towers placed at proper distances; the castle with its ancient inclosure; and the bulwark called the *Pas de Cheval*: nor any works about the lower town, but a wall reaching to the eminence or cliff often mentioned; the bulwark which stood at the extremity of that wall, having been also destroyed. By this means the upper town of *Boulogne*, in its present state, is reduced to the form of a little oblong square, encompassed with walls and ramparts, which afford an agreeable walk, especially on the side next the lower town, and along the river *Lianne*, where there is a very pure and fine air, and a charming prospect.

The upper town contains about four hundred houses, which, for the most part, are handsome and convenient. These are inhabited by the Canons; the Gentry, of whom there are about thirty families in the place; the Officers of Justice, the Counsellors, and Attorneys; and about a thousand other inhabitants. Two companies of burghers, and one of the young men of the town, mount guard every day, at the two gates of the town which are left open, that is, the gate of the Downs next the lower town, and the new gate which leads to *Calais*. These

companies take their orders from the Major of the town, who has his from the Governour, the King's Lieutenant, or the Commandant.

The castle already mentioned, which stands at one of the angles of the oblong square formed by the walls of the upper town, is separated from it only by a sloping ditch, faced with a good stone wall, and the rampart, which formerly was flanked quite round with little towers at proper distances, whereof no more than four now remain intire, on the side next the town. The walls of this fort are very high and thick. It has some very good vaults and casemates, which serve as magazines, and lodgings for the King's Lieutenant. Its garrison consists of a company of invalids, who mount guard in it, and take their orders from the Commandant of the town. There are here also eighteen pieces of cannon, six brass mortars, several more of iron, about forty thousand weight of powder, a suitable provision of ball and bombs; and fifteen hundred muskets in good condition, and kept very clean.

The Bishop's episcopal palace, and the Governour's house, are in the upper town, which also contains two large squares, in each of which there is a beautiful fountain of excellent construction, yielding fine and clear water conveyed in pipes from a spring about a half-mile from the town, which abundantly supplies not only those fountains, but also several others, and two *jets d'eaux*, one in the Bishop's garden, and another in that of the Governour. There is likewise in the upper town an antient building, now called *The King's Magazine*, formerly the *Grand Hotel*. Some think it was originally a pagan temple; others, a palace belonging to the Earls of *Boulogne*; others, with more probability, the asylum of the abbot and monks of *St. Wilmer*, the remains of whose abbay are yet to be seen in the plain of *Outreau*. It is now employed to hold corn, flour, and forage, for the King's use. In the upper town is also the town-house, where the Mayor and other magistrates of the town hold their

their meetings: they have the cognizance of crimes committed in the upper and lower town, and their districts; except in privileged cases, and those wherein the King is concerned. In the lower part of it are the King's prisons; and over the back part of it, a large high tower called the *Bosroi*, which is used as a watch-tower, from which one may see all the ships that sail by in the channel, and those that go in or out of the Downs in *England*. Some are of opinion, that this town-house was originally the palace of the old Earls of *Boulogne*.

The church is a beautiful structure. The table of the grand altar, and the rails about it are of marble. *Lewis XIV.* was at the expence of building it; and it cost him twelve thousand livres (525 *l.* sterl.) The Fathers of the Oratory have a college here: and there are also two convents of Nuns; one consisting of Nuns of the order of the *Annunciation*; the other, of the *Ursuline* Nuns. The former was once an hospital, and the Nuns took care of the sick; they were also allowed to go out and attend the sick of the town, but they are now cloistered; the latter keep a school for young girls. The Nuns belonging to each are in number sixty.

The lower town of *Boulogne* is larger, more populous, and more inclined to trade, than the upper. It lies, in the form of an equilateral triangle, on the south side, and the valley at the foot, of the rising ground on which the upper stands. One of its angles points to the north-west and the upper town, another towards the harbour, where a part of *Fort Paradise* still stands, but, unless means are used to prevent it, will soon be intirely demolished by the violence of the sea; and this will be no small detriment to the harbour, and also to the lower town, because in that event the sea will break in upon it. The third, at the south-east end of the town, next the country and the river *Lianne*, points to the place called *Brequeroque*, where the bulwark drawn round the convent of the *Cordeliers* is still standing; so that the side which joins these two last angles,

fronts the hill of *Outreau*, between which and the lower town the *Lianne* falls into the sea, and the tide flowing up covers a large space of ground. This lower town is not of long standing; for when *Boulogne* was taken by the *English* in the year 1444, there were but very few houses in this part of it. There are yet to be seen, on the side of the eminence on which the upper town stands, the ruins of an old chapel dedicated to *St. Peter*. All that part of the lower town, which is between this chapel and the harbour, has been gained from the sea. This is sufficiently proved by the sea-sand, shells, and stone-quays, which are daily met with by those who have occasion to dig into the ground in this place.

This part of *Boulogne* is well built, the streets are well laid out, and the houses handsome. The latter are not in number less than twelve hundred, inhabited by five thousand of both sexes, including the families of about a dozen of gentlemen, and as many of the *English* nation who reside here. The other inhabitants have the freedom of the corporation, and enjoy the same privileges with those of the upper town. There are here nine open gates which were formerly shut. The whole lower town is comprehended in one parish. The church stands in the centre of the place, and is dedicated to *St. Nicholas*. The curate's salary consists of a very small portion of the tythes and some casualties. There are here also a seminary under the direction of the Missionaries of *St. Lazare*, and three convents of Monks. The seminary is well built; and the church belonging to it is neat and well ornamented, tho' but small. One of the convents belongs to the *Cordeliers*, and is among those of the oldest standing they have in *France*. There are in it thirteen or fourteen Monks; in the second, which belongs to the *Minims*, not above four or five. The third belongs to the *Capuchins*, and was founded in the year 1616.

The general hospital is dedicated to *St. Lewis*, and was established by Letters patent dated in the year 1692. The fabric is very



very grand; it was erected by the liberality of the Duke *d'Aumont*, whose heart is buried in the church belonging to that hospital, to which he had given some valuable ornaments, and a very fine altar-piece. The court-yard is an oblong square in the centre of the building, in breadth one hundred and thirty three feet, and in length one hundred and sixty four. The apartment for the sick is on the right hand as you enter the court, divided into two wards, one for the men, another for the women; and there are five and thirty very convenient beds in each. Between these two wards is an altar, so situated that the patients of both sexes may hear mass in their beds without seeing one another. The boys in the hospital are employed in making nets for the fishermen; the girls, in making lace, and knitting stockings. The yearly revenue of this charity was formerly sixteen thousand livres, but now it is not above half that sum, which is far from being sufficient for the maintenance of the poor that are in it. The care of this hospital is committed to the Bishop, the Governour, the King's Lieutenant, the Mayor of the Town, and some other Officers, who are called *Peres de la Chambre*, the Fathers of the House. They hold their meetings in a beautiful hall by the side of the church. The sick of the town are not only received into this hospital, but also those of the King's troops; and both are attended by the girls that belong to the house. There is here also a Chaplain.

In the lower town also are the schools for the instruction of youth. These are under the direction of six of the *Brethren of Christian Charity*, as they are called, who have but 650 livres, (28 l. 8 s. 6 d.) and yet teach gratis.

The town of *Boulogne* has two market-days every week, viz. Wednesday and Saturday, and the first Wednesday of every month is a free market-day. There is also an annual fair which begins on *St. Martin's Day*, the 11th of November, and has nine free days. During this fair a great number of cattle

of all kinds are disposed of, especially colts, or young horses; and it produces to the King about 1200 livres (52 l. 10 s.) The revenues, donations, and grants, belonging to the town-house of *Boulogne*, produce yearly about 4000 livres (175 l.) which is not sufficient to defray the charges of it.

There is at *Boulogne* a kind of domanial tax, but now in the hands of a private man, called the *Minete*, which is a burden upon commerce. It was originally intended for the support of the high-ways, and consisted in a small portion levied out of every bushel of all sorts of grain carried by land from any part of the district to be sold at the market of *Boulogne*. This tax is farmed out at eight or nine hundred livres (35 l. or 39 l. 7 s. 6 d.) The gentry and clergy are exempted from it, as also citizens bringing corn of the growth of their own lands into town for the use of their families: corn brought into the town to pay rent is likewise exempted. And finally, the inhabitants of *Ambleteuse* are not subject to this tax, in consequence of a privilege granted them by *Robert of Damartin*, and *Ide* his wife Countess of *Boulogne*.

The harbour of *Boulogne*, formerly so famous under the name of the *Portus Gessoriacus*, and, as some think, under that of the *Iccius Portus*, had fallen, some time ago, into such circumstances, that there was ground to fear it would become intirely useless, on account of a large bank of sand of a cable's length, which lay from north-east to south-west, and stopt the mouth of it. Over the north-east end of it there is now a buoy to warn sailors of their danger, and at the south-west extremity a mast is erected with the same intention, having a lantern at its top. The inhabitants of *Boulogne*, having applied to the Court of *France* with great importunity, that a jetty on the west of their harbour, which had been demolished many years before, might be restored, the King granted their desire, and to encourage the design, contributed 75,000 livres (2031 l. 5 s.) out of his own revenue. The work was accordingly begun in the

the month of May 1739, and conducted by Mr. *Hache* as principal Engineer, with the advice and instructions of Mr. *de Mus*, Director General of the fortifications at *St. Omer*, till it was brought to a conclusion in 1741. But it having been apprehended that this one jetty would not be sufficient to redress the evils complained of, and prevent the formation of sand-banks in the mouth of the harbour, to the great detriment of navigation; a jetty on the other side of the harbour was begun, and a third part of it built before the end of the month of November 1741; which, it is said, soon produced the effect expected from it, at least in a great measure, so that in the year 1742 the mouth of the harbour was five or six feet deeper than formerly, and ships could go in and out an hour before the ordinary time.

The road lies about a cannon-shot to the south-west of the *Tour d'ordre*. Merchant-ships and fishing boats anchor in it at low-water, and wait till they have flood enough to carry them into the harbour. The anchorage here is good, but cannot be said to be the best. There is also another road, called the *Road of St. John*, which we mentioned before in our account of *Ambleteuse*. It extends almost four miles toward the north, but unless the wind be between the north and south-east points, ships of war cannot anchor in it.

The commerce of *Boulogne* has of late years flourished greatly by the industry and good management of its inhabitants. Formerly they dealt scarcely in any commodities but herrings and mackrel; but now both the *French* and *English* merchants have opened several other more beneficial branches of commerce. They draw from *Burgundy*, *Champaigne*, *Nantes*, and *Rochelle*, as also from *Port de Cette* and *Barcelona*, prodigious quantities of wine and brandy. A considerable part also of the best wines bought for the *English*, are deposited at *Boulogne*, as a kind of temporary magazine till they be ripe for drinking. In short, the quantities of those liquors, that are annually

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brought to this place, are so very considerable that, the cellars belonging to the merchants not being sufficient to contain one fourth part of them, a great many private men, and the religious houses, have, within these twenty years, greatly enlarged their cellars, and get no less than ten *per cent.* for all the wines they can stow in them. The purchases also which the merchants of *Boulogne* make at the sales of *East-India* goods at *Port L'Orient*, are very considerable. They were still more so before the late war; for then the article of tea alone came to several millions of livres.

*Boulogne* is the capital of the country which is from it called the *Bolonois*, lying along the coast of the *British Channel*, by which it is bounded on the west, as it is on the north by the *Pais reconquis*, on the east by *Artois*, and on the south by *Ponthieu*. It constituted the western division of the country of the *Morini* so well known to the ancients; and on its coasts *Cæsar* and the *Romans* made their embarkations for *Great Britain*. As this country was formerly a fief of the earldom of *Artois*, all the Kings of *France* from *Lewis XI.* have declared the inhabitants of it free from all taxes, *tailles*, subsidies, *gabelles* or duties on salt, and other impositions laid, or to be laid, upon the rest of the kingdom. The last letters patent confirming these privileges, are said to have been granted in the month of November 1656, and in March 1682. The King having sent some of his troops to take winter quarters in the *Bolonois* in the year 1660, they committed so many outrages and disorders, that the inhabitants offered to pay yearly the sum of forty thousand livres (1750 *l.* sterling) on condition that they should not be thereafter exposed to the same inconvenience. Their offer was accepted; this sum has ever since been exacted of them, and, it is pretended, for some time past has been a little improved.

The principal articles of the commerce carried on by the inhabitants of the *Bolonois*, besides those already mentioned in our account of its capital, is a sort of pit-coals, which they find

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in great plenty near the villages of *Fienne* and *Reffy*, and transport to *Artois* and *Flanders* by the canal of *Calais*, and the river *Aa*, for the use of brick and lime kilns, and smiths forges. The country produces plenty of excellent butter, which they send to *Artois*, *Champaigne*, and *Paris*. They have good marble from the quarries of *Ferques*, *Elinghen*, *Sculinghen*, &c. and glass-bottles from the glass-house at *Hardingen*. The colts or young horses, which are sold at the fairs of *Boulogne*, *Defuregnes*, and *Wissan*, are of vast consequence to the country. The merchants of *Normandy* purchase prodigious numbers of them at these fairs, then send them to feed in the fine pastures of Lower *Normandy*, and afterwards sell them as *Normand* horses. To conclude; at *Devresnes*, *Tunbronne*, and *Neuville* near *Montrevil*, they make a sort of coarse cloth for the use of ordinary mechanics and country people; but the greatest part of this commodity is consumed among themselves.

The inhabitants of *Boulogne* are naturally brave, and make an excellent militia; and probably it is on this account that they have no regular troops in their country, the defence of it

being left to themselves. They are very well trained to military exercises, and have been always zealous for the service of their Sovereign. Upon the first order they form six regiments of foot, five of horse, one company of carabineers, and two of dragoons, together with three other companies of horse for guarding their coasts, which taken altogether make, according to some accounts, three, according to others, five thousand men, out of fifteen thousand inhabitants, always enrolled and commanded by the nobility and gentry of their own country. They were regimented by *Lewis XIV.* in the year 1672, and are ranked between the regiments of *Vermandois* and *Languedoc*. In the year 1689 an Inspector was appointed, with a salary or pension of a thousand livres (43 l. 15 s.) and in 1740 an Inspector of levies and police.

The whole country of the *Bolonois* is about thirty miles in length, and seventeen and a half in breadth, and is divided into the higher and lower districts. It has a Governour of its own, who is one of the King's Lieutenants, and pretends to be independent of the Governour of *Picardy*.

## E S T A P L E S.

**E**STAPLES, *Stapula*, is a small sea-port town, situated in the *Bolonois* on a bay of the same name, near the mouth of the river *Canche*, in the latitude of 50 degrees 33 minutes N. and longitude of 1 degree 38 minutes east from the meridian of *London*, about twelve miles south from *Boulogne* in the way to *St. Valery* on the *Somme*. It belongs to the diocese of *Boulogne*, is subject to the Parliament of *Paris*, and Intendance of *Amiens*; and was once a place of some importance, but is now much fallen from its antient state: yet it still continues to be a royal bailiwick, to have a Mayor and other magistrates, with

seven hundred inhabitants. Its castle is now reduced to ruins. It has a market-day every week, and a free fair yearly on *St. Nicholas's* day, in which a great many horses are sold. The town, or rather village of *Estaples*, is said to have been built upon the ruins of a more antient one called *Cuentavia*, which the *Abbé de Longuenne* pretends to have been the *Portus Iccius* of *Cæsar*. The inhabitants carry on a considerable trade in herring and mackrel; for the former of which they fish with great success in autumn on the coasts of *England*, especially near *Yarmouth*. A considerable part of the commerce of *Artois* is

is carried on by *Estaples*, which furnishes that province with wine, brandy, vinegar, train-oil, and salt. *Estaples* has acquired fame by giving birth to the famous *James le Fevre*, by whom the learned languages, and true theology, received very great improvements in *France*. A learned writer, who was by no means prodigal of his eulogiums, speaking of this town, says: "Quæ insignem illum philosophum & theologum genuit *Jacobum Fabrum* dictum *Stapulensem*, qui primus omnium a trecentis annis, *Parisiis* et in tota *Europa*, cepit linguarum cognitionem cum philosophia et theologia coniungere, et pristino splendori restituere ante *Germanos*, qui ab eo multa sumpserunt." But this great man had the misfortune to think for himself in matters of religion, which, in the age and place wherein he lived, was looked upon as the most

heinous crime; and on this account being cruelly persecuted by the *Sorbonists*, the good old man was forced to retire to *Neræ* to *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, and sister to *Francis II.* who received him with joy, and often conversed with him on the sublimest subjects. One day being invited to dine with this Princess in company with several other learned men, he retained his usual cheerfulness all the time of dinner, but soon after expired without the least sign of uneasiness or indisposition of any kind, insomuch that the Queen and the rest of the company thought for some time that he had fallen asleep. At the time of his death he had arrived at the age of an hundred and one years.

About seven miles to the west of *Estaples*, and on the south side of the river *Canche*, lies

## M O N T R E U I L,

**C**ALLED also *Monstreuil*, and in *Latin* *Monasteriolum*, a town of *Picardy*, in the Diocese of *Amiens*, subject to the Parliament of *Paris* and Intendance of *Amiens*, containing, by some accounts, about 5750, by others, not above five thousand inhabitants, situated 50 degrees 30 minutes north of the equinoctial line, and 1 degree 40 minutes east of the meridian of *London*, being about thirty five miles distant from *Calais*, nineteen from *Boulogne*, twenty five from *Abbeville*, fifty from *Amiens*, and about an hundred and twelve from *Paris*.

The original name of this place is said to have been *Bragum* or *Braium*. *St. Selve*, who was Bishop of *Amiens* about the end of the eighth century, and seems to have been a native of *Braium*, had laid the foundations of a monastery there before the middle of that century; and having endowed it with a revenue out of his own estate, became the second Abbot of it himself. This monastery still subsists; and from it the place

where it stands was first called *Monasteriolum*, and afterwards by corruption *Monstreuil* and *Montreuil*. And as this name is common to it with several other places, it is for distinction's sake commonly called *Montreuil sur mer*, or *Montreuil by the sea*, tho' it is seven or eight miles distant from it.

*Helgand*, the first of that name, Earl of *Ponthieu* and the *Bolonois*, which at that time reached at least to the river *Authie*, built the town of *Montreuil* about *A.D.* 900, the castle of the same name having been built long before, and gave the marshy lands below the town, and on the other side of the *Canche* in the *Bolonois*, to be possessed in common by the inhabitants of his new city. The same *Helgand* also assumed the title of Earl of *Ponthieu* and *Montreuil*, in which he was followed by his son *Herlouin* and his successors; and was killed in the year 926 by the *Normans* in the country of *Artois*. In 926, *Hugh* Earl of *France*, and *Herbert II.* Earl of *Vermandois* and *Amiens*, besieged



besieged *Herlouin* in his castle of *Montrevil*, but were not able to reduce it; nor was this surprising, as it had for a long time before defied the utmost efforts and fury of the *Normans*, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring places had brought into it an immense quantity of money and valuable goods, believing it to be a place impregnable.

In the year 943, after the murder of *William* surnamed *longue épée*, or long sword, Duke of *Normandy*, by the contrivance of *Arnoul* Earl of *Flanders*, King *Lewis IV.* surnamed *outré mer*, made *Herlouin* Earl of *Montrevil* Governour of the town of *Rouen*. Upon which the latter marched at the head of an army against *Arnoul*, and gained a compleat victory over him. In this battle he happened to light upon the assassin whom the Earl of *Flanders* had employed in the murder of the Duke of *Normandy*, and having cut off both his hands, sent them to *Rouen*. Next year, *Herlouin* being already in possession of the earldom of *Montrevil*, *Lewis outré mer* also conferred upon him that of *Amiens*: but he did not long survive these successes; for the year following, 945, he was slain at *Rouen* by *Aigrold* King of the *Normans*, and succeeded by his son *Roger*, *Rosgarus*, in the earldoms of *Amiens* and *Montrevil*.

About the year 1093 *Montrevil* became famous by being the place to which Queen *Bertha*, spouse to *Philip II.* of *France*, was banished. This Princess is said to have been possessed of all the virtues that adorn the sex, and to have had daily opportunities of exercising them. *Philip*, being of a disposition too much inclined to irregular amours, sought after those external advantages of person which she did not possess in an eminent degree, and treated her rather with ceremony than love. The good Queen perceived it, and by all the tenderness and obliging conduct that could be employed to captivate a reasonable mind, endeavoured to get the better of his irregular passions; but all the means she could use were so far from gaining upon him, that he despised her the more, and every day put some new

mistress in her place. All this however she could have bore with; but matters were at last carried to the extremity of a cruel separation. The King passing through the city of *Tours*, happened there to see *Bertrade* the spouse of *Foulques* Earl of *Anjou*, and no sooner saw her than he fell violently in love with her, and soon after carried her to Court. This artful woman, once admitted to the royal bed, never ceased her solicitations till she prevailed with the King to banish his Queen to *Montrevil*. *Bertha* bore even this cruel affront with surprising resolution, hoping that time and rational reflection would at length reclaim him; but she had soon occasion for a patience yet more heroic. Tho' the King had had several children by his Queen, yet nothing less would satisfy him than to have *Bertha* divorced, that he might marry his concubine *Bertrade*. Accordingly he demanded a dispensation for this purpose from the Pope, who sent a Cardinal, in the character of his Legate, into *France*, to take the affair under his cognisance. The Legate assembled a good number of Bishops at *Sentis*, to assist him in inquiring into the reasonableness of the King's demand; and tho' nothing could be more flagrantly unjust, yet his presents and threats so corrupted the judges, that they at last gave a decision in his favour. In consequence of this, the King publicly married *Bertrade*, and triumphed over justice, and the innocence of his lawful wife, who in the mean time ceased not to pray for him, and to hope that at length he would be delivered from the snares and enchantments of her wicked and insolent rival. Some time after, Pope *Urban* having come to *France* upon other affairs, resumed to himself the cognisance of the case in a council assembled at *Clermont*; and having in vain represented to *Philip* his cruel injustice to *Bertha*, at last excommunicated both him and his concubine, and put his kingdom under an interdict. *Paschal*, successor to *Urban* in the papacy, renewed the same severe sentence against him; and these repeated thunders of the *Vatican*

at last so frightened the King, that he dismissed his favourite mistress, and recalled from her exile his lawful wife; with whom he afterwards lived in very good understanding till the day of his death, and she survived him several years.

*Lewis VIII.* added *Montreuil* to the Crown of *France* in the year 1224, having purchased it of *William de Maineris* proprietor of *Maintenay*. From this time it was often besieged and taken by the *English*, and as oft recovered by the *French*, either by stratagem or open force. Particularly it was in the hands of the former *A. D.* 1360, and ceded to them in full sovereignty by the treaty concluded that year at *Bretigny*. This treaty was by no means favourable to the *French*; and therefore they never intended to observe it longer than it should be in their power to break it with impunity. Instead of paying to *England* the money stipulated by it, for the ransom of King *John*, they hoarded up all they could scrape together as a fund for the war, which they intended to renew. They kept secret correspondence with the subjects of *England* in *France*, and by all possible means disposed them to revolt; and when they had got matters prepared to their mind, to which the indolence and security of the *English* contributed not a little, in the year 1369 they threw off the mask; and, upon the most frivolous pretences, invaded all the dominions of *England* in *France* at the same time. The country of *Ponthieu* particularly, and all the towns in it, were wrested out of the hands of the *English* in the space of three days; and among the rest, the inhabitants of *Montreuil* being previously gained by the *French*, and disposed for such a revolution, rose upon the *English* garrison, expelled them out of the town, and opened their gates to the troops of the *French* King. *Henry V.* of *England*, after the conquest of *Roan* in *Normandy* in the year 1419, sent a part of his army into *Picardy*, who reduced *Montreuil* and some other places. During the war which continued to rage between *England* and *France* all the remaining part of this reign,

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and in the minority of *Henry VI.* it had the same fate with other places, often changing its masters, and being sometimes in the possession of the one, and sometimes of the other. In the year 1537, Count *Nassau*, at the head of an imperial army of 30,000 men, entered *Ponthieu*, and made himself master of most places in it; particularly *Montreuil*, which surrendered to him by capitulation, whereby the garrison had their lives saved, and liberty to retire wherever they would; but the town was first plundered by the enemy, then reduced to ashes, and the fortifications razed to the ground. However, two years after, *Francis* the First caused it to be rebuilt, and fortified it anew to so very good purpose, that tho' in the year 1544 the Duke of *Norfolk* at the head of a part of the *English* army, in conjunction with 10,000 Imperialists under the command of the Count *de Bure*, laid siege to it towards the end of June, and continued before it till near the end of September, in all that time they could not make themselves master of it.

*Montreuil* is divided into the upper and lower towns, separated from one another by a plain wall. The principal church in it is that of *St. Sauve*, possessed by the unreformed *Benedictines*, whose foundation there is very antient. There is here also a collegiate church dedicated to *St. Firmin*, the chapter of which is composed of seven canons, who are presented by the Bishop of *Amiens*. The town is divided into eight parishes, two of which are without the city. There are here several convents; one of the *Capuchins*, one of the *Carmelites*, and a convent of Nuns of the order of *St. Benedict*, which was transported from the place of its foundation near *Hesdin* to *Montreuil*. Six villages, belonging to the district of *Montreuil*, pay no taxes or *tailles*, and are also exempted from the *gabelle*, or duty on salt. But after all, some time ago a magazine of salt was established here out of which that commodity is now distributed to the people of the town and district at 14 sols the bushel.

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The river *Canche*, upon which *Montreuil* stands, separates *Ponthieu* from the *Boulonois*, and, taking its rise in the county of *Artois*, passes by *Hesdin* to *Montreuil*, and empties itself in the *British Channel* near *Estaples*. It is navigable by means of

fluices as far as *Montreuil*, and great pains have been taken to make it so from *Montreuil* to *Hesdin*; but all these attempts have hitherto miscarried by the ignorance of the undertakers.

About eight miles further up the *Canche* stands

## H E S D I N,

IN Latin *Hesdinium*, in the county of *Artois*, and diocese of *Arras*, subject to the Parliament of *Paris* and Intendance of *Amiens*. It is distinguished into *New* and *Old Hesdin*. *Old Hesdin* was formerly a strong place belonging to the Earls of *Flanders*, and, together with the county of *Artois*, was given as a portion to *Isobel* of *Hainault* the wife of *Philip the August* King of *France*. It afterwards came to the brother of *St. Lewis*, together with the same county. And thereafter, through the family of *Burgundy* it descended to the House of *Austria*. It was taken and retaken a great many times in the wars between the Emperor *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* but at last sacked and intirely destroyed by the Duke of *Savoy*, General of the imperial army in the year 1553. There are some learned men who believe, that *Old Hesdin* is the *Vicus Helenæ* of which *Sidonius* speaks. According to them, *Helen* the wife of *Constantius Chlorus*, and mother of *Constantine the Great*, having been divorced from her husband, retired to this place, and built a castle which she called *Vicus Helenæ*. This name, say they, has been changed first into *Vic Helene* or *Vic Hedene*, and afterwards into *Vieil Hesdin*, in *English*, *Old Hesdin*: but this etymology is so fanciful and ridiculous, that it is a wonder how it could enter into any learned head.

*New Hesdin* is situated about two miles and an half lower on the same river *Canche*, in the latitude of 50 degrees 25 minutes north, and two degrees east from the meridian of *London*. It was built by *Philibert Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, commander in chief of the army of the Emperor *Charles V.* in the Low Countries, upon the ruins of the village of *Du Mesnil*, in the year 1554. It is for this reason that in several maps it is called *Hesdin Fert*, the last syllable being intended to shew, that the place owed its foundation to a Prince of the House of *Savoy* whose favourite device is the four letters, F, E, R, T, being the initial ones of the words *Fortitudo Ejus Rhodum Tenuit*. The place is a regular hexagon, surrounded with a good ditch and counterscarp, with half-moons and other out-works to defend it on that side where it is not secured by an impracticable marsh. It was taken in the year 1639, after a siege of eight and thirty days, by the Marishal *de la Meilleraye* at the head of the army of *Lewis XIII.* of *France*. The King entered the town by the breach, and turning to *Puysequer*, took his cane, and gave it to *M. de la Meilleraye*, saying, "I hereby create you Marishal of *France*, and give you this cane as a badge of your preferment. The services that you have done me oblige me to make this return." *Hesdin* contains about 4689 inhabitants.

ST. QUINTIN.

## S T. Q U I N T I N.

THIS Town is situated on the river *Somme*, and was anciently called *Augusta Vero-manduorum*, *Augusta Viro-manduorum*, *Augusta Vero-mandorum*, *Civitas Vero-manduorum*, *Civitas Vero-mandorum*, *Civitas Vero-mandensis*, *Urbs Vero-mandensis* & *Vero-mandi*; from the name of the people whose capital city it was. It was the primitive seat of the Bishop of the *Vermandois*, which *St. Medard* transported to *Noyon* in the year 531. It was afterwards called *Sanquintinum*, *Fanum Sancti Quintini*, and *Quintopolis*, on account of *St. Quintin* who suffered martyrdom in it, and to whom the principal church of the town is dedicated. All the critics however are not agreed, that this is the *Augusta Vero-manduorum* of the ancients; and there are some who pretend, that the remains of this ancient town are about two leagues distant from *St. Quintin*. The arguments on both sides would take too much room here; and therefore we hope our readers will excuse our entering into the controversy.

*St. Quintin* is situated on the rising ground near the *Somme*, having that river on one side, and on the other a valley very deep every where, except towards *St. John's Gate*, where they have erected a large bastion with several half-moons. It is one of the strongest places in *Picardy*, and one of the most populous, containing, according to some, 7700, and to others; above 9000 souls.

The town is considerable on a great many accounts; but nothing has contributed so much to render it famous, as the memorable battle fought near its walls between the *French* and *Spaniards* in the year 1557, and the siege it sustained in consequence of that engagement. As this was one of the most considerable events of the history of those times, and had no small influence upon the affairs of *Europe*, we cannot omit giving some account of it here.

After the peace concluded between the Emperor and *France* at *Cressy* in the year 1544, where the former thought proper to leave his ally *Henry VIII.* in the lurch, the war broke out again in 1551 betwixt *France* and *Spain*, and was carried on with various success till 1556, when, by the mediation of *Queen Mary of England*, a truce was concluded between the powers at war for five years. But as if the *French* had taken pleasure in breaking treaties, not for conveniency, but through mere wantonness, no sooner was this truce concluded, than at the instigation of the Pope, they broke it without any other pretence but that this holy father was like to be oppressed by the *Spaniards*; whereas it was well known, that his Holiness had first declared war against *Spain*. As soon as the Court of *France* had resolved to break through the truce, the Duke of *Guise* set out with an army for *Italy*, in hopes by the assistance of the Pope to be able to conquer the kingdom of *Naples*. But when he came to *Rome*, he found the Pope's promises were vanished to nothing; he was not able to furnish the succours he had stipulated, and the Duke could do nothing to signify without them.

Mean time King *Philip*, desiring to signalize the beginning of his reign by some grand exploit, and to give all *Europe* proofs of his valour and power, exerted himself to the utmost in making preparations for the war; so that his father having left him without money, and incumbered with many debts, he found himself obliged for this purpose to mortgage his revenue, and sell even the furniture of his palace. But as it was his temper to avoid ostentation, he concealed his designs as much as possible, and raised troops without noise, that the *French* might feel the blow before they should hear themselves threatened. And to this end, knowing the fortifications of *Rocroy*, which served to secure *Mariembourg* and *Maubert Fontaine*, were not yet



yet in a proper state of defence, he ordered the garrisons of *Charlemont*, *Philipville* and *Avesnes* to go and cut to pieces the pioneers who were at work upon them. These hoped to draw the *French* garrison into an ambuscade, and having cut off their retreat, to fall upon the pioneers, and secure their blow. In fact, the garrison sallied out as they expected, but seeing themselves surrounded, they exerted themselves with such vigour, that they cut their way through those who endeavoured to prevent their retreat, and by this means got back to the town. Thus this enterprize proving abortive only served to give notice to the brave Duke of *Nevers* who was Governour at *Champagne*, that it was high time for him to secure his frontiers, and put his fortifications in a proper state of defence. The town is situated in a very barren country, in a deep clayey soil, having on one side a marshy wood full of bogs and ditches, and on the other naked rocks without any moisture which produced nothing but moss; so that it is not easy to find subsistence for an army that would besiege the place.

On the other hand, *France*, beside the ordinary subsidies, being loaded with new taxes, particular loans, and uncommon burdens to support the charges of the war, nothing was heard but the cries and complaints of the people, whose sighs and tears seemed to presage some heavy affliction ready to fall on the kingdom. The Council made but slow preparations for sustaining the efforts of King *Philip*; they had only ordered the *gens d'armes*, which is the readiest force of the kingdom, to the places where they seemed to be most wanted, but had made no provision for raising foreign troops, except eight or nine thousand *Germans* and eight hundred horse, which the *Rhingrave* brought with him. The Court was at that time intirely taken up with the solemnities and idle amusements at the marriage of the Constable's eldest son with the King's natural daughter, widow of the Duke of *Castres*. The Constable's immoderate passion for strengthening his family by this alliance seemed to have be-

reaved him of all thought; and flatterers (for these will follow the great to the very brink of the precipice) concealing the distress of public affairs, rallied the power of the enemy, and assured the King that he durst undertake nothing that campaign. However, the dread of the *Spanish* arms, which made a great noise upon the frontiers of *Champagne*, having roused the King, he went himself in person to secure that province.

Mean time King *Philip* earnestly pressed the Queen his spouse, and the Court of *England*, to break with *France*; and as he saw they were but little disposed to it, he used such arguments as effectually determined the Queen to espouse his cause. The King of *France* happened to be at *Rheims* when she sent a herald to declare war against him. The messenger was severely reprimanded by the Constable for entering upon the territories of *France* without a safe conduct, and without his coat of arms upon his back, a fault which, he said, deserved death. However, being introduced to the King, he delivered his message upon his knees; and the King accepted the defiance. Immediately upon this declaration, *Henry* sent an ambassador to *Scotland*, intreating that the *Scots*, in consequence of the treaty subsisting between them, would declare war against *England*.

By this time the summer was far advanced, and nothing attempted on either side. About the middle of July however, the *Spanish* army being assembled at *Guivers* on the *Meuse*, began their march. They consisted of thirty five thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, without reckoning the *English* troops which were not yet arrived. The Duke of *Savoy* was Commander in chief, having under him the Duke of *Arscot*, and the Counts of *Mansfield*, *Egmont*, *Barlymont*, and *Mege*. The *French* army drew together likewise at *Attigny*, but were not near so strong as the former; for they could not be reckoned in all above seventeen thousand foot, and scarce six thousand horse.

It

It was thought that the *Spaniards* would attack *Champagne*, and the *French* were particularly in pain for *Mefieres* and *Rocroy*. King *Henry* ordered the Duke of *Nevers* to abandon the latter, because he reckoned that it could not be yet in a proper state of defence: but this Nobleman, by a generous resolution, entreated the King to depend upon him, assuring him, that if there was any appearance of its being attacked, he would shut up himself in it. The *Spaniards*, indeed, seemed at first to have this intention; for a part of their army approached the place, with a great number of scaling ladders, which they had caused to be made for the purpose, in hopes of carrying the town in the space of six hours; but the *French* being advised of their coming, gave them such a salutation, with their great and small arms, that they were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Upon this, the *Spaniards* leaving that frontier, either because they had no hope of success, or because they had made only this attempt to amuse the *French*, drew towards *Guise*, where their whole army united. Then the danger, to which *France* was exposed, came to be known when it was too late, and the inconsiderateness of those who were in the administration appeared to be surprising, as there was no place in all *Piccardy* fortified, or provided with men or ammunition, so that thus the best part of *France* lay open and exposed to the wounds of its enemies. The *Spaniards* having staid three days near the city of *Guise*, as if they had intended to besiege it, on a sudden ordered all their light horse to seize the avenues round *St. Quintin*, and then marched the rest of their army to it, with such diligence, that they were encamped round it before the news reached the *French* army. The place was in very bad condition, having only in it a company of the *Dauphin's* regiment, commanded by his Lieutenant, *Teligny*, and the half of *Peter du Brueil's* company of foot, that is to say, in all, not above three hundred men. This *Du Brueil*, though he was governor of the place, came not up till after the siege was begun; the Consta-

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ble, prodigiously surpris'd at this siege, and knowing the terror the inhabitants of the town must be in, told the Admiral, his nephew, governor of *Piccardy*, who was accused of not having put the strong places belonging to his government in a proper state of defence, that he must shut himself up in the town if it should cost him his life. The Admiral, sensibly galled by this order and the reproaches of his enemies, drew together some troops and threw himself into the place; but all he could carry with him did not exceed five hundred men. At his arrival he recovered the ruins of the suburbs *de l'Isle*, which the *French* had abandoned. Afterwards he made several regulations with respect to the fortifications, and the preservation, and distribution of provisions. But the burgers having an aversion to him, because he and his followers made almost a public profession of the reformed religion, obeyed him with reluctance. The first sally which he made was unhappy, by the loss of *Teligny*, the best soldier which they had in the place. The Admiral had ordered him to send fifty of his men to observe the situation of the enemies, but had expressly forbid him to go himself. Notwithstanding this, *Teligny* finding that his companions began to skirmish unseasonably with the enemy, run out himself, without arms, to call them back, but unhappily receiving a deadly wound, fell down speechless upon the spot. A foot soldier offered to go in quest of him, and brought him back, with the assistance of some other of his companions, almost ready to expire. Three or four days thereafter the Admiral abandoned the suburb *de l'Isle*, which had been taken at the expence of so many valuable lives, and set fire to it. He was in want of every thing, of cannon, of powder, instruments, and men, especially musketeers. The town not being much straitned on the side of *Han*, he imagined that a reinforcement might be introduced upon that quarter; for this end he had sent *Vaupergue* to the Constable, having shewed him, from the top of a steeple, the way by which he might introduce them. On this occasion



two thousand foot were given to *Dandelot*, to introduce them into the town; but whether *Vaupergue* had forgot the way which the Admiral pointed out to him, or that one of the *English*, in the *French* service, for they had three hundred light horse that had been banished from that nation, having been made prisoner, had discovered the design to save his life. *Dandelot* met with a party of the enemy so strong, that most of his men were put to flight or cut to pieces, and only a few of them could enter the town. Mean time arrived the *English* army, consisting of nine thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the command of the Lords, *Penbrock*, *Clinton*, and *Gray*. The admiral attempted several other means to get succours into the place, which having all failed him, he at last thought of some foot-paths through the morafs, where men could walk almost dry footed, excepting some hollow pits which he caused immediately to be filled up. He sent immediate notice of this to the Constable, who was at *Fere* with the army, together with the princes and nobility of *France*; acquainting him at the same time, to provide boats, because he had but four or five small ones wherewith to pass the river, which runs through the middle of the morafs. The Constable, upon this information, advanced to the village of *Effigny* the great, with fifteen hundred horse and four thousand foot, and from thence sent proper persons to observe the foot-paths mentioned by the Admiral, the situation of the enemy, and the distance of the places. Having returned that evening to *Fere*, he called a council of war, to lay before them the resolution he had taken, and the method by which he designed to throw succours into the town. The Marshal de *St. Andre*, who came from court that very day, demonstrated that it would answer no end to carry cannon with them, nor any more infantry than they intended to throw into the place; and that the cavalry, sending spies constantly before them, might conduct the succours safely to the edge of the morafs, and then retire, which they might do without danger, if matters were

so ordered as to get there by break of day, asserting that, to do otherwise, would be to put every thing to hazard without necessity; because, it was almost impossible, that the two armies, being so near to one another, should part, on daylight, without a battle. All the other Officers approved of this opinion, except the Constable, who, being blinded, either by presumption or jealousy, against all the rules of prudence, for which he had been so justly esteemed before, rejected this salutary advice: and the Marshal, endeavouring to support his opinion with new arguments, he answered him, coldly, that he knew well what was proper to be done, and wished the Marshal would mind the business of his own office. Immediately, upon this, he caused his infantry, with fourteen pieces of cannon, of the largest and middle size, to pass upon a bridge, which he had caused to be constructed for the purpose, below the town of *Fere*. Next day, which was consecrated to the memory of *St. Laurence*, he put himself at the head of his army, and having drawn it up in the order of battle, begun his march to *St. Quintin*. Between nine and ten of the clock, he came in sight of the suburbs de l' *Isle*. Here were posted fourteen companies of *Spaniards*, and over against them, on the other side of the water, the Duke of *Savoy* was encamped with his army, upon a large space of ground, he had posted in a mill, on the other side of the river, two companies of *Spanish* musketeers to guard a causey which the *French* might otherwise have improved to their advantage. These musketeers, being attacked by the *French* were presently routed, and the Constable, having made himself master of the place, ordered his cannon to play upon the Duke of *Savoy's* camp. This unexpected salutation, oversetting the *Spanish* tents and huts with a terrible noise, put them into the greatest confusion. It was diverting to see the officers, soldiers, servants, and sutlers, running to and fro, bowing their heads to avoid the balls, and yet not knowing where to find security. The Duke of *Savoy*, himself, seeing his  
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tent pierced with three or four cannon balls, had scarcely time to take his arms. In short, his troops were obliged to abandon their quarters, and to fetch a long circuit round the lower part of the town to join the Count of *Egmont*. At the same time the *French* were endeavouring to throw succours into the town, through the morafs, as before concerted: but this enterprize, not having been well digested, nor well conducted, did not succeed. The Constable had promised to the Admiral that he would be at the place by break of day, and as the latter did not see him appear at the time appointed, he caused the planks which he had laid over the difficult passages to be taken up, and the poles, which he had erected in the morafs to direct the way, to be removed, for fear the enemy, who were going up and down in boats all the day long, should take notice of them. Besides this omission, the Constable brought too few boats to execute his enterprize with proper expedition; and the troops observed very little order in their passage. The enemies cannon played continually on those who approached the edge of the morafs, and the *French* soldiers jumped into their little boats, in such numbers, that these small vessels, being over-charged, sunk into the mud, or could not land at proper places. On the other hand, the greatest part of those who did get to land, having no guides to shew them the foot-paths which led to the town, lost themselves, unhappily, in the holes of the morafs; where they were either drown'd or stuck fast in the clay; or finally, after wandering long up and down, fell upon the posts of the enemy, who shewed them no mercy. Thus of all the intended succours, scarce a hundred entered the town, and among these, *Dandelot*, the Admiral's brother. The Constable, thinking he had done all that was required of him, retired to *Fere*. Mean time the *Spaniards*, having recovered their courage, resolved, in a council of war, to attack the *French* in their retreat, and to that end, went to pass the river at a ford, about two miles below the suburbs of *l'Isle*. Some of the *French*

officers advised that, before it was too late, a part of the army should be sent to guard that ford, but the Constable employed on this expedition only an hundred *German* horse, who were easily dispersed. A little after, the Duke de *Nevers* having repaired thither at the head of his regiment of *Gens d'armes*, found that Count *Egmont* had already passed with two thousand horse; the Duke proposed to have attacked the *Spaniards* before more of them should pass the river, and it was the general opinion, that had he done this, he would have saved the *French* army. But those who were about him diverted him from this resolution, as being a rash attempt, and so indeed it was in appearance; but, in fact, it was not only a prudent, but even a necessary measure; and, though it might have been attended with the loss of that regiment, must have gained time and saved the rest of the army. However, being overpersuaded, he returned to the light horse of his own army, who were near a wind-mill, about a mile and a half distant from that place, under the command of the Prince de *Conde*, covering the retreat of the *French* infantry. By this time all the *Spanish* army had passed the river, and their cavalry divided into eight large bodies, advanced at a good rate, to come up with the rear of the *French*, which had not yet got two leagues from *St. Quintin*. As they constantly gained ground, they soon overtook them, and their generals having halted a little to consult together, immediately thereafter these large bodies of horse attacked the *French* cavalry with great fury: Count *Egmont* fell upon one of their flanks with great vigour; the Counts *Henry* and *Ernest* of *Brunswick*, with a thousand horse each, supported by Count *Horn*, at the head of a thousand cuirassiers on the other, and Count *Mansfield* attacked them in front, with three thousand horse. The shock was so furious, that the *French* cavalry, far from being able to support it, were presently routed, and put to flight, with a prodigious slaughter. It is said, that the rout began at the baggage



baggage and among the futeblers, who having taken to their heels, with great confusion and terrible cries, spread a consternation through the whole army. It happened also unluckily for the *French*, that the Duke *de Nevers*, who commanded the left wing of their army when the battle began, found himself in a very deep valley, where, endeavouring to turn his regiment, and make head against the enemy, he found himself at once oppressed by a body of his own army that fell back upon him, and charged by the enemy at the same time; so that, his squadrons being opened and broken, he found it a matter of great difficulty to make a safe retreat, without being able to engage at all. Those who understand the art of war find fault with the Constable's conduct, on this occasion, in a great many instances. First, they blame him for carrying his baggage along with him; secondly, for not coming up at the time he promised; thirdly, for attempting to make a retreat on fair day-light, and in the presence of an enemy, in direct contradiction to all the rules of war! and finally, for not using proper expedients in time of need: for, say they, had he covered his rear with a thousand or twelve hundred musketeers mixed with light horse, he would only have run the hazard of losing these, but must have gained time, and saved the rest of his army. *Mezeray* says: "that both the Constable, and the other officers, seemed to have had their eyes quite blinded, and their senses stupified. No body, says he, thought of giving orders, no body appeared with an air of resolution to lead the soldiers to battle, nor to encourage them to fight, or rally them when they were broken. An universal consternation seemed to possess the whole army; and to see the terror that prevailed among all ranks of persons, one would have thought that heaven had devoted them to destruction." The *French* infantry did not stand long after the defeat of their horse. The enemy's cavalry, despairing to be able to break them because they kept close together, attacked them with cannon;

till having by this means put them in confusion, they broke in upon them, and defeated them intirely. Upon this, a part of them were cut to pieces, the rest broken into a great many small parties, like a flock of sheep dispersed by wolves, fell almost intirely into the hands of the enemy. The *Spaniards* prosecuted their victory till they came within a league of *Fere*, near the gallows; and had they pushed their success, they might have finished the unhappy remains of that army, and taken that town before night. All the way to that place was covered with dead; but the greatest slaughter happened between *Esfigny the great* and the castle of *Rixerolles*, at a place called the *White Ditch*, because all the fugitives ran to that place, thinking to save themselves in the neighbouring forest. Those who reckon the number of the dead least make them five thousand, but others will have them to amount to twice that number. The baggage, and all the cannon but two pieces, being taken, enhanced the disgrace of that fatal day. The men of greatest note that fell in the field were, *Francis Viscount Turenne* son-in-law to the Constable, the eldest son of *Charles de Roche-du-Maine*, *Claude de Roche-chouart-chandenier*, *Guron*, *Goulene*, *Saingelais*, *Pleurvot*, and *Rocheafort*, all officers of the *gens d'armes*. And together with these, *John de Bourbon d'Anguien* brother to the Prince of *Condé*, who, after a great many generous proofs of valour, was carried off the field by the *Spaniards*, having received a wound by a pistol-shot, of which he died in their camp; much regreted even by the Duke of *Savoy*, who lamented his fate with tears, and sent his body to *Fere* to be laid in the tomb of his ancestors. It is said of this young Prince, that, having been born in the castle of *Fere* about *St. Laurence's Day*, he came into the world with a small flesh-mark on his side, of a lively red colour like a lighted coal, which increased constantly to the day of his death, when it disappeared intirely without leaving any trace behind it: as if, says *Mezeray*, in his great wisdom, that Saint had stamped

ed his mark upon him, to give him notice that he was to die upon the day of his festival. Among other prisoners of note, was the Constable, the Duke de Montpensier, the Marshal de St. André, Eleonor Duke de Longueville, Ludovick brother to the Duke of Mantua, the Rbingrave Colonel of the Germans, Vassé, Curton, and Croché de Mayne, all Knights of the order, La Rochefoucault, Monbrun the Constable's son, John Gontaud Biron, Robert de Bellay, Touarcey Pumel, La Capelle, Biron, and a hundred other persons of distinction. Count Mansfeld, to make himself amends, as he said, for the ransom which he had paid when he was taken prisoner at Montmedy, carried on a most shameful trade; for he bought from the soldiers all the prisoners which had the appearance of gentlemen before they knew their quality, and having found out their rank, demanded exorbitant ransoms for them, much greater than many of them were able to pay; insomuch that Biron died in his hands. The Duke of Nevers made his escape directly to Fere, with the Prince of Condé, Sancerre Bourdillon, and some Noblemen and officers. Francis de Montmorency, the Constable's eldest son, made his escape by another way, and came to the same place.

The Spaniards have good reason to celebrate the triumph of this day; for it interrupted the course of Henry II.'s prosperity, broke the strength of France, and divested it of all the conquests which the then King, and his father Francis the First, had gained. It did more; it kindled a civil war, the ashes of which were long kept warm. For the Constable Montmorency, being a prisoner, and having, with many, lost much of his reputation, the Guises, who were Princes of great cunning and bravery, got into his place during his absence, and gained a great ascendancy over him in the affections of the people, as well as in the administration of government. So that he endeavouring to divest them of their power, and they to maintain themselves in it, formed between them two par-

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ties, which kept the kingdom in a flame for a long course of years.

After the loss of the French army, the disgrace of their nobility, and the captivity of their chieftains, all the hopes of the nation were centered in the Duke of Nevers, who to great experience and good conduct added a generous regard for the interest of his country. He was the first who informed the King, who was then at Compiègne, of the fatal disaster which had happened to his troops at St. Quintin; and having afterwards retired to Laon, gathered together the remains of the army. To this end he dispatched messengers to all places within twenty leagues round, to acquaint those who had escaped out of the battle to come to him, promising that he would get them refitted at the public charge; tho' in fact he remounted a great many of them at his own expence, obliged his surgeons to take care of the sick and wounded, visited them carefully himself, and ordered his cooks never to refuse them victuals, not excepting even what should be prepared for his own table. But after all his efforts, he could only draw together fifteen or sixteen hundred horse, and five thousand foot.

The King, on receiving the bad news, retired to Paris; where the citizens were so terrified, that they were getting their baggage ready to leave the town. As it was of consequence to encourage them, he sent them his Queen, together with Cardinal Bertrandy Keeper of the Seals, as pledges to assure them he would never forsake them. This done, he sent an ambassador with great expedition to demand succours of his good allies the Cantons of Switzerland, who granted him sixteen thousand men. He also dispatched Colonel Reachbrock to Germany on the same errand. He gave likewise orders, that all his Nobility, and those who had carried arms before, should meet at Laon to be inrolled under proper officers. Then he recalled Paul de Termes from Piedmont, who at his

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coming advised him to fill up the retrenchments he had made on this side of *Montmartre* to strengthen that city, reckoning it much better to carry the people abroad, and enure them to the exercises of war in a camp, than to indulge them in indolence in towns. In like manner, he ordered the Duke of *Guise* to lead back his army quickly from *Italy* for the defence of the kingdom, and wrote to *Brissac* to send him a part of the troops which were under his command. The zeal and forwardness with which the *French* assisted their King in this public calamity, were, says the *French* historian, evident proofs of the goodness of that Prince, and the mildness of his government. The *Parisians* gave him, of their own accord, three hundred thousand livres; and every one of the Nobility offered, either verbally, or by letters, to take upon himself the defence of some place, and to fortify and secure it at his own charge; so that if it should be but a village, he would convert it into a fortress in a month's time. Even *Brissac*, to give an example to the Nobility of serving the State with their fortunes, as well as their swords, begged the King would be pleased to accept of all his revenue, except two thousand livres of yearly rent, which he was willing to reserve for the support of his family.

Mean time the same stupidity, which had seized the *French* before the battle, seemed to have taken hold of the *Spaniards* after their victory. The whole *French* Nobility being either slain or taken, or at the further end of *Italy*, an universal consternation spread over the whole kingdom, and no army on foot, what ground was there to doubt but the latter might have planted their trophies in the church of *Notre-Dame* at *Paris*? Nevertheless, either excessive joy, which disturbs the mind as much as extreme affliction, or some other secret cause, so blinded their eyes, that they could not pursue a prospect so promising, but returned to the siege which they had begun before the battle. King *Philip* arrived in the

camp four or five days after the engagement; and having observed, with inexpressible joy, the marks of victory, the standards, prisoners, and spoils of the vanquished, and received the compliments and acclamations of his army upon the success of his arms, sent to his father *Charles V.* desiring his advice with regard to the improvement he ought to make of the signal success he had met with on this happy occasion, and acquainting him, that he was determined not to leave the place till he should have taken the town, and received his answer. Some say, that the old Emperor answered by the same courier, "That he returned a thousand thanks to the supreme Lord of the universe, who had honoured the beginning of his son's reign with such a glorious victory; and at the same time he revered the divine justice, which had returned all the misfortunes of the war upon the heads of those who had been guilty of breaking the peace. That, for his own part, having entirely disengaged himself from the affairs of the world, he would offer his son no advice, but that he should be directed, in the measures of his government, by the counsels of those able ministers he had left about him." Others say, that having received his son's letter, he asked the courier who brought it, Is my son yet at *Paris*? There are some who add, that losing all patience because *Philip* proceeded so slowly in the improvement of his good fortune, he was upon the point of leaving his retirement, and resuming the government.

Mean time King *Philip* forwarded with all expedition the mines he had begun, and set on foot other new ones, without any interruption, except from *Bourdillon* and *Sancerre*; who falling, the one from *Guise*, the other from *Fere*, sometimes carried off his convoys, and cut his foragers to pieces. As for the Duke of *Nevers*, his fear that the *Spaniards* would come to fight him, was greater than the strength he had to give them disturbance. He attempted however several methods to throw some carabineers into the city. Once he had got three hundred

dred of them to the edge of the morafs, who were to pafs at a place where the water was very low; but only one hundred and twenty could be introduced into the town. Thus, the Admiral had in all but eight hundred men bearing arms, to defend a very large town very ill fortified: for as for the townsmen and the peafants who had taken shelter in the place, they could not be at all depended on; they were either fo ill affected, or fo much difpirited, that neither by promifes, nor threatnings, nor by rewards, nor even by driving the difobedient out of the town to the mercy of the enemies, could he prevail upon them to work at filling up the breaches, or repairing the walls. All the officers were therefore of opinion, that as he had no hopes of fuccours, and there were ten breaches already made in the walls, either by the mines the befiegers had fprung, or their battering cannon, he fhould endeavour to obtain an honourable capitulation. They intreated him to confider, that the greateft difhonour which can happen to the governour of a fortrefs, is to lofe it by an affault, becaufe, in fuch a cafe, every body blames him for want of knowledge and experience; the inhabitants exclaim againft him for expofing them to pillage, and the fury of their enemies; the foldiers, for having devoted them to deftruction; the Prince juftly complains of him, for having thrown away the lives of his troops to no purpofe: and in the mean time no body can fo much as commend his courage, becaufe as this is but the leaft qualification of a good officer, fo it cannot be known whether his conduct is owing to true bravery, or ignorance of his duty. But the Admiral, altho' he approved of thefe reafons, determined to ftand an affault, vainly hoping, that if the enemy fhould meet with one repulfe, they would fcarce attack him a fecond time in that manner, and that he would thus gain time to the King, who, to be fure, wanted it much. This refolution, whether generous or rash, only ferved to increafe the calamities of *France*. The enemy having

affaulted the town at all the breaches on the 27th of Auguft, they fucceeded at one of them, which the *French* abandoned in a daftardly manner, and by that means became mafters of the place. The fury of the conqueror fell heaviest upon the garrifon; for they fpared the lives of the inhabitants, and applied themfelves to the pillage of the town, which was very rich, as it was a kind of magazine of all the commodities which are annually exchanged betwixt *France* and the Low Countries. All the *French* officers were either flain, or taken prifoners. The Admiral and his brother *Dandelot* fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*; where the latter remembering the feverities which he had fuffered in the caftle of *Milan*, made his efcape in a very artful manner, but was expofed to extreme danger in paffing through the morafs. The reduction of *Catelet* much about the fame time redoubled the uneafinefs of the *French* Court; and their vexation was the greater, that the Baron *de Solignac*, who was Governour of it, and had acquired the reputation of a very brave man, had fent notice to the Duke of *Nevers*, the very day on which he furrendered the place by capitulation, that he would defend it to the laft drop of his blood. The King, fome time thereafter, provoked that the Baron had fo foon forgot his promife, and failed in his duty, caufed him to be arrefted; but either by court-interest, or fome other means, he got himfelf acquitted. King *Philip*, encouraged by this fuccefs, encamped fome days at *Font-Somme*, being at a lofs what place he fhould attack next; for he imagined that none of them could efcape him. At laft he refolved to lay fiege to *Ham*, that from thence he might have it in his power to push forward towards *Compeigne* and *Paris*, or turn to the right towards *Picardy* and the *Boulonois*, or to march to *Couffi*, *Soiffons* and *Laon*, in his way to *Champagne*, according as he fhould judge moft for his purpofe. *Ham* is a plain open place, flanked on one fide by the river *Somme*, on the other by a morafs, in fuch a manner that there is but little dry ground



ground by means of which it could be approached. The town was by no means tenable at that time. The castle had the appearance of an impregnable fortress; but its bulwarks and platforms, not being constructed in the modern fashion, could not stand against a battery of cannon: on which account it was obliged to surrender on the 12th of September. *Sepois* and *Heilly Pesseleu*, who were in it, obtained an honourable capitulation. This was the last effort of this great and victorious army: soon after it broke into parties to rob and pillage the country. At *Noyon*, some companies of *Spanish* light-horse, having dressed themselves in the *French* fashion, surprised two companies of *French*; but they made no great booty at that place, because the *French* had burnt it, to prevent its falling into their hands. They also seized *Chauny*, not with an intention to keep it, but to secure to themselves the vintage of that fine vineyard. If it be asked, why *Philip* proceeded no further, and attempted no matters of greater consequence, as he was master of the field? it would not be easy to give a determinate answer: but possibly he foresaw, that it would be a hard matter for him to keep so many different nations, *Flemings*, *Germans*, *Spanish*, *English*, and *Italians*, long united together. And in fact, the haughty *English* nation, disgusted with the arrogance of the *Spaniards*, who had used them ill, and moreover hearing that the *Scots* had invaded their country, asked leave to depart, and he durst not refuse it. The *Germans* also resolved to serve no longer than their time should be up, because they got no share of the booty, and the King and the Duke of *Savoy* had taken from them all their best prisoners: insomuch that the Duke of *Nevers* by addressing them in a courteous and complaisant manner, prevailed with five or six thousand of them to enter into the service of *France*, and the rest retired to their own country.

Thus we have given an account of the famous battle and siege of *St. Quintin*, and in it we have chiefly followed *Meze-*

*ray's* history of these events, as he seems to give a very full and circumstantial account of them: but it is no more than justice to our readers to acquaint them, that this author had some strong attachments, which very much affect the truth and impartiality of some parts of his history, and seem to have had no small influence on his representation of this affair. Like most of the *French* historians, he had a powerful bias in favour of that Court, and, in endeavouring to vindicate their measures, is not always so scrupulous in his regard to truth, as a fair historian ought to be. Besides this, he was more bigotted to the superstitions and tyranny of the church of *Rome*, than could be expected from a person of his good sense and judgment. His attachments to this cruel religion he carried so far, as to justify some of the greatest excesses the priests of that religion had used in propagating their doctrines, not excepting the inhuman massacre of the inhabitants of *Cabrières* and *Merindol*, and other shocking executions of that kind. This disposition gave him such an aversion to all who entertained sentiments different from his own on this subject, that he could scarce do justice to their characters, or speak of them with that temper and impartiality which is the greatest ornament of history. We have instances of this in the representation he has given of the conduct of the Constable *Montmorency*, and his nephew Admiral *Coligni*, on this very occasion.

He says of the former, That tho' otherwise a man of great experience, and singular prudence, he was quite blinded and infatuated upon this occasion. That he could not be persuaded that his country was in any danger, or that the *Spaniards* durst attempt any thing that year. That he neglected to put the kingdom in a state of defence. That, by breaking concert with the Admiral, he not only had lost the opportunity of introducing succours into the town, but also exposed those succours to unavoidable ruin. That he had rejected an excellent advice offered him by the Marshal *de St. André*, and treated him with disdain

Excuse him for insisting on it; that tho' he had seasonable warning to send a sufficient force to guard the ford of the river, and prevent the *Spaniards* from passing it to attack the *French* in their retreat, he only employed an hundred *German* horse in this expedition, and thereby occasioned the loss of the battle, and the ruin of the *French* army. That in his retreat he had not taken the proper method to secure his rear against the attack of the enemy. And finally, that he had acted contrary to all the rules of war, in attempting to make a retreat in fair day-light, and in the presence of an enemy.

But these charges will be found of very little weight, and in a great measure, at least, owing to the historian's prejudices against the principles and character of the Constable. It is not true, that this great man was so far blinded or infatuated, as not to foresee the danger of his country, or to be unconcerned about it. The President *de Thou*, an author of approved impartiality and moderation, swayed by no prejudices, and addicted to no party, assures us, that the Constable from the beginning opposed the war, and always declared that he foresaw it would be of fatal consequence to *France* \*. And on the 28th of July, when the enemy was at *Guise*, and the Constable, the Admiral *Coligni*, and the Marishal de *St. André*, were ordered to Court to consult what was proper to be done; while some in favour of those who were the authors of the war, "expressed their contempt of the danger, and pretended that the enemy would attempt nothing that campaign, but only wanted to show his strength, and watch the motions of the *French*: in short, that having lost all hopes of succeeding in *Champagne*, they only now sought an opportunity to make a safe retreat:" the Constable, on the other hand, "thought, it was not without design that the enemy, having left *Champagne*, should immediately march to the borders of *Picardy*; since it appeared

\* Memorantius a belli consilio semper alienus, cum ex eo perniciem rei Gallicæ imminere provideret. Thuan. lib. xix. pag. 573. A. Edit. Aurel. 1620.

"thereby, that they had formed a design to attack with vigour some town or other, which they might hope to carry before the *French* were ready to oppose them: for what could be the end of drawing together so many troops, unless it were with a view to some great attempt; especially as the *Spaniards* knew how weak the *French* were at this time †."

Nor is it more just to say, that the Constable did not exert himself to put the kingdom in a state of defence, and endeavour to save his country from the danger wherewith it was threatened. On the contrary, so early as the beginning of January, the *gens d'armes*, which is the principal strength of the kingdom, were convened, and sent to the frontiers of *Champagne*, and other places where it was thought they would be most wanted ‡. Nor was it an easy matter to make suitable preparation for the war which was impending, the flower of the *French* army being at that time in *Italy*, the finances exhausted, the treasury empty, and the people every where murmuring, and unable to bear the taxes which were imposed upon them to defray the expences of the war. Add to all this, that the Constable had not power enough at Court to do what he would, as those who advised the war, and prevailed in opposition to his positive advice and interest, must have had more power, but being insensible of the danger, could not be hearty in their endeavours to provide against it.

It does not appear, that there was any concert between the Constable and the Admiral, that the former should bring up the succours to the edge of the morass by break of day, as *Mezeray* alledges. Mr. *de Thou* makes no mention at all of this concert, which a man of his exactness would have thought of too much importance to be neglected, if he had believed it to be true; but puts the disappointment, with regard to intr-

† Alii contra, & ita sentiebat Memorantius, consilio, nec temere factum dicebant, quod hostis, relicto Campaniæ limite, &c. Thuan. lib. xix. pag. 573 F.

‡ Ibid. pag. 573. A.



ducing the succours, merely upon the small number of the boats they were provided with, their being overcharged by the precipitation of the soldiers, and their inability to get ashore upon account of the mud\*. We have no greater reason to believe what is said of the Marishal *de St. André's* good advice rejected with disdain by the Constable. Mr. *de Thou's* silence is also a good reason for our not admitting this charge, especially as it comes from an author who shews so great an inclination to blacken that great man's character, and sustain the accusations of his enemies without sufficient proof. Nor is it consistent with the acknowledged gravity, moderation, and goodness of the Constable, to suspect that he could treat a Marishal of *France* in such a haughty and unbecoming manner, for no other reason but because he delivered his opinion freely in a council of war.

Nothing can be more unfair than *Mezeray's* representation of the Constable's neglecting to guard the ford of the river, and prevent the passage of the *Spaniards*; as if the Constable had had no thought of this himself, and, when it was suggested to him by another, had sent only a hundred horse upon an expedition of so very great importance. Mr. *de Thou* takes no notice of any advice being offered to the Constable on this subject, but tells us, that the Constable had sent these hundred horse to keep the *Spaniards* in play, till the Duke of *Nevers*, at the head of his own regiment of horse, and those of *Curton*, *Albin*, and *Vassé*, whom he had ordered to support them, should arrive†. But Count *Egmont* having foreseen the design, had made haste to take possession of the ford, and passed two thousand horse before the Duke of *Nevers* came up.

As to the method of securing his retreat, he had drawn up his horse in the rear to cover the foot, which has been always the common method in cases of this kind. Nor have we any

\* Thuan. lib. xix. pag. 579. Verum exiguo adeo lintrium numero, & conferta militum irruentium turba, effectum est, &c.

† Ibid. D.

good reason to think that a body of musketeers mixed with light horse, could have stood the shock of so large a body of *Spanish* cavalry, or covered the retreat of the *French* army to so good purpose. The last objection which *Mezeray* offers against the Constable's conduct, viz. that he attempted to retreat in broad day-light, and in the presence of an enemy, is the only one that seems to have any weight in it; and *Thuanus* tells us, that in this instance his conduct was generally censured. But after all, we know not all the circumstances, nor particular considerations that might have determined him in this particular. It was of infinite consequence to *France* to stop the progress of the *Spaniards*, and gain time, which could be no otherwise done than by throwing succours into the place. The hopes of securing this favourite point engaged the Admiral to bring up the whole army; and the superiority of the *Spaniards* made the retreat necessary. Be this as it may, the greatest men are not infallible; and to whatever censure he might expose himself in this instance, he was certainly one of the ablest ministers, the best men, and greatest Generals, of the age in which he lived.

*Mezeray's* charges against the Admiral are: That he did not keep his government of *Picardy* in a proper posture of defence: That his uncle the Constable used a very strong expression when he ordered him to shut himself up in the town of *St. Quintin*: That the ill behaviour of the inhabitants of *St. Quintin* was owing to an aversion they had to his person, because he and his people, even at that time, openly professed the reformed religion: That he retook the suburb *de l'Isle* after it had been deserted by the *French*, at the expence of several valuable lives, yet in a few days abandoned it himself, and set it on fire; and finally, that when he might have obtained an honourable capitulation, he chose to keep out the town till it was taken by storm, and thereby exposed the place to be pillaged, and the garrison to be put to the sword.

That

That the towns in his government were not put in a proper state of defence, was not owing to any negligence in him, but to the poverty of the state and the emptiness of the treasury, or the infatuation of the authors of the war, who held the enemy in too much contempt to exert themselves as they ought in providing against him. The strong expression said to be used by the Constable, when he ordered the Admiral to shut up himself in the town, is supposed to be occasioned by some unwillingness in the latter to undertake that service; and seems suggested by *Mezeray*, with design to reflect either upon the Admiral's courage or his loyalty; but the truth of this circumstance, as far as we know, depends entirely upon this author's testimony, which, in this case, is of no great value. The expression said to be used by the Constable, seems altogether inconsistent with the gravity and moderation of that great man, especially to a nephew of such uncommon worth: but be this as it will, it appears certain that the Admiral undertook the service with the greatest cheerfulness, as he performed it with equal fidelity, zeal, and courage. He might have declined it, if he had thought proper, without any reflection upon his character; he was even earnestly advised against it by his friends and others, especially the Marishal de *Jarnac* \*, who insisted that to expose the Governour of a Province to imminent danger was an improper measure, contrary to the rules of true policy and the interest of the state. To say no more upon this subject, the ability, steadiness, and resolution, wherewith he discharged the trust, shews evidently that he undertook it with the greatest cheerfulness, and even had an ambition to signalize himself upon this occasion; consequently the Constable could have no reason to speak to him in this strain, and to insinuate it is downright calumny.

\* Itaque Colinius eo duce relictis fere impedimentis ac lixis, expedite comitatu quinti fanum proficiscitur, frustra dehortante Jarnaceo et Conamio, Lufarcio, &c. Thuan. lib. xix. p. 576. D.

Had it been true that the inhabitants of *St. Quintin* entertained an aversion to the Admiral's person, on account of his attachment to the reformed religion, and therefore did nothing but with reluctance, it would have been no reasonable objection against his character; but it does not appear, that the citizens had any such prejudice against him, much less that he or his followers openly professed the doctrines of *Calvin*, or was known to have any attachment to them at that time. The King's aversion to the reformed religion, the great regard he had to the Admiral's family, and the many enemies of the latter, who would have been glad of an opportunity of doing him a disservice at Court, seemed to put this affair out of all question. The year after, 'tis true, *Dandelot*, the Admiral's brother, was accused to the King, of entertaining some heretical notions about the mass; and though he stood high in the King's favour at that time, yet this Prince being confirmed in his suspicion by some expressions of *Dandelot's* in conversation with him, not only turned him out of his service, but punished him with great severity. And can it be thought that the King's attachment to the superstitions of Popery, or his aversion to what was called heresy, was less at this time than a year after; or that if the Admiral and his followers had made open profession of the doctrines of *Calvin*, it could have been a secret at Court, or punished with less severity, especially as the King's service is supposed to have suffered by it.

It is a common rule in war, that the besieged defend the suburbs and out places of a fortress, as long as they can, without endangering the loss of the whole; because this is a means of prolonging the siege, and employing the enemy, in hopes that in the mean time the garrison may be relieved by their friends, or the besiegers, wearied with opposition, or discouraged by some disagreeable accident, may raise the siege of their own accord. At the beginning of this siege, when there was but three hundred men in the town, they had abandoned this suburb, judging



judging it impossible to keep it with so small a garrison; but when the Admiral entered the town with succours, having made a successful sally, he drove the enemy out of it with very little loss; and having kept it so long as he thought it consisted with the safety of the place, he at last abandoned it, and set it on fire. What he says himself upon this subject is a sufficient vindication of his conduct; " \* That though he thought it dangerous to be too sanguine, in keeping it with so small a number of men, in case the enemy, having made an assault there, and driven off the garrison, should enter the town together with them, and make themselves masters of both at once; yet it was his opinion, that it ought not to be rashly abandoned, so long as it could be kept without danger to the whole, because it must be useful to gain time, and keep the enemy at a bay."

Nothing can be more inconsistent than *Mezeray* is with himself in the censures he passes upon Admiral *Coligni's* conduct. He reckons it the happiest event that could have happened to *France*, that the *Spaniards*, instead of pursuing their victory, and marching toward *Paris*, returned, very imprudently, to the siege of *St. Quintin*, when they might have seized the capital of *France* and overrun the best parts of the kingdom; because, by this means, the King gained time to bring his troops together, and employ all the resources he had in his power to save his dominions from the hazard to which they were then exposed. This was the very reason why the Admiral was determined to hold out the town, after he knew that it was not tenable, and to expose himself and his garrison to the danger of an assault, rather than to save both by an early capitulation. Besides, he had some reason to hope he should be able to stand the first assault, and that the besiegers, instead of venturing a second, would proceed in the siege more faintly and

with greater caution; so that the King would have sufficient time to collect all his strength, and give them directions with respect to their future conduct. And it is highly probable that the affair would have turned out as he expected, if a part of his own garrison had not basely deserted him as soon as the assault began, and by their cowardice betrayed their Governour, the town, and themselves, into the hands of the enemy, with whom they found but very little mercy. But though we have insisted longer upon this subject than was at first intended, it would be a pity to deprive the reader of the pleasure of his own apology for this part of his management.

The *Spaniards* having battered the place with great violence, and made eleven large breaches in the walls, he called aside his brother *Dandelot*, and Mr. de *Remy* commissary of the artillery, to whose advice he paid a great regard, and asked the latter, whether there was any method to secure the walls against the mines of the besiegers. The other answering that he saw nothing that could stop the enemy's progress, now that he had got possession of the ditch, which would give him an opportunity to overset the towers by his mines, and open the bastions, so as without danger to get by degrees to the top of the wall, and lodge himself there; nor, considering the situation and circumstances of the place, would it be of any use to make retrenchments within the fortifications. To this the Admiral answered, " I have one thing to communicate to you in private; and desire it may be kept secret from every body but ourselves. Your saying that there is no remedy against the mines of the besiegers, Mr. de *St. Remy*, gives me no apprehensions, as I am ready to lose my life, and spend the last drop of my blood, for my Country and my King, and am well persuaded that every day and every hour we shall be able to detain the enemy here, will be of great consequence for putting the King's affairs upon a proper footing. But it grieves me much to remember the censures which, after  
" the

\* Quamvis periculosum judicaret Colinius illud cum tam exiguo militum numero fervare, ne se forte hostes ad eam partem impetum faceret, neque statim deferendum esse, &c. Thuan. lib. xix. p. 576. F. 577. A.

" the taking of *Terrouane*, very freely passed upon the Con-  
 " stable, as if he had acted imprudently, when he saw the  
 " enemy possessed of the ditch, and ready to sap the founda-  
 " tion of the walls, in not proposing a capitulation, which  
 " he might have obtained upon honourable terms, if it had  
 " been demanded two days sooner. Nor am I igno-  
 " rant how many, on such occasions, are ready to make free  
 " with the characters of those who have done nothing wor-  
 " thy of reprehension. This gives me ground to fear, that  
 " the generality of the world will say, I have acted inconside-  
 " rately, if I expose to imminent danger the principal strength  
 " of the kingdom, and the flower of the *French* cavalry,  
 " which, especially at this time, might be of great use in the  
 " defence of other parts of the country. But I am much of  
 " the opinion, that the enemies, after battering our walls with  
 " such violence, will make a vigorous assault; which if we  
 " sustain bravely, and be able to repulse them, they will  
 " not then proceed in such a furious manner, but more slowly  
 " and with greater caution; and we, in the mean while, ha-  
 " ving by this means gained much time, will have an opportu-  
 " nity to lay the whole affair before the King, recommend our-  
 " selves to his favour, and capitulate with his approbation.  
 " I would have you moreover to know, that I am determined  
 " to submit to present death, rather than that any thing should  
 " escape from me that may seem unworthy of my character;  
 " and tho' I hear that many of those who are about me are  
 " under dismal apprehensions, yet I think we ought artfully to  
 " impose upon them, and animate them so by our words and  
 " example, that however low-spirited they are in reality, they  
 " may imagine themselves brave and resolute. It only re-  
 " mains, that when the battering this day becomes very  
 " violent, we prepare ourselves to receive our enemies,  
 " repel them with vigour and bravery; which if we  
 " can do, as I hope and am confident we shall, we will  
 N° XI.

" then apply to God, the sole giver of a sound and intelli-  
 " gent mind, for direction with regard to our after-conduct."

To conclude, *Mezeray*, in his account of this siege, shews  
 his prejudices against the Admiral by passing lightly over his  
 brightest actions, and taking little or no notice of his distin-  
 guished merit. But surely, with so small a garrison as 800  
 men to defend a place of very large extent, and ill fortified,  
 against an army of six and fifty thousand, and after a siege of  
 eighteen days, in want of provisions, cannon, arms, and every  
 necessary, at last to stand an assault of the enemy, is a convin-  
 cing proof of superior ability, industry, fidelity, and resolution,  
 in the Governour. Add to these circumstances that of the inhabit-  
 ants, who otherwise might have been of great use, so frightened  
 that neither promises nor threats, rewards nor punishments,  
 could prevail with them to contribute their assistance; and the  
 little garrison, tired out with hard duty, every now and then  
 catching the panic from the former; and our opinion of the com-  
 mander's capacity must be still greatly enhanced. And if so,  
 then, by *Mezeray's* own account, Admiral *Coligni* justly de-  
 served the highest commendation; and there is good reason to  
 doubt, whether history furnishes many instances of towns, the  
 defence whereof has been conducted with greater skill, or  
 carried on with more activity and heroic courage, under so  
 great and so many discouragements. But now to return to *St.*  
*Quintin*.

The town lies 49 degrees 55 minutes north of the equator,  
 and 3 degrees 16 minutes to the east of the meridian of *Lon-*  
*don*, being situated eight miles from the source of the *Somme*,  
 twenty two to the south of *Cambray*, fifty one from *Amiens*, and  
 ninety two from *Paris*.

Some of the *French* raise the antiquity of this city to a pro-  
 digious height: however, a great many learned men are per-  
 suaded that, in the time of *Julius Caesar*, it was the capital of  
 the *Veromandui*, a powerful and warlike people, who having  
 Y joined



joined the *Atrebates* and the *Nervii*, brought that *Roman* hero and his army to the very brink of destruction. Under the *Roman* empire it always held a distinguished rank among other towns, constantly preserved the title of a city, and consequently was always a Bishop's seat. Under the *Roman* government it was also raised to the rank of a free city, and saw its citizens honoured with the name of *Roman* Knights. Under the *French* Kings, it continued for a time to be a Bishop's seat, was the capital of the *Vermandois*, and the residence of the Earls of that name, who towards the end of the second race of those Monarchs became hereditary.

Under *Augustus*, as it always preserved a strong attachment to its Princes, in compliment to that Emperor it is said to have laid aside its old name, and to have taken that of *Augusta Veromanduorum*: but what that ancient name was we are not told, and probably never will be.

It was formerly inhabited only on one side of the river *Somme*, and at the foot of the hill. It then reached only to the quarters of *St. Nicasius*, and *St. Martin*; and those of *St. Thomas* and *St. Catherine* were in the center of the city. The church of *St. Quintin* stood at the top of the hill. In the year 1216, in the reign of *Philip the August*, the county of *Vermandou* was reunited to the crown by the death of the Countess *Eleanor*. This Prince was so fond of the chapter of *St. Quintin*, that he put their persons and goods under the protection of the magistrates of the town, and by letters patent under his great seal, ordered that these magistrates, at their entry upon their office, should take a solemn oath to that purpose. This oath was afterwards the cause of a deal of ill blood, and many expensive suits. The chapter, as the clergy are not commonly very remarkable for self-denial with regard to privileges, took it in their heads that, because of this oath, the magistracy depended upon them. The magistrates at last were idle enough to believe them, and therefore refused to take the oath.

This occasioned a controversy in the year 1567, which appears not to have been fully settled till 1741. In the mean time both parties were put to great expence by law-suits, till some person was lucky enough to persuade the magistrates, that this oath was no evidence of their dependance upon the chapter, but rather the contrary, seeing it obliged them merely to the defence and protection of the latter and its members, and was to be administered by the town-clerk, not by the Dean and chapter. This thought reconciled the magistrates to the oath, and put an end to the dispute †.

In the year 1470, in the reign of *Lewis XI.* the town was seized by the Constable *de St. Pol* for the Duke of *Burgundy*; but such efforts were made, that it soon returned to the obedience of its lawful sovereign. After the fatal battle of *St. Quintin*, of which we have just now given a full account, the *Spaniards* continued in possession of it two years, and then it was restored to *France*, by the treaty of *Chateau Cambresis*, in the year 1559. The *French* pretend, that when the town fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*, only one ecclesiastic of the name of *Simon*, and one citizen, of that of *Picquet*, could be persuaded to stay in it; the rest would take no advantage of the permission which was granted them to continue in their old habitations, but retired to several other towns of *France*, till *St. Quintin* was restored to its former master. It was the first town in *France* that acknowledged *Henry IV.*'s title to the Crown. That Prince was received into it with inexpressible joy, and having dismissed his guards, admitted the Mayor and other magistrates to the same table with himself, and would not suffer so much as the officers of his household to serve him upon that occasion, saying, in a very complaisant manner, that he had no reason to be afraid in so good company, and he saw himself in the midst of his best friends.

† *Piganiol's Nouvelle description de la France*, tom. ii. pag. 228, & seq.

In the year 1624, and some following ones, as they were digging the ground to repair the ditches, and build the bastions of *St. John* and *Richelieu*, they found medals, sepulchres of stone, urns, and other monuments of pagan antiquity; evident marks that the town is of very old standing. These medals were for the most part gold, but some of them of brass, and had been mostly cast during the reigns of *Julius Caesar*, *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, *Germanicus*, and *Nero*.

We have taken notice already, that the church of *St. Quintin* was built upon the top of the hill, upon the spot where the Saint of the same name suffered martyrdom. The houses which were joined to it, and the inns, which were built upon an empty space of four hundred square paces, lying between the church and the city, to serve as lodging-places for those who were drawn thither by the report of *St. Quintin's* miracles, formed a street from the church to the town; by ancient authors called *Vicus Sancti Quintini*, *St. Quintin's Street*, and a part of which still retains the same name. Close to the city was the suburb *de l'Isle*, which in the year 884 was inclosed within the same walls with the town itself, of which it made a considerable part till 1150, when it was separated from it, as it is at present; so that, before this retrenchment, and some others were made, the town was much larger than it is now. About the same year 884 it began to exchange its name of *Auguste des Vermandois* for that of *St. Quintin*. It is not quite a mile and a half in circumference, and yet contains more than thirty churches, and other places of devotion and charity.

The royal church of *St. Quintin* is without dispute the most considerable of the town, tho' it was originally but a little chapel built by *St. Eusebius* over the grave of *St. Quintin*. This chapel, little as it was, was nevertheless the first church in the country of *Vermandois*, and the primitive seat of its Bishops from the time of *St. Eloy* till *St. Medard* translated it to *Noyon*: however the chapel was soon greatly improved and enlarged by

the liberality of *St. Remi* Archbishop of *Rheims*, and the Kings, *Clovis* the First, *Charles the Great*, but especially by that of *Philip the August*. Besides this royal and collegiate church, there is another collegiate church at *St. Quintin*, which is that of *St. Pecinne*, the canons of which are in the nomination of the chapter, as are also fourscore and three chapels, a great many cures in the country, some of them as far distant as *Normandy*, and twelve belonging to the town; which were originally thirteen; but one of them, *viz.* that of *St. Michael*, was suppressed some time ago. There are here three convents of Monks, the *Jacobins*, *Cordeliers*, and *Capuchins*, a convent of *Cordelier* Nuns, and the Ladies of *Petit-pont*, who are the canonessees of *St. Augustine*. There is also a Society of the Nuns of the Cross. The hospital for the sick depends also upon the chapter, and every year three canons are named by it to be administrators. The general hospital is designed for the relief of orphans of both sexes: the girls are taught to knit stockings, and spin: and both boys and girls, when they are of age, are put to trades. The hospital also furnishes a certain number of loaves of bread every week for the poor of every parish, and to some of them money is given. By this means there is no begging in the churches or streets. There is also in this town a house of the *Sisters of Charity*, who keep schools for girls, and take care of the poor of the city who are sick, whom they carefully visit, and provide with broth and medicines. There are also two abbeys within the city, which formerly were in the suburbs. The most ancient and the most considerable is that of *St. Eloy*, founded, or at least enlarged, by this Saint, and rendered famous by his name, and his tomb. It is inhabited by a society of *Benedictine* Monks of the congregation of *St. Maur*; and has 12,000 livres of yearly rent. The church, which is built in the modern fashion, was finished in the year 1680. It is very handsome, and so is the convent. The second abbey is that of *St. Bartholemew*, founded in the year



year 1064 by *Baldwin* the first Bishop of *Noyon*. It is inhabited by twelve regular canons of the order of *St. Augustine*. The church, tho' little, was built in the year 1710 : it is very handsome, and so is the house.

The college for the instruction of youth, which was anciently called *Le Collège des bons enfans*, continues to have the same name to this day. It was founded before the twelfth century ; and probably the town is indebted to the chapter for this seminary. There are several charters, not necessary to be mentioned here, which seem to confirm this conjecture. The town-house is an old building, the principal front whereof is flanked by two towers. Over the gate is an inscription, consisting of the following six *Latin* verses, which we cannot avoid inserting, as they give so strong a proof of the modesty, prudence, and honesty of the citizens of the good town of *St. Quintin* :

*Bellatrix i, Roma, tuos nunc objice muros ;  
Plus defensa manu, plus nostra hæc tincta cruore  
Mœnia laudis habent ; furit hostis, & imminet urbi ;  
Civis murus erat ; satis est sibi civica virtus.  
Urbs, memor audacis facti, dat marmore in isto  
Pro patriâ casos æternum vivere cives.*

These verses are designed as an encomium upon the inhabitants of *St. Quintin*, for their brave defence of that city against the *Spaniards*, who laid siege to it, and at last took it by assault, as we have already seen, in the year 1557. They are not only compared with the bravest of the *Romans*, this was not enough, but even preferred to the greatest patriots of that warlike and virtuous people. This must seem strange to the Reader, after the evidence he has had from history, that no people could behave worse than they did upon this occasion. To speak freely, it is a strain of vanity and assurance, to say no worse, that one would not expect to meet with even in *France*. It would seem, that some ignorant Mayor of that

city, in hopes of finding his account in it, had employed the prostitute pen of some worthless poet to flatter the vanity of his fellow-citizens. But it is surprising, that when the latter came to their senses, that they did not reject with indignation a compliment made them at the expence of truth and decency ; as it is in reality a severe satyr upon them and their ancestors, instead of a panegyric. But it is still more strange, that Mr. *Fiot*, one of the professors of the university of *Paris*, should be so ill informed as to write a *French* paraphrase upon this inscription, wherein he seems to improve upon the *Latin* original : and that another learned author of the same nation, whose voluminous work was published about the year 1742, and has now undergone three editions, should carry the matter yet further than the other two : for he tells us roundly, \* “ That “ the inscription over the gate of this town-house, in conjunction with the history of those times, will immortalize “ the glory which the inhabitants of *St. Quintin* acquired by “ their zeal for the service of their King, and their heroic valour ; for (continues he) when the *Spaniards* besieged that “ town in the year 1557, they could not take it till after eleven “ assaults, and till the greatest part of the citizens were slain upon the ramparts.” This gentleman, we imagine, would be a little puzzled to produce any author of credit who wrote near those times, to support his assertion ; and it seems not very fair to say, that the town of *St. Quintin* stood eleven assaults, if he means only, and, in truth, he can mean no more, than that it was assaulted at eleven different places at once.

The magistracy of *St. Quintin*, which in ancient times consisted of twenty five officers, a Mayor, thirteen Aldermen, and eleven Jurants, now consists of seven persons only, a Mayor, and six Aldermen. This reduction was made by an arrêt of the Council of State on the 16th of November 1670, and has

\* *Piganiol de la Force* in his *Nouvelle description de la France*, vol. ii. pag. 242. 3d edit. Paris, 1753.

been observed ever since. No citizen is capable of being elected Mayor till he has first been Alderman; which is a constitution established by an arrêt of Council on the 28th of September 1741.

The town of *St. Quintin* carries on a vast trade in linens of different kinds which are manufactured there. There is in it, and several villages round it, a particular kind of cloth, which they call *St. Quintin* linen, whereof they vend more than sixty thousand pieces every year; and these are carried to

*Paris, Rouen, to Bourdeaux, to Bayonne, to Lyons, and other places within the kingdom: they are also exported to Spain, to Italy, and to the towns of Flanders, particularly Ghent, whence they are carried to England, and other parts of Europe. As the country of Vermandois produces large quantities of flax of an excellent kind, and the water of St. Quintin is exceeding proper for preparing and bleaching cloth of this kind, the inhabitants of this town alone have by this means a branch of trade, which brings them two millions yearly.*

## H A M.

ABOUT fourteen miles below *St. Quintin*, on the same river *Somme*, lies HAM, *Hammus*, a little town in the diocese of *Noyon*. It stands in a plain, in the middle of a morass commanded by it, which might contribute to make it one of the strongest places in the province. It was once the capital of a country called the *Hamois*, but has ceased to be so since the year 876. In the year 932 it belonged to *Hebrad*, brother to *Herluin* Earl of *Montreuil*. *Hebert* II. Earl of *Vermandois* and *Troyes*, seized it that same year; but soon after, *Raoul* King of *France* recovered it from him. It was again taken by *Eudes*, the son of *Hebert*. *Simon* was Lord of the manor of *Ham* in the year 986. He is considered as the head of the ancient house of the lords of that manor; and it seems to have continued in his family till the year 1374. From that time it passed successively through the families of *Couci*, *Enguien*, *Luxembourg*, *Roban*, *Vendôme*, and *Navarre*; and was reunited to the Crown of *France* when *Henry IV.* formerly King of *Navarre*, ascended  
N° XI.

that throne. It had a magistracy established before the year 1188; and a castle built and fortified by *Lewis* of *Luxembourg*, who was known in history under the name of the Constable de *St. Paul*, about the year 1470. There is in it a round tower, the walls whereof were 38 foot thick; it was also a hundred foot in diameter, and as much in height. It had likewise formerly other fortifications; but *Lewis XIV.* ordered them all to be razed, except the castle. There are here three parishes; that of *St. Peter*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Sulpitius*. It has an abbey of regular canons of the order of *St. Augustine*, of the *French* congregation, which was founded in honour of the Blessed Virgin, by the ancient lords of the manor of *Ham*, and produces to the Abbot about 15,000 livres a-year. The town of *Ham* is a military government of the province of *Picardy*, and is said to contain upwards of 1700 inhabitants.

About fourteen miles below *Ham*, and seventeen from *St. Quintin*, stands

Z

P E R O N N E,



## P E R O N N E,

**I**N Latin *Peronna Viromanduorum*, *Perunna villa*, *Peronna*, &c. in the north latitude of 4 degrees 50 minutes, and 3 degrees to the east of the meridian of *London*. It stands on the north side of the *Somme*, nine leagues above *Amiens*, and is very advantageously situated among morasses, which, together with its fortifications, render it one of the strongest places in the kingdom. The town of *Peronne* must be of very ancient standing, since the *French* Kings of the first race had a palace there. *Erchinoald*, Master of the household to *Clovis II.* having obtained of his Prince a grant of this city, built a famous monastery, and dedicated it to *St. Peter*, together with a church dedicated to *St. Furci*, about the year 655, where *Lewis XI.* afterwards settled several canons in the King's nomination, together with thirty six prebends. After the death of *Erchinoald*, *Peronne* returned to the Crown of *France*; but under the second race of *French* Kings, *Hebert* Earl of *Vermandois* made himself master of it, and kept *Charles the Simple* in prison to the day of his death. *Hebert's* successors made it the capital of their estate, and continued in possession of it till the reign of *Philip the August*, who, after the death of *Elizabeth* the last of that ancient family, reunited it to the Crown of *France*. It was afterwards twice given to the Dukes of *Burgundy*; but *Lewis XI.* recovered it after the death of *Charles the Terrible*, the last of those Dukes. It is a military government, of the province of *Picardy*, containing 1700 inhabitants. The soil about it is fruitful in corn, and other sorts of grain.

In the year 1536 the Emperor *Charles V.* invaded *France* with three powerful armies. One of these, commanded by the Count *de Nassau*, entered *Picardy*, and by the misbehaviour of the *French* garrison, made themselves quickly masters of the

town of *Guise*. Encouraged by this success, the Count *de Nassau* laid siege to *Peronne*; but the Seigneurs *d'Estourmel*, *de Sesseval*, and *de Cercus*, having thrown themselves into the place, defended it with such resolution, that after having done his utmost, he was obliged to raise the siege. We are told, that the inhabitants of *Peronne* gave signal proofs of their courage upon this occasion ||; that the *French* women, as well as the men, fought with great resolution; and that *Francis I.* to reward their services, granted them exemption from the tax of *Ban*, *Francs-fiefs*, and other burdens, together with the privilege of bearing in their arms a *P. crowned between three flowers de luce* or. The *French* call *Peronne la Pucelle*, that is, the Maid or Virgin: but an author of their own nation tells us, he finds in ancient chronicles, that both *Peronne* and *St. Quintin* were taken in the year 898 by one *Baldwin* †; but who this *Baldwin* is we are left to guess. To conclude all that we intend concerning the history of *Peronne*, the Popish Grandees of the kingdom of *France* are said to have met here in the year 1574, to concert measures for completing the ruin of the reformed religion.

Though *Peronne* is but a small city, it has however five parish churches, and besides them the collegiate church of *St. Furci*, with a Dean, Chanter, and Treasurer, in the nomination of the Chapter; twenty eight or thirty prebends, nominated by the King; eighteen or twenty chapels, in the gift of the Canon of the week. It has also an hospital for the sick, supported by a yearly revenue of 3 or 4000 livres, and one for the poor under the name of *St. Lazare*, which has very near the same revenue, and is designed to relieve old men

|| Piganiol de la Force, *Nouvelle description*, &c. p. 200, vol ii. from the *Memoires du Bellay*.  
† Ibid. p. 203.

and women who are past their labour, and have nothing to support them.

The convents here are in number four; one, of the *Corde-liers*, which is said to have been instituted while *St. Francis* was alive; one of the *Minims*; one of the *Capuchins*; and one of the Nuns of *St. Clara*: not to mention a beautiful college possessed by the Monks of the Trinity.

*Philip the August*, in the year 1209, gave this city the privilege of a community, with power to elect their own Mayor and Aldermen; and we are told, that there is not a town in *France* better governed than this.

In the parade of the town †, it is said, there is a stone four foot long and two foot broad, which deserves to be mentioned. It is raised four or five inches above the pavement, and is erected into a fief, of which this stone itself is the whole domaine. We are moreover assured, that when the King chuses to make a public entry into *Peronne*, the possessor of this fief is obliged to get the horse, upon which he is to ride, shod with four silver shoes; and the farrier, who performs the work, is to do it at this stone. Then the possessor of the fief presents the horse to the King, who thereupon mounts him, and makes his entry into the town in state. But the possessor of this fief has several privileges. First, the desert, and the vessel, in which

† Piganiol de la Force's *Nouvelle description*, vol. ii. p. 204.

the entertainment, made for the King after his public entry, is served up, belongs to him. Secondly, he has a perquisite out of all the beer that is consumed in the town. Thirdly, he has a tax paid him for every stall that is set up by retailing traders at the fair which is held in this city. He may chuse out of all the shops of those who sell cutting instruments any one piece that he likes best; that is to say, from the cutlers he takes a knife or a razor; from those that sell carpenters tools he takes, if he pleases, an adz or an ax, &c. other traders give him a present in money. Fourthly, A person, against whom there is a writ, cannot be arrested on this stone, if he has time to take sanctuary upon it. The fortifications of the town were built by the *Chevalier de Ville*.

It is seventeen miles distant from *St. Quintin*, twenty three from *Amiens*, and eighty four from *Paris*.

The trade of *Peronne* consists principally in linen-cloth of the same quality and breadth with those of *St. Quintin*. There are no woolen stuffs made in the town, tho' great quantities are collected in the countries about for exportation to foreign parts. But the linen-cloth brings them in yearly 150,000 livres.

On the same river *Somme*, about one and twenty miles below *Peronne*, stands the town of

## C O R B I E.

IT is situated in the north latitude of 49 degrees 48 minutes, and 2 degrees 38 minutes to the east of the meridian of *London*, being eleven miles distant from *Amiens*. It is said to take its name from a rivulet which throws itself into the *Somme* at *Corbie*, but now, and for some time called *La Riviere d'encre*, The Ink River. This little river, before it joins the *Somme*,

runs about fourteen miles through a valley, and the two rivers, when united, pass through large meadows, and fruitful pastures. But the ground of the marshes, which abounds with moss, and a sort of bitumen, occasions thick fogs and a strong smell, which thicken the air, and make it unwholesome: tho' it seldom happens that the inhabitants of *Corbie* complain of it; because



because they are used to it. The common people find a kind of turf, *tourbe* as they call it, which they take from the marsh, very convenient for firing. Queen *Bathilda* the widow of *Clovis* II. and her son *Clotarius* III. founded at this place a celebrated abbey of *Benedictines* in the year 660. *Bartbefond* Bishop of *Amiens*, and thirteen other Bishops, performed the dedication of it to *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, on the day of the festival of those two Apostles, in the year 664. This Prelate exempted it from his own jurisdiction, a privilege which, together with many others, was confirmed to it by Pope *Nicolas* I. The Monks belong to the Congregation of *St. Maur*. The Abbé is a Count, and Spiritual and Temporal Lord of the city; his revenue is 45,000 livres yearly, and the Monks have almost as much. There are, besides the abbey, five parishes, and a hospital for the sick in the town. It was once fortified; but having been taken by the *Spaniards* in 1636, *Lewis* retook it the same year, and *Lewis* XIV. ordered the fortifications to be demolished in 1673.

The town of *Corbie* has suffered much by fires, which did not spare the abbey, and made it necessary to renew the buildings in the thirteenth century. Only the cloister and the refectory are still standing; but they are to be demolished, when a large pile of building now in hand is completed. The connoisseurs cannot think, without great concern, that these two excellent pieces of *Gothic* architecture must be demolished in a little time; for, excepting the church of *Amiens*, there is not such a perfect piece of that sort of building in all *Picardy*.

The church of the abbey of *Corbie*, as it is at present, was finished only about thirty six years ago, tho' it is now upwards of two hundred years since it was begun. The library was for-

merly very rich in manuscripts; but the greatest part of them have been carried to *Saint-Germain Duprez*: so that, according to Father *Martine*, there are not above two hundred left. They had even carried away a very curious one before; for Mr. *Matburin Vuffaire* has been often heard to say, that when he had the care of the library of that abbey, a very learned Monk of a famous order having, in his way through *Corbie*, come to see the library, he found means to carry off, unperceived, a manuscript of the works of *Pelagius*; which in many respects were curious, and might probably have contributed to terminate some disputes that have been kept up for a long time. The manuscripts of the abbey which have been transported to *St. Germain Duprez*, together with those that were left at the abbey, wanted but three or four of eight hundred.

The *Hotel Dieu* of *Corbie* formerly had the name of a hospital. It is attended by sisters, who for more than a hundred years have taken the habit and rule of *St. Benedict*; which is very rare, the sisters who attend hospitals being commonly of the order of *St. Augustine*. The college was in being, as to its external form, in the time of *Lewis le Debonnaire*; and the Monks of the abbey served as Regents. The hospital and college were within the bounds of the monastery; but when the city was enlarged, those bounds of the abbey were altered. The hospital and college, without changing their places, are now without the precinct of the abbey.

*Corbie* is the capital of a little canton named *Le Corbois*, and contains about 1850 inhabitants.

About eleven miles below *Corbie*, on the north side of the *Somme*, stands the city of

A M I E N S,

## A M I E N S.

**T**HIS city and its territory had formerly three sorts of Superiors, Counts, Vidames, and Lords of the Manor. The Kings of *France* gave the temporal superiority of *Amiens* to the Bishops of that see: these again gave it to the Lords of the family of *Bove*, who were dispossessed by *Raoul* Earl of *Vermandois*, whose daughter *Isabelle* carried it by marriage to *Philip* of *Alsace* Earl of *Flanders*; who in 1185 yielded the County of *Amiens* to King *Philip the August*; and eight years after, the Bishop of *Amiens* gave up to the King and his successors the homage of the said county, which formerly belonged to him and his church. It continued a part of the royal domaine till the year 1435, when *Charles II.* by the treaty of *Arras*, gave it, together with the other towns on the *Somme*, to *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, redeemable for 400,000 crowns of gold: and this redemption took place in the year 1463. *Lewis XI.* by the treaty of *Conflans* in the year 1465, yielded it, with the other towns on the *Somme*, to the Count de *Charolais*, afterwards Duke of *Burgundy*, redeemable, after the death of the said Count, for 2000 crowns of gold; which happened in the year 1477. By the treaty of *Paris* between *Francis I.* and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, afterwards Emperor, a marriage was concluded between the said Prince and *Renée* of *France*, daughter of King *Lewis XII.* and the agreement was in these terms: That if the King or Queen, or the said *Renée*, shall give any obstruction to this marriage, the said King and Queen consent, that *Amiens* and the other towns on the *Somme* shall belong to the Prince of *Spain*: and, in confirmation of this, they took a very solemn oath. But, after all, the treaty was never executed; and the King and Queen obtained a brief from Pope *Leo* the Tenth, to discharge them from the performance of their promise: so useful are the *Roman Pontiffs* for quieting

N° XII.

tender consciences. The Emperor *Charles V.* by the treaty of *Madrid*, gave up to the King of *France* and his successors all the claim he had to those towns by the treaties of *Arras*, *Conflans*, and *Peronne*; which renunciation was repeated in the treaties of *Cambray* and *Crespy*.

The Vidames of *Amiens* were formerly, and still are, Lords of a part of the city of *Amiens*, which indeed was not so considerable as what was enjoyed by the Counts. This authority passed successively thro' several illustrious families of *Picardy*. We find, that in the reign of *Philip* the First, *Guermond de Picquini* was Vidame of *Amiens*; and this dignity continued in his family till *Margaret de Picquini*, who carried it to that of *Robert Chevalier d'Ailli*, whom she married in the year 1342. The succession continued in his family till *Charlotte d'Ailli*, who carried it to *Honoré d'Albert* Marshal of *France*, and Governour of *Picardy*.

The third sort of proprietors were the Lords of the Manor of *Amiens*. The first of these was *Gui* Lord of *Fliscourt*, &c. who lived in the year 1114; and how long that dignity continued in his family, is not very certain.

The ancient names of *Amiens* were, *Semarobriva*, a word compounded of two, the one *Latin*, and the other of the language of the *Gauls*, signifying the bridge of the *Somme*, and *Ambianum* from the name of the people *Ambiani*, or *ab ambientibus aquis*, because it is surrounded by the river *Somme*. It is situated in the north latitude of 49 degrees 55 minutes, 2 degrees 22 minutes to the east of the meridian of *London*; and is one of the best towns of the kingdom. It is distant from *Abbeville* 10 leagues, or 28 *English* miles, 10 leagues from *Calais*, 18 from *St. Quintin*, and 11 from *Peronne*.

A a

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The *French* brag much of the antiquity of this city, and will have it to have been built long before the time of *Alexander the Great*, and that its inhabitants made a part of that army of the *Gauls* which conquered *Galatia* about 280 years before the *Christian* æra. *Julius Cæsar*, about fifty years before the Incarnation, made himself master of it, after having defeated the inhabitants supported by several other nations of the *Gauls*. This great conqueror is said to have always considered *Amiens* as one of the principal cities of *Belgium*. Here he held two diets of all *Gaul*; here he secured his baggage, with the hostages he received from other cities, his letters, and most important papers, and erected magazines for supplying his camp with provisions. He also set on foot in this city a manufacture of arms, especially for making swords and shields; in consequence of which, the gate which lay nearest to that manufacture was called the *Clypean gate*. Near to this gate stood a temple consecrated to *Jupiter*, another to *Mercury*, and several other monuments of antiquity, which were destroyed by the northern nations when they pillaged the town. The greatest part of the *Roman Emperors* who succeeded *Julius Cæsar* gave it also marks of their affection and regard; particularly, *Antoninus Pius*, his son *Marcus Aurelius*, *Constantius*, *Constantine*, *Julian*, *Valentinian*, *Gratian*, and *Theodosius*; who all made it the principal place of their residence. Several of the *French Kings*, after it came into their hands, honoured it with their presence. *Merovée*, according to the account of *Gregory of Tours*, made it the seat of his government. *Lewis le Debonnaire* spent some time there in the year 813. *Charles the Bald* stay'd there all the winter of the year 875. Others of them were married there; and some concluded treaties of peace and friendship with their neighbouring powers.

In the fourth century, when the *Roman Empire* declined, it became the prey of the *Franks*, the *Germans*, and some other northern nations, who disputed with one another the advan-

tage of being masters of it. It at last fell into the hands of the *French*, who have kept it ever since. In the year 800, during the reign of *Charlemain*, a mint was set up at *Amiens*, as it had been before under the first race of *French Kings*. In the year 859 the *Normans* invaded *Picardy*, and vented their rage against *Amiens*, the whole of which they plundered, and reduced a part of it to ashes. In 1109 *Lewis le Gros*, Duke of *Burgundy*, laid siege to it, and having taken it, demolished the castle, which then stood upon a large spot of ground, and had been the citadel in the time of the *Romans*. In the year 1347, *Philip de Valois*, by letters patent under his seal, gave the citizens liberty to enlarge their town and fortify it; but this project was often interrupted by the incursions of the *English*, and remained uncompleted till 1472, in the reign of *Lewis XI*.

During the disputes which happened in the beginning of *Henry the Fourth's* reign, the inhabitants of *Amiens* had espoused the interest quite opposite to his, and continued strongly attached to that party till the year 1594, when, after the example of a great many other cities of the nation, they discovered a disposition to submit to the King; and finding themselves supported by a party of two or three hundred horse, wherewith *Mr. d'Humieres* had posted himself in the suburbs for that very purpose, wanted to drive the Duke *d'Aumale* out of the city. But upon the arrival of the Duke *de Mayenne* with fifty horse only, the attempt appeared so dangerous, that the King's own servants advised them to wait till that Duke should leave the city, where his affairs would not suffer him to stay long. Mean time the King, at the earnest entreaty of *Balagny*, went from *Laon* to *Cambray*; where that new Prince regaled him in so pompous a manner, that the former, far from being admired on account of his grandeur, rendered his vanity ridiculous; and gave wise men occasion to prophesy, that a principality so ill founded would not last long. As the King returned from *Cambray*, he had accounts that the citizens

of

of *Amiens* had shaken off the yoke of the Duke de Mayenne; and he found their deputies at *Corbie*, who came to meet him, and to entreat he would be pleased to honour their city with his presence. They were at the greatest pains to testify their affection by the preparations they made for a fine public entry; and he, in return for that zeal, which had determined them to drive his enemies out of their town at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, and the confidence wherewith they had thrown themselves into his arms without demanding terms, granted them as great advantages as they could have hoped for: particularly, "That they should be exempted from the *gabelle* or salt-tax, in the same manner as the inhabitants of *Abbeville*: That there should be no fort nor citadel built within their town; and that the government and command of the city-arms should remain in the hands of the Mayor and Aldermen." *Dourlens*, the first place of strength which had been given to the Duke d'Aumale, desired to be favoured with the same privileges; and, after the example of *Amiens*, obtained a discharge from all its former taxes, and the half of those which should be imposed for three years to come.

Henry IV. besides the opposition he met with at home from his own subjects, had likewise been involved in a war with *Spain* from the very beginning of his reign. But in the year 1597, the King of *Spain* finding the strength of his body and mind declining by an illness, which degenerated at last into a frightful distemper, and seeing himself attacked in his own dominions by the *English*, who, by taking *Cadiz*, had caused all *Spain* to tremble; having also some apprehensions that several of his provinces, which he had kept in their duty by mere force, would by his weakness be encouraged to revolt; having, besides all this, drained his finances, and impoverished his people to the highest degree by the prodigious expences he had been at in the Low Countries, and in *France*; and fearing,

above all things, that if any thing should happen to him, the Infanta *Isabella*, whom he most tenderly loved, would not have so good a provision from her brother as he was disposed to give her in his own life-time, had intimated to the Pope that he had no aversion to peace: insomuch that his Holiness had sent *Bonaventure Secusio Calatagirone*, a *Sicilian* and General of the *Cordeliers*, to improve him further in this disposition. This Monk, having conversed with the King of *Spain*, had gone to *Flanders* to concert with the Arch-duke the means of entering into a treaty. The Arch-duke, knowing *Philip's* intentions, and having already dropt some words upon several occasions, which, he understood, met with a favourable reception, ordered the *Cordelier* to go to *France*; and the affair was so far advanced, that the place, and deputies for the treaty were upon the point of being named. But just as the latter returned to *Flanders*, and the *French* began already to flatter themselves with the agreeable hopes of peace, the most astonishing blow that they could have apprehended gave them a dreadful shock, and brought them to the very brink of ruin. *Amiens*, the greatest and the richest town of *Picardy*, where the King kept his arsenal for that frontier, was surprised, on the eleventh day of March, by the *Spaniards*, and they by this means admitted into the heart of the kingdom.

The inhabitants, though too jealous of their liberty and power, and trusting too much the strength of their walls, and their numbers, they had always valued themselves upon their privileges, and refused to admit a garrison, nay, would not so much as suffer a few companies of *Swiss* in their suburbs, did not keep so strict a guard as they ought while they had a powerful enemy in their neighbourhood. *Hernand Teille* Governour of *Dourlens*, informed by one *Du Moulin*, who had been banished out of the town, of the bad order observed at their gates, and confirmed by the intelligence of some of the inhabitants, acquainted the Arch-duke, that if he would



would give him 4000 foot, and 5 or 600 horse, he would make him master of the place. The Arch-duke being let into the project, and trusting to *Teille's* experience, granted him what he asked; and, the better to cover his design, caused the garrison of *St. Pol* to revolt, which served him for a pretence to march his troops that way. Having arrived at *Dourlens* on the 10th day of the month, they marched all the next night towards *Amiens*, with such diligence that they got to it before sun-rising. He immediately set guards upon all the roads, to stop such as they should find going to the town, that they might give no information of his march; then posted 200 musketeers in a chapel about 3 or 400 paces from the gate of *Montrescu*, which he intended to seize; took post himself in the church of *St. Magdalen* with the rest of his infantry, little more than half a mile further off; and placed his cavalry in a hollow way behind a hedge of willows. Matters thus disposed, he chose sixteen soldiers, whom he knew to be among the bravest, made them disguise themselves like peasants, with their arms hid under great packs of linen and coarse woollen cloth; and gave the command to Captain *d'Ognana*. Four of them conducted a waggon loaded with large pieces of wood covered with a little straw; the rest carried on their heads and shoulders sacks full of apples and nuts, and walked a little before. The latter, as soon as they got to the gate, pretending to be weary, rested themselves upon their burdens. And one of them, to amuse the soldiers of the guard, seeming to open his sack which was full of nuts, let go the cord wherewith it was tied, so that a great quantity of nuts fell upon the ground. The guards run to them immediately with great mirth, and were gathering them up in a hurry; but whilst they were amusing themselves thus, one of those who conducted the waggon, when it was just under the grate of the second gate, cuts the traces of the horses, and immediately *Ognana* discharged a pistol, which was the signal to his people to ply their knives,

and for the ambuscade to advance. As nothing is more ordinary in the guards kept by citizens, than that the rich burghers send the poor in their stead, there were none there but pitiful fellows, some of whom were warming themselves, and others gone to drink; so that *Ognana's* soldiers charging them on a sudden, cut them in pieces, or put them easily to flight. Three of them, however, killed two *Spaniards*, and a fourth, getting up upon the gate, let fall the herse; but his industry was of as little use as the resistance of the other three; the herse fell upon the waggon, and those who defended themselves were knocked down. The ambuscade coming up at the signal, seized the gate; the next followed it soon after; they prosecuted their scheme with vigour, and got to the middle of the town. It was about eight o'clock in the morning, when some of the burghers were at church, others still in their beds, and many gone to the tavern. Those that fled from the gates carrying terror every where, frightened them in such a manner, that they knew not where to assemble, or from whom to take orders. The bells might well be rung to alarm the people, but no body appeared in defence of the town. Mean time the enemies took possession of all the places of consequence, the arsenal, the ramparts, and the doors of the churches, to hinder the people from coming out. The wretched inhabitants shut themselves up, some in the churches, others in their own houses, and others fled out of the town. The Count *de St. Pol*, who was Governour of the Province, and at this time in *Amiens*, no less frightened than the rest, took horse to avoid the impending danger, and escaped to *Corbie*, instead of entrenching himself at the gate of *Beauvais* or *Noyon*, as he might have done, since the *Spaniards* had not taken possession of these posts for an hour after. To excuse so shameful a retreat, he pretended since, that his design was to assemble some companies of *Swiss* and of horse, which were lodged in the neighbouring villages, that he might return with them, and attack the enemy,

enemy, while the soldiers were dispersed through the houses, and bent upon plundering them. After all, had he taken this method, *Hernand Teille* had provided against it, having posted guards at all the lanes to hinder the soldiers from dispersing. But when he had nothing more to fear, he gave them all the liberty they could wish, except with regard to sacred places, and the honour of the women; so that all the houses were pillaged, and the inhabitants, after they were stripped to their shirts, obliged to pay a ransom, or submit to cruel treatment if they did not; except a small number, who either had contributed to the surprize of the town, or, having been keen abettors of the league, found friends among the *Spanish* officers.

Thus this great city, in which there were more than 15,000 men able to bear arms, was surprized in open day, and cost the *Spaniards* no more than a bag of nuts, and the lives of five soldiers. The King, not expecting so bad news, had passed the winter in mirth and jollity, as if it had been a time of profound peace. The first day of the year he had solemnized the festival of the order of the Holy Ghost at *Rouen*, by the creation of twelve Knights; and in the same city celebrated with royal magnificence the christening of a daughter he had by his mistress, which gave occasion to the wisest men to censure his conduct. After that, he returned to *Paris*, where he neglected not to mingle pleasures with the cares of government; and amidst the thoughts of war amused himself by entertaining the Ladies with all sorts of diversions, dances, and masquerades. The night between the 11th and 12th of the month, as he was in a deep sleep, a courier came and awaked him with the dismal news. Immediately he gets out of bed, and calls for two or three of his most intimate friends, to whom he communicates the cause of his trouble, as much with a view to engage their sympathy, as to have their advice. It is easier to imagine, than to express the uneasiness, and variety of anxious thoughts, in which he spent the rest of that night. After so

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severe a blow, there was no misfortune which he had not reason to fear. On whatever side he cast his eyes, he saw nothing but dangers, and occasions of dismal apprehension. A powerful enemy without his kingdom had in two years time taken from him six or seven of his strongest towns; a great breach had been just made in his dominions, by means whereof *Paris* was become a frontier town. He fancied he already saw the Arch-duke at the gates of that great city, menacing the *Louvre* from whence he had dislodged him with so great difficulty. His ears were already filled with the cries of the *Parisians*, and the consternation of his people stared him in the face. At the same time he represented to himself the Duke de *Merceur* setting fire to the provinces which lay next to *Bretagne*; the Duke of *Savoy* in *Provence* and *Dauphiny*; the remainders of the factions, like coals hid under ashes, breaking out again, and raising commotions in the towns and communities beyond the *Loire*, which had been in arms for several years before; the cabals of the Great, who, instead of assisting him, were at great pains underhand to traverse his measures; and together with all this, the diffidence of the Protestants formerly his most faithful servants, but now much estranged from him, who not considering him any more as their protector, but as one who had espoused an interest contrary to theirs, would be ready to abandon him in the midst of danger. And to say the truth, as the surprize of the people was greater than was apprehended, their commotions and insurrections would have been so likewise if provision had not been made against them. The Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke de *Merceur*, had their agents in *France*, and several conspiracies were forming in the kingdom in favour of the King of *Spain*. Some of these being luckily discovered, the guilty were punished; but what was most alarming, it was found that bad designs were entertained by some of the greatest men of the kingdom, who were able to overturn every thing, if the King had

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had not taken greater care to dissemble his apprehensions of this sort, than to search into the grounds of them. The only remedy that could be applied with success to all these evils was the retaking of *Amiens*: but, considering the want of money, the strength of the enemy, and the multiplicity of other affairs in which the King was engaged, this siege appeared to be a work of much difficulty; and if it should not succeed, the last evil would be greater than all the rest, and at the same time render them incurable. For these reasons, the greatest part of his officers were against his engaging in it. The Duke de *Mayenne*, who was thought to understand sieges better than any about him, thought it a place of more strength than *Rochelle*. Even *Biron*, and the boldest of his counsellors, did not talk of this affair with their ordinary resolution; and there were some who wanted to register in the Records of Parliament their protestations against an enterprize which they called rash and ruinous. It is certain, however, that if it was a matter of difficulty at that time, when the *Spaniards* had secured themselves in the town, it would soon become impossible; but it was the opinion of *Lefdiguières* who happened to be then at *Paris*, that if it was quickly attacked, it might be taken. The King approving most of this advice, intimated to all his Court, that he was determined to recover by force what his enemies had taken from him by stratagem. Immediately upon this, he went himself to confirm and secure the frontier towns; and when he was at *Corbie*, he gave the Marishal de *Biron* the command of 4000 foot and 700 horse, with orders to invest *Amiens* on the side of *Artois*, and to check the *Spaniards* as much as possible. *Biron*, from an ambition of acquiring glory in every thing he undertook, more than out of affection to the service of the King, wherewith he was already dissatisfied, performed wonders of diligence, boldness, and valour, before the place. Though at first he was weaker with respect to numbers than the besieged, he nevertheless began the circumvallation, made

incursions into the enemies country, endeavoured to surprise *Dourlens* by scalade, coup'd up the *Spaniards* that they could not get to the country for forage, of which they were in great want, nor have any communication with *Dourlens*, from which they drew their greatest supplies. *Hernand Teille*, finding the town invested, sooner than he could have expected, and judging that he ought to prepare for a siege, turned out all the useless mouths, and set fire to the suburbs, in the ruin of which the famous abbey of *St. John*, which commanded a quarter of the town, was involved; then stopping up the lowest of the three branches of the *Somme*, which ran through the city, raised the waters to the height of eight foot in the fields adjacent to one side of the town, to molest the *French*, who were to make their attack on that quarter.

It would be too tedious to take notice here of the state of the *Spanish* affairs, or the influence the late success of their arms had upon that Court, particularly upon the King himself. Nor have we room to acquaint our readers with the difficulties which the King of *France* had to struggle with, or the shifts he was put to, to be supplied with money for the charge of the war, and to draw together a sufficient army. It is enough for our purpose to observe, that by the assistance of his faithful ally the Queen of *England*, and his own industry and prudent measures, he soon got together a body of 12,000 foot, and 4000 horse; which he always kept full and in good condition, because he reviewed them every month, and those that were carried off by the sword or distempers were replaced by a double number of recruits. Mean time *Biron* had compleated a large circumvallation of 40,000 *French* fathoms (42,533 *English*) in circumference, on the other side of the river *Somme*. It was flanked by seven forts, all pentagons; and he had built a bridge below the village of *Longpré*, with large half-moons at the end to defend it.

All the month of April was spent in marching troops; that of May in making lodgments in their quarters: so that they did not begin their approaches till towards the end of that month. About this time the King arrived at the head of his army, and took up his lodging in the church of *St. Magdalene*, in the middle of his camp, where he gave out all orders, and animated that great body by his own motions and example, being the first on horse-back, and sometimes alighting with a pike in his hand, to curb the sallies of the besieged. He was attended on this occasion by his whole Court, and even his mistress, who lodged near him: but the free representation of the Marishal *de Biron* obliged him soon to remove that scandal from the sight of the soldiers, who murmured at it. The besieged had no less than 5000 men bearing arms, and 60 pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts; by means whereof being always engaged in skirmishing with the besiegers, and destroying their works and batteries, they stopt them at every step; so that they spent three full months before they could get into the ditch.

Among a vast number of skirmishes and frequent sallies, there were three very memorable. One on the 22d of May, by *Hernand Teille* and the Marishal *de Montenegro*; who sallying with 500 horse as far as the bridge of *Longpré*, took a fort, and remained masters of it near two hours. But this glory was like to have cost them very dear: *Biron* recovered the fort, and drove them within a hundred paces of the town, into which they never would have entered, if 400 of their own foot had not come out to meet them, and secure their retreat. The second was in the month of June, under the command of *John de Gufman*, who divided his force, consisting of 500 horse and 300 foot, into three bodies, and vigorously attacked in three places. Nothing could resist his first impetuosity; he overturned every thing that came in his way, and strowed the trenches and the field with the bodies of near 300 *French*: but he returned not

to boast of his exploits at *Amiens*; for after he had spent his fire, *La Boulaye* attacking him with equal courage and skill, it happened that at the first fire *Gufman* himself, his Cornet, and his Quarter-master, fell to the ground; and, it is said, all by one pistol-shot discharged by *La Boulaye*'s own hand. His troops, having lost their commander, presently turned their backs, and were vigorously pursued by the *French*, who went and planted their colours on the counterscarp of the ditch. The third, the greatest, and the most bloody of all, happened on the 18th of July. *Francis de l'Arc*, and *Didaque Durand*, each with 300 foot, and 100 horse, sallied and attacked the trenches in two different places; the one on the right hand, where the regiment of *Picardy* was posted; the other on the left, where the regiment of *Flessan* was on them; and drove them about 500 paces. When they saw troops coming against them from all quarters, they pretended to retire to the edge of the ditch, and as soon as they had their opportunity, discharged at their pursuers ten or twelve fires from a low battery. At the same time 500 men sallied out of the ditch, who carried almost all that quarter, and were going to nail up the cannon, had not the *English* troops prevented them. The *French* did not meet with a greater loss all that siege. There were 500 of them killed, and among these thirty officers; two of whom, *Montigny* and *Flessan*, were General Officers, and Mr. *Fouquesoles* a Colonel. A few days after they had their revenge upon *La Bourlote*, who came, with 800 horse, a league from the city to observe the *French* army. The carabinciers having discovered them first, hastened towards them without command, and in disorder; and the Marishal *de Biron* hurried to the place where he heard the firing. *La Bourlote* upon this retiring, he pursued him, and harassed him with a number of false attacks, until he had got together as many horse as he thought sufficient to take the *Spaniards* at once in flank and rear. Then he attacked them with such vigour, that he put them intirely to the rout. *Bourlote* and the greatest



greatest part of those that were with him were saved by throwing themselves into a neighbouring wood. The rest, who could not get to this place of refuge, having been pursued to *Dourlens*, left near a hundred of their number dead upon the roads, and had twice as many taken prisoners.

Never was a siege carried on with greater vigour and animosity, on both sides, than this. It was a continual storm of cannon-balls: the besiegers battered the defences with five and forty pieces of cannon; and the besieged, in the beginning having more artillery, gave them two fires for one, till the greatest part of their guns were either broken, dismounted, or intirely laid open to view. Mines had been but little used in *France* for a great many years past, but on this occasion they were very often employed. When one of the parties was just ready to spring a mine, you might see the other spoil it, or carry it off; and often when the besiegers had gained a lodgement, or made themselves masters of any work, they were dislodged again by the violence of these subterraneous fires. Finally, not to mention every particular circumstance, the besiegers, gradually gaining ground, and advancing through the breaches and openings they had made by cannon, sap, and mines, after long and most vigorous opposition, got at length to the wall.

Besides the perpetual skirmishes which carried off the bravest of the besiegers, a great number of them were destroyed by infectious distempers; and the inhabitants, having the old yoke of the *Spaniards*, in great abhorrence, often formed conspiracies to rescue themselves from it. One, which was conducted by Captain *Serueil*, made greater noise than the rest. This gentleman having got into the town, disguised in the habit of an *Augustine* Friar, undertook, by the help of two hundred and fifty townsmen, to open in the night-time the gate of *Noyon*, and introduce the *French* troops: but the plot being discovered, he was taken, and several of these unhappy men

with him; the latter were immediately hanged; but their Captain being claimed by the King of *France*, was some time after taken out of a dungeon, and exchanged for other prisoners of war. After this, the *Spanish* Governour was so apprehensive of these conspiracies, that he would not venture to sally out of the town without posting guards of horse in the streets; and in a little time seeing the numbers of his men so greatly decreased, that he had not more than was necessary to stand the assault of the besiegers, resolved to make no more sallies. He importuned, however, the Arch-duke by letters and messengers which he dispatched to him every day. One of the former happened to be intercepted, in which he acquainted him, that many of his best men were killed, many wounded, and many more seized with a pestilential distemper of which scarce any recovered, because he had nothing but old medicines which killed instead of curing. That he had but 2000 men remaining, and in a little time would be in want of every necessary. He therefore intreated him to make haste, and, if possible, take wings, to save so fine a conquest, and so many brave men who had no other hope but that of dying in the breach. He advised him not to come by *Longpré*, because the besiegers were fortifying themselves there every day, and there were other rivers to pass; but by the way of *Corbie*, where they kept not so good a guard, where also their quarters were weaker, and by this means he would also avoid the trenches: that he might pass at *Cauion* about a league from *Amiens*; but as there was no ford there, he must bring pontons with him. The Arch-duke excited by a passion for glory, and ambitious to preserve *Amiens*, even at the hazard of *Flanders*, had, by an extraordinary effort, assembled an army of 18,000 foot, 400 horse, and sixteen pieces of cannon. As soon as he was in condition to march, he called a council of war to consult, whether he should attack *St. Quintin* or *Peronne*, to make a diversion, or attempt, at the hazard

zard of a battle, to force one of the besiegers quarters, and throw succours into *Amiens*. The first being a very tedious expedient, attended with great uncertainty, tho' less danger, he resolved to attempt the second, which was more glorious, and required not so much time.

It would be tedious to give a particular account of the Arch-duke's march, and exploits in this expedition. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing briefly, that having approached *Amiens*, he ordered *Contreras*, the Commissary General of his army, accompanied with two Field Marshals *Spinola* and *Taffedo*, and some other officers of distinction, to go before and examine what road it was proper for him to take, and where he might encamp his army as near as possible to the city. These officers left *Dourlens* with 900 horse as soon as it began to dawn, and came within two leagues of *Amiens*, where some carabineers, who had been patrolling, discovered them, and gave notice to the King. He was just gone to bed, but got up immediately, ran to the place with a small number of gentlemen, and sent a party of light-horse to reconnoitre them, who returned and reported, that the *Spaniards* seemed resolved to stand their ground in the post they had occupied. It was a great blunder in them to wait so long in the face of an army so powerful in cavalry, and not retreat as soon as they had made their observations; and the King, it is said, resented it much. Mean time *Biron*, *Montigne*, and several other persons of quality, having come to attend him, and several companies arriving one after another, he sent them away with 150 carabineers, and 200 light-horse, and followed himself with 300 of the cavalry. *Contreras*, upon this, gallops away towards *Bapaume*; but it being a stretch of ten leagues, the light-horse gained ground, and came up with him at *Encre*, in a defile along the side of a large river which falls into the *Somme* near *Corbie*. At this place the *French* thinking themselves supported by the King, attacked the enemy. *Spinola* proposed to turn

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upon the *French*; and had this been done, it would have been an easy matter to defeat them, for the King was yet at the distance of two leagues, and they were scattered, and in disorder. But *Contreras*, whether out of fear, or that he chose rather to save a part than lose the whole, rejected good advice, and continued his flight. Then those who were appointed to guard the rear, unable to stand their ground longer, were put to the rout, and such as were worst mounted left at the discretion of the carabineers. The King pursued the rest almost to *Bapaume*, took three Cornets, and rendered useless 400 *Spanish* horse, the greatest part of whom were killed in the woods by the peasants. The *French* did not fail to intimate this success of theirs immediately to the besieged, by shewing them the Cornets and the spoils of the vanquished, with a design to intimidate them. But *Hernand Teille*, on the other hand, animating his garrison by his own firmness and resolution, forgot not to improve for their encouragement this very circumstance, which of itself was apt to drive them to despair, and assured them, that it was an infallible proof the Arch-duke was at hand. But while he entertained them with these hopes, and was preparing to second the efforts of that Prince when he should arrive, it happened that on the third of September, being upon a ravelin, just going to make a sally, he received a musket-ball in the side which killed him on the spot. He was of little stature, but lively, ingenious, enterprising, and intrepid: so that it might be truly said of him, that in the body of a dwarf, he had the heart and spirit of a giant; qualities, which having raised him gradually to his present fortune, would have advanced him much higher if death had not stopt his career. Two days after, as if it had been to throw both parties into an equal degree of distress, a similar accident carried off *Francis de l'Espinay St. Luke*, Governour of *Brouage*, and Grand Master of the ordnance, who for valour and skill in the art of war was inferior to no officer of either army; and for generosity,

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rosity, fine wit, and agreeable conversation, had not an equal at Court. A musket-ball struck him on the head, as he was in one of the batteries looking out between two gabions. The government of *Brouage* was given to his eldest son; but the office of Grand Master, which he had only enjoyed two years by the resignation of *Philibert de la Guiche* (who instead of it obtained the government of the *Lionnois*) was carried by the King's mistress, over four or five competitors, for her father *Antony d'Estree*; who had some shadow of right to demand it, because he was the son of that *John d'Estree* who had long and worthily filled the place. The King, however, gave it him on the condition that he should resign it for some other, or accept of an equivalent, whenever he should be pleased to require it.

Instead of *Hernand Teille*, the besieged by common consent submitted to *Hierom Carafa*, Marquis of *Montenegro*, as their Governour. But tho' his quality and his experience had gained him great credit, he could not however restore to the soldiers the courage and confidence which they had lost by the death of their late Governour. The Arch-duke, thinking their resolution would soon fail, left *Dourlens* the 13th of September, and gave out that he was going to drive away the King of *France*. His army was divided into three bodies, one in the advanced guard, one in the main battle, and the third in the rear-guard. This force was covered on the right and left by the carts loaded with baggage and ammunition to be thrown into *Amiens*; the pontons and little boats being fixed together by iron-chains made a sort of strong fence, which was defended on each side by 500 musketeers in the best order. For each body there was a battalion of pikes preceded by five pieces of cannon, with some platoons of infantry. Before these marched the companies belonging to the ordnance, and again before them the light-horse, who were divided into ten or twelve squadrons, and posted upon the wings. The Arch-duke, with the Duke *d'Aumale*, and *Philip* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange*,

were sometimes in the advanced guard, sometimes in the main body, giving orders every where. Count *Mansfelt*, the oldest Captain then in *Christendom*, who was not able to travel without a litter, performed the office of Major General on that occasion. In this order the Arch-duke having passed the river of *Authie* at *Dourlens*, and giving the besieged notice of his march every hour by the report of his cannon, encamped the second night of his march at the Abbey of *Berticour*. He advanced so slowly, because the skirmishes, which happened between his troops and a part of the light-horse wherewith the Duke of *Montpensier* had posted himself at *Vignancour*, gave him occasion to think the whole *French* army was advancing to give him battle. The King of *France* on his side, seeing his enemy proceed with so great deliberation, imagined he had no intention to risk a battle, but only gave himself airs, and by wheeling about from place to place would attempt to throw succours into the town by surprise, rather than by force. Therefore, thinking he had sufficiently provided against this design, he neglected the Arch-duke so much, that next day he went a hunting; and believed that even tho' the latter should undertake any thing, it would be time enough for him to return to his camp about three in the afternoon. But the Arch-duke setting out by the dawn, and marching as far that morning as he had done for two days before, appeared at noon about 500 paces from *Longpré*, where he took possession of a rising ground, with his front towards the *French* camp, and the river on his right hand. At the sight of this great army, the sutlers and servants took to their heels, the most advanced posts were abandoned, and the foot put into such confusion that neither the Constable, nor any other officer, could inspire them with courage. The *Spanish* light-horse, seeing this disorder, cried out, *Victory! Victory!* The word ran through the whole army, and so animated the soldiers, that they all cried out with the same resolution, "Let us fight them." But the

the Arch-duke's council being directed by *Spanish* gravity rather than the ardour of the soldiers, obliged them all of a sudden to halt. Their design was not to fight, but only to throw into *Amiens* 2500 men, whom they had selected for this purpose, and set apart under the command of *Charles de Longueval* Count *de Buquoy*; and they had no other intention in attacking the post of *Longpré*, than that they might make use of the bridge which the *French* had built at that place. Now while they were deliberating concerning the means of gaining a point, which Fortune of her own accord put in their power, if they had but known how to take opportunity by the forelock, the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Nevers* appeared with the light-horse on the border of the *French* lines, to conceal the disorder which was behind them. The Duke *de Mayenne* also, knowing the design of the enemy, drew together some regiments of veteran infantry, which he ordered to march towards *Longpré* with six pieces of cannon, under the direction of *John de Durfort de Borne* who had the command of the artillery. By this time the King, as he came from hunting, found a general terror spread over all his army, and some even of the principal officers said all was lost. He seeming to be insensible of the danger, gave orders without any sign of surprise, shewed himself every where with a countenance as chearful, and spoke with as much firmness, as after a victory. The Duke of *Mayenne* represented to him, that by saving the post of *Longpré* he would break all the enemy's designs. The King therefore immediately marched some troops to a high ground about eight hundred paces from his own lines, which he had taken possession of three or four days before, but had not yet completely intrenched. From this place having considered the beautiful order of the *Spanish* army, the terror which prevailed in his own, and the weakness of the post which he endeavoured to secure, he was a little moved, and doubted of the success of the day, if the enemy

should make use of his advantage. Immediately upon this, leaning upon the pommel of his saddle, with his hat in his hand, and his eyes lift up to heaven, he said aloud: "O Lord, if it be thy pleasure to punish me, this day, as my sins deserve, I earnestly pray thou wouldst at least have pity upon this poor kingdom, and not smite the sheep to chastise the shepherd." The danger was indeed great: but the halt which the enemy had unseasonably made, and the Duke of *Mayenne's* foresight, saved the *French* army. As the *Spaniards* passed the rising ground, which had prevented their having a full view of the *French* camp, and likewise covered them from the *French*, *Borne*, waiting till they were half down the descent, played his cannon upon them with such success, that whole ranks were carried off. The astonishment of the Arch-duke was the greater that he had not expected such a salutation, his spies having reported that there were no cannon at *Longpré*. A *Cordelier*, who marched in the front of the *Spanish* line with a crucifix in his hand, seeing them stunned at this dreadful storm, cried out very loud, "that they must go forward, and the victory was sure." But the Arch-duke immediately ordered his men to retire, first over the rising ground for shelter, and soon after to *St. Saviour's*, which lies on the side of the river about a quarter of a league from the place. In this surely he shewed, that his confusion had taken away his judgment; for if he had gone quite down the eminence, which was much easier and less dangerous than to go up again, and had attacked the *French* with vigour, it would not have been in their power to prevent his being master of *Longpré*, and of the bridge at the foot of it. After his retreat, the Duke of *Mayenne* advised to fortify the avenues of *Longpré*, that they might not be in the same danger a second time; and having taken the affair upon himself, worked the whole night with so great diligence, that next day in the morning there were several retrenchments which could not be easily forced. The night was past in continual alarms



alarms. As the day began to dawn, the Arch-duke, thinking to make amends for his fault, ordered a bridge to be thrown over the *Somme*, which the Count *de Bouquoy* performed in less than an hour, while he himself marched as if he had determined to attack the post of *Longpré*; whether he thought he should succeed better than the day before, or only intended to amuse the King's army, till *Bouquoy* having passed the river, should throw his 3000 men into the town. Neither the one nor the other of these attempts succeeded. Day-light having discovered to the Arch-duke the large trenches that were in his way, he thought to attempt the place would be throwing away men to no purpose: and King *Henry*, having foreseen that a bridge might be laid over the *Somme* at *St. Saviour's*, had on that very account left on his own side of the river 3000 foot and 400 horse, commanded by *la Noue*, *Montigny*, and *de Vic*; who, as soon as the *Spaniards* had passed, charged them with such fury, that they were obliged to return in confusion, leaving more than 200 of their number dead upon the spot, and almost as many drowned in the *Somme*.

This attempt having failed, the Arch-duke was afraid, that if he staid longer, *Henry* would approach with his army, and force him to a battle; and therefore began to retire in the same order in which he had advanced. The King pursued him with all his army, except 4000 men whom he left in the trenches, and had several skirmishes with his rear; in one of which the Marquis *de Nolle* was slain. The soldiers on both sides often demanded a battle; and the two armies continued five hours in sight of one another, during which time the *French* cannon did great damage to the enemy. About midnight the Arch-duke, seeing that his post was not tenable, made his foot march to the other side of the hill, and, to conceal his retreat the better, set fire to his lodgements, and drew up his horse on the top of the hill, and on the left hand towards the village of

*Flacelles*, as if they had intended to engage; but in a little time they retired also, and followed the foot. *Henry*, informed of this, burned with impatience to pursue and attack the Arch-duke, thinking the victory would be sure, and that a blow of this kind would give him an opportunity to take vengeance for all the injuries he had received from the *Spaniards*. The truth is, if he had routed the *Spanish* army, as very probably he would, nothing could have hindered him from over-running all *Flanders*, even to the gates of *Antwerp*: but, on the other hand, the victory must have been very bloody; and if, in the heat of the battle, any misfortune should have happened to his own person, *France* must have continued a prey to strangers, and the factions of the great. The Duke *de Mayenne*, and the Marishal *de Biron*, having represented to him these inconveniencies, and, besides, his troops not being ready in due time, he followed, but with great regret, that old maxim, That when an enemy takes to flight, one ought to make a bridge of gold to facilitate his escape.

Two days after the Arch-duke's retreat, the besieged being summoned to surrender, thought they ought not to be too resolutely bent upon lengthening out a defence, which at last could be of no service to the cause of *Spain*, and must be attended with great danger to themselves. They therefore entered into treaty with the King, and obtained the following articles of capitulation: " That the graves of *Hernand Teille*, and of the " other Captains buried in the city, should not be violated, " nor the inscriptions upon them defaced, provided they contained nothing inconsistent with the honour of *France*. That " all the garrison, of what nation soever, should march out, " with their arms, baggage, and all the honours of war. " That they should have carts and waggons to carry off " their sick to *Dourlens* and *Bapaume*. And finally, That there " should be a cessation of arms for six days, during which " time three of them might go, with ten horse, to give the " Archduke

" Arch-duke notice of the capitulation, and that, if within  
 " the said six days he should not find means to throw 2000  
 " succours into the town, they should surrender it without  
 " any further treaty."

The arch-duke having approved of the capitulation, and the six days being expired, they surrendered the town to the Constable, who received it in the name of the *French* King, and the garrison marched out at six o'clock of the morning, at the same gate by which they had come in. It is not necessary to mention the order in which the *Spanish* garrison evacuated the place, nor the solemnities observed when the King took possession of it; I shall only observe, that he gave the government of it to *de Vic*, the fittest of all his officers to restore a city reduced to so great desolation; and in fact, he established such good order, and gave so great encouragement to the citizens, that they have ample reason to acknowledge him as their second founder; for though he found but 800 inhabitants in the place, he exerted himself to so good purpose, that in less than a year he increased them to 4000, and, in time, so far mitigated the King's displeasure, that they obtained the restitution of their privileges; only, for fear that in time to come they should relapse into such a misfortune, he obliged them to build a citadel at their own expence, which, for a long time thereafter, made the children groan for the negligence of their parents. Thus *Amiens*, which the *Spaniards* made themselves masters of in two hours time, and with so little expence, cost the King of *France* a siege of six months, and more than five millions of livres.

The principal buildings are the cathedral dedicated to the blessed Virgin, a beautiful church which was 49 years building, the episcopal palace consisting of several large edifices; a court, a garden, and a chapel, which has a communication with the great church; the church and abbey of *St. John* of the order of the *Premontre*; the church of the *Car-*  
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*melites*, that of the *Celestins*, that of the *Ursuline* Nuns; the house of the Seminary, erected since the year 1740; the Jesuits college, which has subsisted since the year 1607; the priory of *St. Denis*, and the house belonging to the fathers of the Oratory. Besides the convents already mentioned, there are likewise at *Amiens* those of the *Augustin* Friars, the *Dominicans*, the *Cordeliers*, the *Minims*, the *Capuchins*, the Nuns of *Fonterauld*, or of *Moreaucourt*, the Nuns of *St. Mary*, or the *Carmelites*, the Gray Nuns, or *Cordeliers*; the Nuns of *St. Julian*, the Nuns of *St. Clara*, the Nuns of *St. Genevieve*, a house of penitent Nuns founded in 1690; a school for poor boys, &c.

The civil buildings are the citadel, which, as we have seen, *Henry the Great* obliged the citizens of *Amiens* to build at their own expence; the Town-house, the *Belfroy*, a solid building, which was burnt down the 16th of *April*, 1742; but this was not the first time it had had that misfortune; for it was entirely consumed in the year 1552, when also the alarm-bell was melted. This bell was founded a-new, but the sound of it not being agreeable, it was refounded, and hung up in the year 1575, as we are informed by the inscription round it.

There are eight market-places at *Amiens*; the grand market-place where they sell herbs, fruit, fish, and other commodities. Here are kept two free fairs for wine every year, one on *St. Nicholas's* day, the 9th of *May*, the other on *St. Martin's* day, the 11th of *November*. Each of these fairs has eight free days. The Corn-market, which is exceeding pretty, on account of the many streets that issue from it. The Straw-market, where, besides that commodity, they sell lint-feed, seed of red-cabbage, turnips, and other vegetables; also pease, beans, and sheeps skins. The poultry-market and the worsted-market, the first whereof is held at the Town-house, and the second at the *Belfroy* or *Belfry*; at this latter, which is held every *Saturday*, a great part of the worsted is sold which



is used in the stuff manufactories of this city, wherewith the inhabitants carry on a great trade throughout *Europe*.

This city had formerly as many gates as market-places; that is to say, five; the gate of *Beauvais*, the gate of the *Hautoye*, the gate of *St. Peter*, the gate of *Noyon*, and the gate of *Paris*. But the last of these is now shut up, and converted into a powder magazine. The private houses here contribute also to the beauty of the town; the inhabitants improve in taste of building every day, so that those who knew the city some years ago, were they to see it now, would hardly be persuaded it were the same. The streets are much more regular than formerly, elegance and propriety is visible in the houses of some quarters of the town, where formerly nothing were to be seen but hovels.

This city is washed by the river *Somme*, which, upon entering the town, divides itself into four branches that pass under four bridges; a fifth branch runs through the ditch between the town and the citadel. The four principal branches, after they enter the city, are distributed into twelve little canals, which are of great use for dying the stuffs that are manufactured there. At the west end of the town they all unite into one stream near the harbour, and become of great importance, not only to the commerce of this city, but also to that of the whole country about it. Near the harbour, the river is covered with a great number of small vessels, called *gribanes*, from fifteen to eighteen tons burthen, which convey to *St. Valery*, at the distance of fourteen leagues from *Amiens*, all the commodities which are sent from *Picardy* to *Spain*, *Italy*, *Holland*, *England*, &c. and in return bring back to *Amiens*, by means of the same river, all the goods which are remitted from those countries, as well as from the principal ports of *France*.

We may conclude from the long defence which the town of *Amiens* made when it was besieged by *Henry the Great*,

that it must have been then very well fortified. Since that time the fortifications have been improved by the addition of a citadel, of which we took some notice before. It is a regular pentagon, built upon an eminence, and would be reckoned the strongest in the kingdom if it were completed, which it seems it never yet has been. But since the frontiers of *France* have been carried so far beyond *Amiens*, the fortifications of this place have been looked upon as useless, and therefore neglected; the rampart, however, is one of the most beautiful in all *France*, and contributes much to the ornament of the town. It is a walk agreeable by the different objects it presents to the view both within and without the city, as it is wholesome on account of the purity of its air: its breadth, its height, its easy access, and the beauty of the trees planted upon it, are charms always new to the inhabitants, as well as strangers; and if it is not as much frequented as it was formerly, it is because the *Hautoye* or *Course* is greatly superior to it; for all that have seen this latter agree, that there is nothing of the kind so beautiful in any province of *France*. This *Hautoye* is said to have been originally bequeathed to the youth of *Amiens* by a young lady, whose will was conceived in these terms, "Je donne à la jeunesse d'Amiens mon pré nommé l'Autoye, lieu ou jadis J'antoye."

The commerce of *Amiens* is very considerable, consisting principally of the stuffs which are manufactured there, and vended throughout *Europe*; such as ell-broad serges of a particular fashion, *Cordelier* serges mixed and striped; serges in the fashion of *Chalons*, altogether white, or of a mixed colour, and five eighths of an ell in breadth; small camblets plain and striped, called by the *French* *guinguets*, half an ell broad; camblets of the fashion of *Lisle* and *Arras*, five eighths of an ell broad; barragons three quarters of an ell broad, stuffs called by the *French*, *etamines*, consisting all of silk, or of silk and worsted; broad cloth of the *Genoa* fashion, and of that of *England*;  
serges

serges in the fashion of *Nismes*, half an ell broad; serges of the *Roman* fashion, figured and plain; serges called *dauphines* and *indiennes*, *castagnettes*, and *ferrandines*. There are also camblets made of wool and of goat's hair; and plushes of worsted and hair, but the best of them are not so good as our *Manchester* velvets. All these stuffs are vended not only at *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Beauvais*, *Rouen*, and *Orleans*, but also in *Spain*, *Switzerland*, *Italy*, and *America*. There is also at *Amiens*, a manufacture of worsted lace; and in some villages near it, they manufacture large quantities of linen cloth, from three quarters to seven eighths in breadth, which they sell in the market on *Saturday*.

We have already observed, that the worsted-market was held on all the *Saturdays* of the year at the *Belfroye*; it begins in summer, at eight o'clock in the morning, and in winter, at nine, and both summer and winter continues till two in the afternoon. In this market is sold all the worsted which is brought to *Amiens* to be employed in the stuff manufacture there. Now we may judge of the prodigious consumption of worsted, and consequently of the extent of this one branch of the trade of *Amiens*, by the number of weighers,

and the value of their places. All the time of the market, twelve officers are employed to weigh the worsted which is sold in it; and they have three deniers for every 26 ounces they weigh. For some time past, have purchased their places at 9000 livres each, consequently the twelve places are worth 108,000 livres; this sum, at 5 per cent. ought to produce of interest 500,400 livres, there ought then to be sold every year in the market at least 432,000 parcels of worsted, of 26 ounces each, or 702,000 pound weight, at 26 ounces in the pound; that is 13,500 pound a-week. If we suppose that these officers get more than the interest of their money, and are in many instances defrauded of their right, as it is by no means improbable, that a good many dealers, in so vast a number, may escape the publick balance, and do justice to themselves, the quantity of worsted manufactured at *Amiens*, will be considerably greater than by this calculation it appears to be\*.

There are also three soap manufactures at *Amiens*, and the product of these amounts yearly to 100,000 livres.

About three leagues below *Amiens*, and on the same river *Somme*, stands

\* *Almanach Historique & Geographique de Picardie pour l'An 1755*, p. 61.

## PEQUIGNI or PECQUIGNY,

IN *Latin* *Pinkamiacum*, *Pingueniacum*, a little town principally known in history by the death of *William* Duke of *Normandy*, surnamed *Longue-Epee*, or *Long-sword*, who was treacherously killed by *Arnulph* Earl of *Flanders*, to which it is

pretended that the cabals of *Theobald* Earl of *Charters* greatly contributed.

About three leagues below *Pequigni*, upon the bank of the *Somme*, stands a little village called *l'Etoile*, which communicates



municates its name to a small camp hard by, resembling much the camps of the *Romans*, not only in its oval form, but also in regard of its situation; for as the *Abbé de Fontenu*, one of the members of the academy of *Belles Letters* has justly observed, though *Polybius*, in his treatise of the *Roman* castrametation, says, the *Romans* in their encampments preferred the square-form to any other; *Vegetius* assures us, in his first book of castrametation, that they also had their camps disposed, sometimes in a triangular, and sometimes in an oval form, according as the nature of the ground, or necessity required.

The camp of *Etoile* is 1300 foot *French* measure in length, and 800 in breadth. This is nearly the proportion observed in the dimensions of the antient *Roman* encampments, which, according to *Vegetius*, were generally a third more in length than in breadth, when the ground would allow of it. Tho' there is now no appearance of any ditch round this camp, yet there is not the least ground to doubt that there has been one formerly, at least upon those places of the eminence where the camp lies, which are less steep and rugged, especially on the side next the front, where the ascent of the hill is easier than in other places. As to the small semicircular ditch, which is drawn round a part of the extremities of this

encampment, there is good reason to believe it is modern.

About half a league from *Pequigni*, and also on the *Somme*, lies one of *Cæsar's* encampments, which M. l'*Abbé de Fontenu* pretends is more remarkable than any other. It is disposed in the form of a triangle, in a meadow lying along the river *Somme*, at the distance of 200 *French* fathoms from it. On that side it is of very difficult access, on account of eminences near sixty foot high with which it is covered; the side next the fields of *Tirancourt* is still more steep, and quite impregnable. On the opposite side it is covered by a bulwark seven or eight foot high, with broad and deep ditches, and only one open place for the conveniency of the troops going in and out. The *Abbé* finds no difficulty in accounting for these encampments; he tells us, that *Cæsar* having passed the winter at *Amiens*, formed three camps for the accommodation of three legions, of which this now described was one; and has been better preserved than many others, because it seems to have been repaired from time to time, on occasion of the many wars that have raged on the banks of the *Somme*.

Seven leagues, or about twenty *English* miles below *Pequigni*, and ten leagues below *Amiens*, on the banks of the river *Somme*, lies the celebrated city of

## A B B E V I L L E,

**S**ITUATED in the north latitude of 50 degrees, seven minutes, and two degrees to the east of the meridian of *London*, being six leagues distant from the sea, and four from *St. Valery* on the *Somme*. Some authors, on account of its

*Latin* name, *Abbatis Villa*, think it was originally only a castle, with a country village, belonging to the Abbot of *St. Riquier*: others pretend that the Earls of *Ponthieu*, in the seventh century, on account of their kindness to the hermits, who retired

tired to their dominions, had the title of Abbés or Fathers given them; and that one of these, named *Haimon*, was the founder of this city. To confirm this opinion, they produce two of the Earls of *Pontbieu*, who, in their charters and publick writings, have assumed the title of Abbés.

The celebrated Geographer *Nicolas Sanson* is not satisfied even with this account of the original of his native city. He will have it to be one of the most ancient and considerable towns in the kingdom of *France*; nor is this any wonder, if it be true, as he pretends, that in his inquiries into the genuine antiquities of this town, he found that its antient name was *Britannia*; that it was well known in *Gaul* under that title 200 years before *Christ*, as the capital of a people in *Belgium* called *Britanni*, and that a colony of this people was the first inhabitants of *Great Britain*\*. Other *French* authors are more modest, and carry its original no higher than the end of the tenth century; about which time, we are told that *Hugh II.* Earl of *Pontbieu* having married *Gille* or *Gilette*, the daughter of *Hugh Capet*, King of *France*; this Prince gave him leave to fortify *Abbeville*. And moreover, to encourage him in that design, he gave him also an old castle in the neighbourhood, on the ruins of which the priory of *St. Peter* has been since built. We are also told that the same *Hugh II.* very much enlarged the town, especially towards the east and south, and that this enlargement made room for a great many families of *St. Riquier*, which is said to have been quite consumed by fire in the year 1131, to settle at *Abbeville*. They add, that *Abbeville* was not reckoned the capital of *Pontbieu* till after this destruction of *St. Riquier*, which before that misfortune was a flourishing city, contain-

ing more than 2500 houses. The town of *Abbeville* was again enlarged in the year 1369, so as to want nothing of its present extent but the quarter of *Doquet*, on the other side of the great branch of the *Somme*, towards the *Vimeu*. This quarter was then called the village of *Vimeu*, and was not joined to the town, nor inclosed in walls till the reign of *Lewis XI.*

*Abbeville* stands in an agreeable and fertile valley, about four miles in circumference; the river *Somme*, at its entrance into the town, divides itself into several branches, and the tide rises there about six feet, which is a great advantage to trade. The town may be divided into three parts; the first is the isle in the middle, which probably was the first inhabited; the second is the part that lies next *St. Riquier*, upon an easy and imperceptible descent, which is the most considerable; the third lies on the left branch of the *Somme*, towards the *Vimeu*.

The town, including its out-works, is 2986 *English* fathoms in circumference; and those parts of it which lie without the fortifications are nearly of as large extent: so that, together with its suburbs, it comprehends little less than 4500 houses. It has five gates, viz. the gate of *St. Giles's*, those of *Bois*, *Marcadelle*, *Doquet*, and the *Royal Gate*, called formerly the *Portelette* or *Postern*, where there is a very agreeable walk, planted with trees along the side of the *Somme*. They reckon more than a hundred streets, the most beautiful of which are those of *St. Gilles*, *du Bois*, *Notredame*, and *du Puis a la Chaine*; sixty little bridges, forty of which are built of stone, and four beautiful market-places. Here the greatest part of the nobility of *Picardy* have Hotels, and the Counts *de Maille*

\* Dictionnaire Universelle de la France in voce Abbeville.



a palace. Many of the inhabitants have beautiful houses, and the *Befroy* of the town-house, and those of *St. Catherine* and *St. Sepulchre* are grand fabrics.

The situation of *Abbeville* would admit of excellent fortifications; the sluices, with the assistance of the tide, can overflow all the marshes round the town, not excepting those on the side next *St. Riquier*, formed by the river *Scardon*, which enters the town in three branches, and empties itself in the *Somme*. On the east and the south of the town, where it appears weakest, and most liable to attacks, it is easily defended by means of a low trembling marsh, impassable by foot or horse.

The churches are very beautiful; the principal one is that of *St. Vulphran*. It has a chapter founded by the Earls of *Ponthieu*, consisting of a Dean, a Chanter, a Treasurer, and 22 Canons, all in the nomination of the King, as Earl of *Ponthieu*, several Chaplains, Musicians, and eight boys belonging to the choir; here are also the tombs of *St. Vulphran*, patron of the city, of several Archbishops and Bishops, and one Earl of *Eu*. In the town and suburbs are no less than 14 parishes. There are here also four convents of Monks, viz. the priory of *St. Peter*, of the order of *Cluny*; the *Chartreuse*, founded in the year 1309; a convent of *Cordeliers* and one of *Minims*; eight or nine convents of Nuns, viz. *Minimes* and *Cordeliers*, bare-footed *Carmelites*, *Dominicans*, *Capuchines*, Nuns of the Visitation, and two abbeys of Nuns of the *Cistercian* order, called *Epagne* and *Willancour*, from the places of their first establishment; a convent of *Ursuline* Nuns, and a society of Nuns hospitaliers of the order of *St. Augustine* to attend the hospital, founded in 1158 by *John II.* Earl of *Ponthieu*. There are also an hospital for the poor orphans of the city dedicated to *St. Joseph*, and served by uncloister'd Nuns, a chapter of the Knights of *Malta*, and a college, the principal and masters whereof are secular clergymen.

The trade of *Abbeville*, in general, consists principally in corn, oats, and other sorts of grain, oils, cloths, viz. *ferges*, *baragons*, *etamines*, *plushes*, and other stuffs; worsted, *fil de caret*, flax, and hemp; soap, great quantities of coarse cloth for packing, and many other commodities which the neighbouring countries produce in abundance. Very good fire-arms are also made in the town.

The *Somme*, which is a large and deep river, passing in several branches through the town and suburbs, is a considerable convenience for trade, not only by land, but also by the sea, which is but five leagues distant from it, by means of small vessels, which, by the help of the tide, go up twice in twenty-four hours, to carry away all the superfluous commodities which this town, with the country about it, can spare, and bring back the returns.

But that there is not so much as one beggar; that is able to work, to be seen in the streets of *Abbeville*, is principally occasioned by the fine manufactures set on foot in the town, and its neighbourhood, of which there are five that deserve particular mention. The first is the Royal Manufactory of fine broad cloth, after the fashion of the *Dutch*, which keeps no less than a hundred looms at work, and employs about 4000 people. The manufacturers are under a sort of regulation, something like military discipline; they begin and leave off work by beat of drum. The materials for this manufactory are imported duty free; and all sorts of colours are dyed here, except scarlet and black, the first of which is dyed at the *Gobelins*, and the last at *Sedan*. It was at first set up by *M. Van Roberts*, who carried it on in a house of his own, the most beautiful, magnificent, and curious of any that a *French* merchant can boast of. The second is a manufactory of *baragons*, which is also very considerable, having seven or eight hundred looms at work, and employing near 2000 persons: here this kind of cloth is made very fine, and of all colours,

and

and exported to *Spain* and other places of *Europe*. The third is a manufactory of a particular kind of tapestry of great use, called *mocades* or *moquettes*, a great part of which is sent to *Paris*, and other places of the kingdom. The fourth manufactory is that of linens, which are manufactured in the town, and dispersed through all the parts of *France*, and several other countries. The fifth is that of worsted, spun very even and fine. Strangers are very fond of this sort of worsted. It is also pretended that the *English* and *Dutch* send parcels of their wool to the spinsters at *Abbeville*, that they may succeed the better in their fabrics. Later accounts tell us, that besides the sorts of stuffs and woollen cloth already mentioned, they make also at *Abbeville* baragons after the fashion of *Valentian*, serges in the *London* fashion, several sorts of druggets, in imitation of several foreign manufactures. They have a manufactory for plushes only, of all sorts of colour, for which Mr. *Ricouard* first obtained the privilege; and another privileged manufacture for *coutils*, after the *Flanders* fashion, from half an ell to two ells in breadth. They likewise make ticking for beds. Their spinsters excel in their way, and are employed by the manufacturers of *Rouen* and *Elbeuf*. They have a weekly market on *Wednesday*, where they sell their own manufactures, and those that come from the neighbouring country, particularly linens, from half an ell to seven eighths

in breadth, cloths made of hemp, of seven eighths, others called *de vergis*, of three quarters.

*Abbeville*, tho' it may be inferior to other cities of *Picardy* with regard to antiquity, is however, with regard to trade, riches, and number of inhabitants, the most considerable in that province, except *Amiens*; it is also the capital of the earldom of *Ponthieu*, a country of Lower *Picardy*, lying between the *Somme* and the *Canche*, bounded on the north by the *Boulonnois*, on the east by the *Amiennois*, on the south by the *Vimeux*, and on the west by the sea. It is said to have taken its name from the number of bridges that are in it. It was long subject to Earls of its own. From them it descended to the Earls of *Percbe* and *Alençon*, and from these again to the house of *Damartin*. *Edward I.* of *England* having married the heiress of that family, the earldom of *Ponthieu*, and the sovereignty thereof, came to the crown of *England*; but *Charles*, surnamed *the Wise*, having recovered it out of the hands of the *English*, reunited it to the crown of *France*. It was also, for some time, in the possession of the Dukes of *Burgundy*; but *Lewis XI.* of *France* recovered it upon the death of *Charles the Terrible*.

About six miles almost north-east from *Abbeville*, lies the antient town of

## ST. R I Q U I E R,

**I**N *Latin* *Fanum Sancti Ricbarii, Centula, in Pontivio*, a town formerly considerable in *Picardy*, in the diocese of *Amiens*, and subject to the parliament of *Paris*. It is supplied with

salt from the grainery at *Abbeville*, and contains about 1350 inhabitants. It stands upon the small rivulet of *Scardon*, which takes its rise near it, and is almost six miles distant from



from *Abbeville*, and five and twenty from *Amiens*. The custom of *Amiens* is in general observed here, but with some particular exceptions, it owes its name and its origin to the abbey of *St. Riquier*, which we shall just now have occasion to mention. There are two cures belonging to it; that of *Notredame*, in the town, which has a living of 900 livres yearly, and is under the patronage of the Abbé of *St. Riquier*. The other is that of *St. Manguille*, in *Latin*, *Sanctus Magdegi-illus*, in the suburbs; the living is worth 700 livres a-year. The collation of it belongs to the Bishop of *Amiens*. There is also here a chapel, dedicated to *St. Nicholas*, with a living of 800 livres, and a beautiful hospital for the sick, containing 24 beds, with an infirmary annexed to it. The place *Drugy*, in which is situated the castles of the Abbé of *St. Riquier*, and that of *la Ferte*, which belongs to Mr. *Roncherolles*, Marquis of *Pont St. Pierre*, and Baron of *Ecouy*, holds of the town of *St. Riquier* as being annexed to it. The soil about it is fruitful, and produces corn, and other kinds of grain; as also flax, and hemp: there are likewise woods, and mineral waters near the castle of *la Ferte*. The King, and the Abbé of *St. Riquier* are joint superiors of the town. It has a market-

day every week, which is free once a-month. The abbey of this name, in *Latin* called *Centula*, is very antient, and much celebrated. It belongs to the order of *St. Benedict*, and the congregation of *St. Maur*, and is situated in the town, to which it gave birth, and communicated the name of its founder. *St. Riquier*, greatly inflamed with the love of God, by the means of the prayers and exhortations of an *Irish* saint, named *Caidor*, built himself a little cell in the territory of *Centula*, where he was born, with an intention to live there as a hermit. This happened about the year 630. *St. Riquier* flourished during the reign of *Dagobert*, and his great reputation having got him many disciples, he became the first Abbot of that place, and died about the year 675. This abbey was burnt by the *Spaniards* in the wars that happened during the reign of *Lewis XIII*; but both the monastery and chapel were magnificently rebuilt by the Abbé of *Alligre* its titular Abbot. The revenue of the Abbé is 22000 livres a-year, and the Monks among them have as much.

Near three miles from *St. Riquier*, and eight to the north of *Abbeville*, lies

## C R E C Y or C R E S S Y,

IN *Latin* *Carisiacum* or *Cressiacum*, a country town and manor in the province of *Picardy*, diocese of *Amiens*, and subject to the parliament of *Paris*. It is furnished with salt from the granary of *Abbeville*, and, including the villages of *Etreés Caumartin*, and *Chateau-Thomas*, contains about 1400 inhabitants. This village observes the custom of *Ponthieu*, and has given name to a beautiful and large forest, which, in

former times, was very dangerous; but is now more passable, by reason of the great roads that have been made through it.

The country round *Crecy* produces hay, corn, and other kinds of grain, the greatest part of which are consumed at *Abbeville*, *Montreville*, and *Hesden*. The trade of the inhabitants consists chiefly in cattle, worsted, wool, and hemp. They have

have a free fair every month, and two market-days every week.

The only event that has gained *Cressy* fame in history, was the famous battle which was fought in its neighbourhood, on the 26th of *August*, 1346, between the *English* and *French*, under the conduct of their two Kings, *Edward III.* and *Philip de Valois*; wherein the former gained immortal honour, and one of the compleatest victories recorded in history.

*Edward*, in prosecution of his right to the Crown of *France*, had commenced a war against his rival *Philip de Valois*, in the year 1338, and having gained some considerable advantages over him, a truce was concluded in 1340, at the intercession of *Joanna de Valois*, who was mother-in-law to *Edward*, and sister to *Philip*. After this, another truce was concluded for three years, by the mediation of the Pope. And a negotiation was begun for a peace, but with very little sincerity on either side; for both were indefatigable in their preparations for war. *Edward* had found so little advantage in his alliances with the Princes of *Germany*, and the Low Countries, from which, after having put himself to great expences, he reaped but little benefit, that he resolved to take another method. To that end, he dispatched into *Germany*, and the Low Countries, proper agents, with full power to treat with all sorts of persons they should find disposed to supply him with men or money. In this way, he hoped to draw together as good an army with much less expence, and have a more absolute command over his troops, when assembled, than over his former auxiliaries; it would also be more difficult for *Philip* to corrupt his allies. The better to secure his ends, and to draw into his kingdom multitudes of foreign nobility, with whom he might negotiate in person, he had recourse to an expedient which could not well fail of success, because it was entirely agreeable to the taste of the age. He ordered tournaments to be published, and gave an honourable reception to all persons of distinction

that were pleased to be present, entertaining them in such a courteous and splendid manner, that they could not sufficiently admire his politeness, magnificence, and liberality. To render these entertainments more solemn, and to free himself from the ceremonies to which difference of rank and condition would have otherwise obliged him, he revived the great *Arthur's* institution of the round table, having caused a circular hall of boards to be fitted up at *Windsor*, 200 feet in diameter, where he feasted, without ceremony, all the great men that attended his court, upon the occasion.

*Philip* could not see without jealousy *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, *Flemings*, and even *Frenchmen*, flock to *England* to assist at the tournaments. He suspected some hidden design in those entertainments; and, to break the measures of his rival, caused the same diversions to be proclaimed in *France*: he also gave his subjects free leave to cut down timber in his forests, and build ships, that he might be able to beat the *English* at sea. *Edward's* view, however, in these tournaments, was very consistent with justice and honour: but *Philip's* seems to have been of a quite different nature; at least if we may believe the *French* historian, who tells us expressly, That *Philip's* design in proclaiming the tournaments was to decoy and get into his hands eleven noblemen of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*; either because he suspected they were engaged in *Edward's* interest, or doubted their attachment to his own; and having seized them accordingly at the tournaments, put them all to death, untried and uncondemned\*. It is true, there are some difficulties in this affair: it is pretended, that they were apprehended in *Bretagne*, not at the tournaments, and that they openly espoused the interest of *Philip*, while they secretly acted in concert with *Edward*, and consequently were put to death as traitors to their Prince. But this is very improbable, because

\* Mezeraye Histoire de la France, tom. I. p. 781.



*Edward* expressly calls them his adherents in the letter he wrote to the Pope upon this occasion; which he neither could nor would have done, if they had not openly espoused his interest. Nor is there any probability of their being apprehended in *Bretagne*. Had that been the case, *Philip* would have ordered their execution there also; since there could be no reason or policy in bringing them up to *Paris*, as it was determined to put them to death without convicting them of any crime. After all, there is ground to doubt, whether his being Sovereign Lord of *Bretagne* gave him so great a power over these Lords, especially as his putting them to death, without a legal trial, must be looked upon as a barbarous murder, rather than an act of justice. So that, it seems, in this instance, *Philip* was guilty of a flagrant breach of truce, and a shameful violation of his own safe-conduct granted to all that attended his tournaments, as well as of a manifest transgression of the laws of humanity, and the common rights of mankind. It is certain, *Edward* considered it in this light; and, being greatly enraged at the tragical death of his friends, resolved to take a speedy and severe revenge. He first thought of putting to death all the prisoners belonging to *Bretagne* that were in his hands; but being diverted from punishing one act of inhumanity by another, he sent the Earl of *Derby* into *Guienne* to begin hostilities. Soon after, hearing that this Nobleman was closely besieged in *Aiguillon* by the Duke of *Normandy*, with a force of no less than sixty thousand men, he put himself at the head of his army, intending to relieve him, and his brave garrison, who performed wonders in the defence of that place. With this view he came to *Northampton*, bringing with him the Prince of *Wales* his eldest son, about sixteen years of age, who took this opportunity of making his first campaign under the eye of his royal father. Before he embarked his troops, he assembled the principal officers; and exhorted them "to be-  
" have so as to render themselves worthy of his esteem, and

" the rewards he designed to bestow upon those who should  
" distinguish themselves in the discharge of their duty:" at the same time assuring them, "that he intended to send back  
" his ships the moment he arrived in *Guienne*, to cut off all  
" hopes of ever seeing their country again, unless they return-  
" ed victorious:" and finally intimating, "that if any of  
" them were fearful or faint-hearted, they should have in-  
" stantly leave to leave the army, and stay at home." This speech, being spread among the troops, had the effect the King desired; they were so far from being discouraged by it, that all cried out with one voice, they were ready to follow wherever he should please to lead. Thus they all embarked with great cheerfulness, but, the wind proving contrary, were twice put back; upon which *Geoffrey de Harcourt*, who attended the King, took the opportunity to persuade him to land in *Normandy*, a plentiful country, which for a long time past had felt none of the calamities of war, and was then in a defenceless condition. *Edward* took his advice, and landed at *La Hogue* in the *Cotentin*, where he was by no means expected\*.

The moment he set foot on shore, he knighted the Prince of *Wales*, and some other young Lords; and having divided his army, consisting of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, into three bodies, began to revenge in a terrible manner the death of the Lords beheaded at *Paris*. *Valogne*, *St. Lo*, *Carentan*, and *Harsleur*, were the first towns that felt the fury of the *English* arms. *Ralph* Earl of *Eu*, Constable of *France*, then at *Caen*, having assembled the militia of the country, ventured to oppose them in their march: but

\* *Mezerai* tells us, that *Edward*, in coming out of the ship, fell upon his face with such violence, that the blood gushed out at his nose; and that upon this accident some of his followers seeming to be discouraged, and to take it for a bad omen, the King wisely gave it a favourable turn, saying, "See ye not that  
" this land draws me to it, and seems to chuse me for its master?" Which words, adds that historian, many Gentlemen of the country wanted to verify, when they joined him, and assisted in ruining their unhappy country. *Histoire de France*, tome i. pag. 787.

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his tumultuary army being easily routed, and himself taken prisoner, his attempt served only to raise the spirit of the *English* higher, and give them a happy presage of their future victories. This obstacle removed, *Edward* continued his march through the Bishopricks of *Lisieux* and *Evreux*, burning and plundering whatever came in his way. *Mezeraye* charges him with carrying his resentment to a shocking length, during his whole march through the unhappy province of *Normandy*, especially at *Caen*, where, he says, the *English* for some time were not satisfied with putting the townsmen to the sword, but carried their rage so far as to massacre women and children in the streets: and a little after, speaking of this march, "It is not possible, says he, to express the devastation, and shocking inhumanities, that poor *Normandy* suffered during this march; but these, after all, I impute more to the resentment of the relations and friends of those who suffered at *Paris*, than to *Edward's* cruelty." After *Caen* he attacked and took *Louviers*, laid waste the county of *Evreux*, burned *Vernon*, the places about *Rouen* and *Pont de l'Arche*; and made excursions as far as the suburbs of *Paris*. He also burnt *St. Germain en Laye*, *Montjoye*, *St. Cloud*, and *Bourg la Reine*; and then marched to *Poissy*, where he staid some days, and sent a herald to King *Philip* to offer him battle; but the offer was not accepted. *Philip* had formed a project to inclose him between the *Seine* and the *Oyse*, which, had it succeeded, would have been of fatal consequence to the *English* army. But *Edward*, perceiving his intention before it was too late, decamped from *Poissy*, resolving to pass the *Seine*, and retire to *Pontbieu*, as he knew that his enemy was advancing with an army of an hundred thousand men. With this view he marched a good way down the *Somme* without finding a passage; but at last was so happy as to discover the ford of *Blanquetaque*, by the means of one *Gobin Agace*, a native of

\* *Mezeraye Histoire de la France*, pag. 786, 787.

*Normandy*, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, and happened to be then a prisoner in the *English* army. Tho' this discovery seemed at first sight to be of great advantage, yet he afterwards found that the difficulties of his retreat were not quite removed; for *Philip*, foreseeing that the *English* might take that rout to retire, detached *Gondemar du Fay* with a body of two thousand men to guard that ford, which was of so great importance to the success of his designs. *Edward*, seeing himself therefore under a necessity of either forcing the passage, or fighting under great disadvantages, resolved to attempt the former; and with this view ordered his troops to advance. The *English*, animated by the presence of their King, and seeing the absolute necessity of this measure, threw themselves into the river with such intrepidity, that the enemy was quite discouraged, and in some sort half vanquished before they came near enough to begin the charge. It is easy to imagine the difficulties which must occur in a passage of this kind, where an army cannot enlarge its front beyond the breadth of a ford, is obliged to march through water, use their arms at the same time, and repulse a powerful enemy who has all advantages against them. But the *English*, encouraged by the presence of their King, who was witness of all their actions, marched through all these obstacles as to a certain victory. The *French* could not sustain the fury of their attack, but after some endeavours to repulse the enemy, abandoned the important passage; from which *Edward* immediately marched his whole army, and encamped that night at *Creffy*, whilst *Philip* passed the *Somme* at *Abbeville*; so that there were but three leagues, or eight *English* miles between them.

*Edward* seeing himself closely followed, and that it would be impossible for him to avoid fighting, drew up his army in excellent order upon an advantageous spot of ground, and resolved to wait for his enemy. *Philip*, on the other hand, was persuaded that *Edward's* retreat was the effect of fear, and therefore



therefore did not doubt but if he could come up with him, he should have an easy and complete victory. Accordingly, not to afford him time to retire further, he marched next morning early from *Abbeville*, intending to attack his camp. The *English* army was divided in three bodies, of which the Prince of *Wales* commanded the first. The second was led by the Earls of *Northampton* and *Arundel*, and the Lord *Ros*. The King kept the third body in reserve at some distance, that he might be able to send relief where he should see it wanted. *Philip* could not come in sight of the *English* till three o'clock in the afternoon; so that it was almost four before the battle began. He also divided his army into three bodies; the first consisting of *Genoese*, under the command of *Antonio Doria*, and *Carolo Grimaldi*. As they were accounted the best of his infantry, he would have them to begin the attack; but while they were preparing for this service, and advancing to meet the enemy, a sudden rain so slackened the strings of their cross-bows, that they became unfit for use. It had not however the same effect upon the *English* bow-strings. The *Genoese*, to their cost, soon found themselves exposed to a shower of *English* arrows, which made them give way. The Earl of *Alençon*, King *Philip's* brother, who supported them with a great body of horse, seeing them give way, and not knowing the cause, imagined there was treachery, and ordered the horse to fall upon them. This rash action began the confusion in the *French* army, as it not only ruined that part of their infantry, but disordered the Earl's own troops. However he advanced to attack the body of the *English* which was commanded by the Prince of *Wales*, and met with such a reception as he little expected. He struggled hard for victory; but his bravery cost him his life: this discouraged the body of troops he commanded, which soon began to stagger, and, as they could not be quickly supported by reason of the disorder they themselves had occasioned among the foot, were at length put to flight. The Prince of *Wales* had obtained

so great an advantage in this first onset, but *Philip*, having still a vast superiority in numbers, ordered a large body of horse to advance, to repair the disorder occasioned by the defeat of the first; and it is highly probable, the young Prince, who fought with heroic courage, determined to conquer or die, would have been overpowered, if the Earls of *Northampton* and *Arundel* had not come to his relief. Their approach drew thither more *French* troops, the narrowness of the field of battle not allowing the two armies to engage all at once; so that the fight continued very obstinate. The valour of the Prince of *Wales*, which filled the *English* Generals with admiration, made them at the same time very uneasy about his safety, because of the superior number of the enemy; and therefore they sent notice to the King, that it was high time to come to the Prince's relief, who was like to be oppressed with numbers. Far from being moved at the message. *Edward* asked, whether his son was still alive; and being told, he was not only alive, but fighting with astonishing valour; replied to the messenger, "Tell my Generals, that as long as my son is alive, they must send no more to me, for the honour of the day shall be his, and he must now merit his spurs." This answer inspiring the Prince with fresh courage, he broke through his enemies, who were ready to surround him. His troops imitating his heroic bravery, seconded him so well, that the *French* began to give ground, and at length dispersed in confusion.

*Philip* had one body more, which had not been yet engaged, at the head of which he put himself; towards this the Prince of *Wales* directed his steps, after routing the other two: and in this last action he acquired the greatest honour. *Philip*, enraged to see his two bodies routed and dispersed, performed wonders, in hopes of snatching the victory from the young hero, before it was compleat. The King of *Bohemia*, who, though blind, could not be diverted from engaging

engaging in the battle, causing his horse's bridle to be tied to those of two brave Knights, was slain, according to his wish, fighting for *France*. His standard, on which three ostrich-feathers, were embroidered in gold with these words, ICH DIEN, I SERVE, was taken, and brought to the Prince of *Wales*, who, in memory of that day, bore three ostrich-feathers for his crest, with the same motto. Mean time *Edward*, who stood with troops on a rising-ground, watched the proper time to charge; unwilling, however, to make too much haste, for fear of robbing the Prince his son of a part of his glory: but in this state of inaction, he failed not to strike terror into the *French*, who saw him ready to fall upon them with advantage. *Philip*, in the mean time, after many fruitless attempts to repulse the *English*, rallied some of his noblemen and men at arms, and threw himself into the midst of the battle that he might animate his troops by his own example; and it must be confessed, that on this occasion he gave signal proofs of an undaunted valour: nor would he suffer himself to be led out of the field of battle, till after he had been twice dismounted, and received two wounds, one in his neck, and the other in his thigh, which were attended with severe pains. His retreat quite discouraging those of his troops that still maintained the fight, they were easily routed with the rest of the army. Then ensued a dreadful slaughter of the flying troops, who were pursued till night was far advanced. It is said that, in this memorable battle, the *English* began, for the first time, to use cannon, which were yet unheard of in *France*; and that four pieces, planted on a hill, did great execution among the *French* troops, and struck so great a terror into them, that the success of the day was partly owing to the surprize occasioned by this novelty. We have already taken notice, in our account of *Calais*, that the loss of the *French* in this engagement amounted, by their own accounts, to thirty thousand men.

N° XV.

sand men, twelve hundred *French* Knights, and eleven Princes, some of whom are there particularly mentioned.

When *Edward* found, by the precipitate flight of the enemy, that his victory was sure, he advanced to shew his son marks of his extreme satisfaction. "Dear son, said he, taking him in his arms, you have acquitted yourself nobly this day, and truly deserve the crown for which you have fought." The young Prince, out of countenance at the King's commendations, fell on his knees with a modest silence, and asked his father's blessing. The night of this glorious day was spent in rejoicings. But the King gave express orders that no body should insult the vanquished; but that every one should return thanks to God for the victory he had been pleased to give them. On the morrow, some troops, sent to pursue the flying enemy, meeting a body of militia, who, not knowing what had happened, were marching to *Philip's* army, slew seven thousand of them; and it is said, the loss which *France* sustained the second day was greater than that of the battle, not only by the defeat of the militia, but by the slaughter and captivity of a great number of the soldiers, who were found straggling up and down the country. This is the account the *English* historians give of this memorable battle: the *French* agree with them in the main substance of it, but in circumstances differ from them, and from one another. *Mezeray* tells us, "That *Godemar de Faye*, who was sent to guard the ford of *Blanquetaque*, and prevent the passage of the *English*, being a native of *Normandy*, and probably a relation either of the Lords of *Bretagne*, who were beheaded at *Paris*, or of *Geoffroy de Harcourt*, did not do his duty upon that occasion." He tells us likewise, "That King *Philip's* men were fatigued by their march from *Abbeville* before the battle; and that he was advised to put off the engagement till next day; that accordingly he had ordered the troops who were

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“ in the front to halt; but that those in the rear, imagining  
 “ they halted only to put themselves in order of battle, hurried  
 “ up to get before them, which the others taking amiss could  
 “ not be contained; so that they ran forward as fast as they  
 “ could, in great confusion and disorder: the common sol-  
 “ diers, with which the whole country between *Abbeville* and  
 “ *Cressy* was covered, drew their swords as if they had seen  
 “ the enemy, and expressed the greatest impatience for a  
 “ battle. All the Lords wanted to command, and none to  
 “ obey; every one separated his own division from the rest,  
 “ and flattered himself with the whole glory of the victory \*.”  
 With regard to the miscarriage of the *Genoese*, he tells us,  
 “ That just before the battle began, a prodigious storm of rain,  
 “ attended with thunder and lightning, so relaxed the strings  
 “ of their cross-bows, that they had lost almost their whole  
 “ force; and therefore, that part of the infantry, when they  
 “ were ordered to begin the charge, answered, that they  
 “ could not. When they were urged again and again, the  
 “ greatest part of them, through despite and malice, or pos-  
 “ sibly treachery, cut the strings of their cross-bows, and  
 “ turned their backs. That *Philip*, whose mind was already  
 “ chagrined and provoked by this cowardice, ordered the  
 “ next body of men to make their way over the bellies of  
 “ those miscreants that stopped up their way. The Earl  
 “ of *Alençon*, who bore them a deadly hatred, made his horse  
 “ march with great impetuosity against them, and overthrew  
 “ more than the half: but the *French* cuirassiers, being embar-  
 “ rassed by these foot creeping among the legs of their horses, fell  
 “ down, and being entangled by the cross-bows and their  
 “ strings, could not get up again; so that the *English* foot  
 “ came easily up, and killed them with the long knives which  
 “ they commonly wore.” This historian differs much from

\* Mezeraye Histoire de la France, tom. I. p. 789. & 1099.

the above relation with regard to the pursuit: he tells us,  
 “ That *Edward* finding himself master of the field of battle,  
 “ ordered that there should be no pursuit that night; but next  
 “ day dispatched five hundred lances, and two thousand archers,  
 “ to discover whether or no the *French* were rallying their troops.  
 “ There happened to be so thick a fog that day, that a man  
 “ could not see four steps before him; which occasioned an-  
 “ other misfortune to the *French*. The militia of *Rouen* and  
 “ *Beauvais*, who were coming to join King *Philip*'s army,  
 “ found themselves mixed with the *English* before they were  
 “ aware. As they soon knew one another by their language,  
 “ a sharp encounter immediately ensued; but the Archbishop  
 “ of *Rouen*, and the grand Prior of *France*, who commanded  
 “ the militia, being slain, the rest took to their heels. The  
 “ *English* found out and defeated a great many other small  
 “ bodies, who had either escaped out of the battle the day be-  
 “ fore, or were coming up, in obedience to their King's order,  
 “ to join the army; so that the slaughter of that day was four  
 “ times greater than what happened in the battle \*.” Though  
 it does not appear certain, that the *English* made use of  
 cannon on that occasion, yet this author ascribes the cala-  
 mity of the *French*, in a great measure, to them. “ Those,  
 “ says he, who account for the loss of this battle from ordi-  
 “ nary causes, assign for it the precipitation of the *French*,  
 “ and the bad order they observed. Some old chronicles say  
 “ very plainly, that they were betrayed; but I reckon that  
 “ the panic which seized them, proceeded from the dread-  
 “ ful thunder of some cannon which the *English* brought  
 “ with them: for, though they rather made a shew than pro-  
 “ duced a considerable effect, yet our soldiers observing these  
 “ unknown engines to thunder, and at the same time throw  
 “ out clouds of fire and smoke, took fright, and thought

\* Mezeraye Histoire de la France, p. 790.

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" they had to do with devils, rather than men \*." What follows, with regard to the invention of gun-powder, we hope, will not be disagreeable to the reader. " To say the truth, continues he, this invention was certainly derived from hell; and therefore I am not astonished that the *Chinese*, the *Tartars*, and *Moors*, barbarous and unbelieving nations, dispute among themselves the honour of it. The annals of *China* assure us, that they have been in possession of it several thousand years; the *Tartars* brag the same; and good authors write, that the *Moors* made use of it in the year 1344, when *Algezira* was besieged by *Alphonfus* King of *Castile*; who, by the bye, was supplied with money by our King *Philip*, and some *French* troops under the command of another *Philip* of *France*, the King of *Navarre*, who died there of a bloody

flux. This being the case, it is not true that gun-powder and cannon were first invented by *Berthold Schwartz*, a *German* Monk and learned Chymist: and the northern nations are in the wrong to say, that they used it long before us; since it was never seen on the *Baltick* sea till eight years after, in the year 1354. Musquets, which were called hand-culverins, came not in use till several years after. But while the number of brave men was greater than that of poltrons, these treacherous arms were hateful and infamous; but when the cowards got the upper hand, not daring to approach their enemies, nor fight hand to hand, they learned the art to assassinate, behind their backs, a whole hedge or line of men, capable singly to defeat whole squadrons."

A few leagues from *Creffy* lies the famous village of

## A G I N C O U R T or A Z I N C O U R T,

**S**ITUATED in latitude of 50 degrees, 28 minutes, north, and 2 degrees, 3 minutes, to the east of the meridian of *London*. This village would probably never have been mentioned in history, had it not been for the glory gained by a handful of *Englishmen*, in the battle fought in its neighbourhood, under the conduct of the brave King *Henry V.* against the Constable of *France*, at the head of a numerous and powerful army, in the year 1415.

*Henry*, having for some time observed the factions and confusion which prevailed in the court and kingdom of *France*, thought he had thereby a favourable opportunity of

taking vengeance upon that perfidious court, for all the injuries done to his country and family, since the reign of *Edward III.* and possibly of prosecuting with success his claim to the whole *French* monarchy. Therefore, having got together an army, and made such alliances as he thought necessary, he ordered all his troops to repair immediately to *Southampton*, where they were to embark, and went thither himself to give orders, as the troops and transports should arrive. He intended to depart from *England* about the end of *July*, or the beginning of *August*, and most of the troops were embarked for that purpose; but he was detained for some

\* Mezeraye Histoire de la France, tom. I. p. 792.



some time longer, on account of a conspiracy which had been formed against his person by those whom, he thought, he had least reason to suspect. The *English* historians will have it, that the court of *France*, dreading the success of the war, had employed a million of livres to bribe the conspirators to murder the King. This was not very unlike the *French* court, nor is the greatness of the sum a prejudice against the truth of it, considering the character of the persons concerned in the treason, who were no less considerable than *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, brother to the Duke of *York*; *Henry Scrope*, Lord Treasurer, who commonly lay in the same room with the King; and *Thomas Grey*, a Knight of *Northumberland*, and a member of the privy council. Be this as it will, the guilty being tried and punished, *Henry* sailed from *Southampton* on the 18th or 19th of *August*, with a fleet consisting of fifteen hundred transport ships, on which were embarked six thousand men at arms, twenty thousand archers, and so many other troops, as together with those already mentioned, made up an army of fifty thousand men. He was attended by the Earls of *Dorset*, *Kent*, *Cornwall*, *Salisbury*, and many others of the nobility. On the 21st of *August*, he landed his troops at *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, and without loss of time marched to *Harfleur*, about nine miles distant. The place was strong, and well stored; and, but a little before, four hundred men at arms had been sent into it, besides a great number of the neighbouring nobility, who came of their own accord, to give their assistance for securing it. The garrison made a very good defence; but, after all, were soon obliged to enter into a capitulation, whereby they engaged to surrender the place, unless relieved in three days. This term being expired, and no relief appearing, *Edward* took possession of the town, after a siege of five weeks; and having expelled the inhabitants, planted an *English* colony in their stead, as *Edward III.* had formerly done at *Calais*.

This place was of the utmost importance; therefore *Henry* would not leave it till he had repaired the fortifications, and put the place in a good state of defence. By this time the season was far advanced, and *Henry* having made so considerable a conquest as *Harfleur*, might have been satisfied with the success of his first campaign, especially as it was begun so late; if, on the other hand, the condition of his army had not given him great vexation: for a flux having got among his troops, it made such havock, that three fourths of them were not able to bear arms. Nor had it seized the common soldiers only, but some of the nobility had been carried off by it, and many others were so dangerously ill, that they were obliged to return to *England*, in hopes of recovering their health. At the same time, he understood that the *French* were assembling all the forces of their kingdom, to give an effectual check to the progress of his arms. These considerations, together with the approach of winter, obliged *Henry* to think seriously of a retreat. He might, no doubt, have re-embarked at *Harfleur*, but either because he thought this would look too much like a flight, or did not foresee the dangers he had to encounter, or for some other unknown reason, he resolved to retire by land to *Calais*. The march was difficult, as the rains began to spoil the roads; but the *French* made it much more so. For having been informed of his design, they broke down the bridges and causeways in his road; destroyed, or removed into fortified towns, the provisions and forage he might have found in the country; and the constable *d'Albert*, with a body of men he had drawn together, till the rest of the troops should get ready, continually harassed him, and by that means greatly retarded his march.

Under all these disadvantages *Henry* proceeded to the *Somme*, in expectation of passing it at the ford of *Blanquetaque*, as *Edward III.* had done before. But he found the ford rendered impracticable, by sharp stakes fixed in the river, and a body of

of *French* troops posted on the opposite bank. It was nevertheless necessary, either to pass the *Somme*, or to return to *Harfleur*, through the same difficulties he had already experienced; nor did it appear, supposing he should get there, how he could subsist his army. In this extremity, he determined to march higher up the river, but as he advanced, he found every where the bridges broken down, and the fords guarded by troops, entrenched on the other side. For these evils there was no remedy but patience: *Henry* took care to instil it into his troops, by his own example, sharing in all their wants and hardships: but to make these hardships the more burthensome, the distemper continued to rage in his army; great numbers fell sick on their march; and, to complete his misfortune, he was informed that the King of *France* was come to *Rouen*, and had sent the Constable fourteen thousand men at arms, with all the Princes and great Lords of the kingdom, except the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*. It is said, the Dauphin wanted to command the army, but the King would not consent to it. The Constable having received this, and a good many other reinforcements, so that his army was now become very numerous, called a council of war, wherein it was unanimously resolved to give the *English* battle. In consequence of this resolution, as they thought the victory insured by the vast superiority of their numbers, they withdrew their guards from the posts on the *Somme*, that the *English* might freely pass that river, and encamped on the road to *Calais*, that they might intercept them on their march to that place. This is the general opinion. However, *Mezeraye* says \*, the guards were not withdrawn from the *Somme*, but behaved so ill, that *Henry* passed his army between *Peronne* and *Corbie*, without the least opposition.

The passing of this river had hitherto seemed to the *English* the

greatest obstacle in their way: but this being removed, they found another, at least as dreadful. The enemy's army, six times more numerous than theirs, were waiting for them, and, great as it was, must be vanquished before they could get to *Calais*. The *French* historian affirms \*, that *Henry* seeing himself in this sad situation, offered to restore *Harfleur*, and repair all the damage he had done in *France* since his landing, if they would suffer him to proceed unmolested to *Calais*. But this offer was rejected; and the Constable sent three heralds to offer him battle, leaving him to chuse the time and place. *Henry* replied, "That as he had been long on his march to *Calais*, they might have fought him when they pleased; and if they intended it now, there was no occasion to appoint time or place: for he was resolved to pursue his march, and they should find him all ways ready to receive them."

*Henry* having declined appointing the time and place of battle, the *French* Generals, on the 22d of *October*, sent a herald to acquaint him, that they would meet him in the field on the *Friday* following, which happened to be the 25th of the month. *Henry* having already taken his resolution, accepted the challenge, and presented the Herald with a robe worth two hundred crowns. During the three days before the battle, *Henry* never ceased to inspire his troops with courage, by the promise of rewards and honours, and all other means tending to promote that end. He represented to them the glory of their ancestors, who had obtained the famous victories of *Cressy* and *Poitiers*; and shewed them, in the strongest light, the necessity they were under of conquering, in order to free themselves from the present, and avoid still greater miseries. His exhortations had so great an effect, that the officers and soldiers, instead of dreading the number of

\* Histoire de la France, tom. I. p. 1005.

\* Mezeraye Hist. de la France, tom. I. p. 1005.



their enemies, were extremely eager to engage; so that it appeared upon this occasion remarkably, that necessity whets courage, and that even despair is the parent of hope. The day before the battle, *Henry* having sent one of his Captains, named *David Gam*, a gallant *Welchman*, to take a view of the strength and situation of the enemy, the brave officer, at his return, made his report in the following words: "There are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away." This confidence gave the King great pleasure, as it was a sign his troops were in good spirits, and fully resolved to do their duty. The *French*, in the mean time, were rejoicing in their camp, in full assurance of victory. And it must be confessed, that if victory depended on numbers, they had a right to expect it. For *Mexeraye* owns their army was five times as great as the *English* \*; others say, six times. But the *English* historians make the difference still greater; the *French*, according to them, amounting to an hundred and fifty, and the *English* only to nine thousand men. Whatever be in this, it is certain that the superiority of the *French* was great. There was also a considerable difference in the condition of the two armies; the *English* being, for the most part, sick of a flux, which had distressed them ever since they set out from *Harfleur*, were moreover fatigued with a tedious march through an enemy's country. They had all along been in want of provisions, and would have suffered more by famine, if the exact discipline they kept had not engaged the country people to supply them with victuals, on account of the extravagant price they paid for them. The *French*, on the other hand, were fresh and healthy, abounding with provisions, and labouring under no inconveniency. These circumstances raised the confidence of the latter to so high a pitch, that it is pretended they sent to the King, before the battle, to know what he would

\* *Histoire de la France*, tom. I. p. 1006.

give for his ransom. *Henry* despising the bravado, replied, as it is said, that a few hours would shew whose care it would be to provide a ransom.

Mean time the *French* having posted themselves near a place called *Azincourt*, not far from the abbey of *Rousseauville*, the *English* had worked themselves up to such a pitch of courage, and contempt of death, that they passed the night in good spirits, and in the morning drew up in the line of battle, with such cheerfulness, that there appeared already some rays of victory in their faces. *Henry* detached a body of four hundred lances, to go and post themselves out of sight of the enemy, behind the wood on the left-hand of the field of battle. He lodged two hundred archers on the low meadow, fenced with bushes on the right. And drawing up his army, he could make but two lines, by reason of the small number of his troops. *Edward* Duke of *York* commanded the first, assisted by the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanbope*. The King put himself at the head of the second, with a crown of gold on his helmet for a crest, and hard by him was the standard of *England*. *Mexeraye* tells us, that on this occasion, *Henry* observing in the countenances of his troops, as they stood in order before him, such characters of intrepidity and ardor for the battle as gave him great pleasure, to improve them in this disposition, addressed them in a speech to this purpose: "I should do injustice to the opinion I have always had of your valour, and to so many generous effects of it as I have witnessed, dear fellow-soldiers, if I thought I could add any thing to it by my words. Valour is afraid of no danger, however great it may appear, as it takes no courage but from itself; and he who, upon the sight of the enemy, is not inspired with ardour, cannot receive it from any other quarter. For this reason, it is not necessary, to exhort you, to shew \* you the riches and the spoils of *France*,

\* *Histoire de la France*, p. 1006.

" ex-

" exposed in the field before you, as the reward of those that  
 " shall behave themselves best in battle; still less to tell you, that  
 " you must now find your safety in the strength and vigour  
 " of your arms, since it is well known that you never  
 " trusted to the swiftness of your feet, and there is here room  
 " enough to fight, but none left for flight. These are not  
 " considerations to be proposed to great souls: it is not ne-  
 " cessity, nor booty, but only the reward of honour and re-  
 " putation which incites them to great actions. With such  
 " motives the most difficult paths appear the most beautiful;  
 " those wherein they find no battles, seem to them to be high-  
 " ways made for travellers rather than for warriors; and the  
 " more their enemies are multiplied, the more they think  
 " their advantages improved: could you wish a greater one  
 " than the present. The *French* come most opportunely to  
 " offer you battle, and the kingdom of *France* together with  
 " it: nay, should we refuse it, they would force us to it;  
 " or rather they are forced to it themselves by the divine jus-  
 " tice, which thus chuses to punish their perjuries. If heaven  
 " is just, they must suffer for the breach of the treaty of *Bre-*  
 " *tigny*, and their unjust usurpation of the lands they detain  
 " from us. Their bad order, their precipitation, the divi-  
 " sions which subsist among them, their pride, which God  
 " has so often chastised by the arms of our ancestors; and  
 " the narrow place which they have chosen for the field of  
 " battle, one great circumstance in our favour, give me great  
 " reason to expect this: but your skill, your experience in  
 " arms, and your approved valour, my dear fellow-soldiers,  
 " give me infallible assurance of it. These endowments never  
 " disappointed my wishes, and victory never failed to attend  
 " them. See her now waiting upon you, calling you, encou-  
 " raging you. Let us go to her then, boldly, over dangers  
 " and enemies; let us gain her by efforts worthy of her. She  
 " loves the brave, and knowing you to be such, she will

" put herself in your possession, in a form yet more great and  
 " glorious than ever she has done before."

\* The *French*, on the other side, more numerous by far, stood  
 ranged in the line of battle. They had in their van-guard  
 eight thousand gentlemen, in complete armour, four thou-  
 sand archers, five hundred cross-bows, an equal number in  
 their main battle; twice as many in their rear-guard; and, on  
 each wing, five hundred cuirassiers, all chosen men, to attack  
 the *English* in flank. But the same causes which exposed them  
 to the loss of the battles of *Crecy* and *Poitiers*, made them lose  
 this also. The place was too narrow for arranging so many  
 troops, so as to leave them room enough to act. The  
 pride of the *French* Lords, disposed them to begin the at-  
 tack, not only without order, but in the greatest confu-  
 sion. The skill of the *English* archers, and the storm of ar-  
 rows which they threw, put the *French* horse into disorder;  
 so that the first squadrons falling back upon the last, they  
 broke one another, and then routed the foot. Besides all this,  
 the field whereon the battle was fought, was so clayey,  
 and so slippery, that the horses fell down, and sunk deep in  
 the mud. Upon the whole, the great army was defeated by  
 the little one; and, which was worse, did nothing remark-  
 able in disputing the victory. No body exerted themselves  
 but the nobility, who singly performed great exploits of va-  
 lour, and made many efforts to rally the fugitives, and make  
 head against the enemy; chusing rather to lose their lives than  
 their honour. Among others, the Duke of *Alençon* with  
 some of his friends, broke through the *English* line, killed  
 the Duke of *York* with his own hand, and, with a battle-ax,  
 gave the King such a blow upon his helmet, as cut off a piece  
 of the crown which he wore instead of a crest. But he was  
 immediately surrounded; and, though he called out that he

\* Mezeraye Histoire de la France, tom. I. p. 1006.



was the Duke of *Alençon*, was knocked down and slain. After all, the fright and rout would have been much greater than the effusion of blood, as the *English* gave quarter to all that asked, and the number of prisoners exceeded that of the slain, if some of the *French*, who rallied, and attacked the *English* camp during the battle, had not massacred the sick and the servants they found there; which provoked the *English* to revenge themselves, by putting to the sword almost all the *French* they had in their hands. "This day, the 25th of *October*, says *Mezeraye*, ought to be remarked by the *French* as one of the most unfortunate of all the year: "never was a field so drenched with noble blood, nor thicker "strawed with Princes, than that of *Azin-court*."

The number of the dead on the side of the *French* amounted, according to this author, to 5 or 6000 \*; others raise them much higher: some make them 10,000, and among these a great many of their Princes and nobility; particularly the Duke of *Brabant* and the Duke of *Nevers*, brothers to the Duke of *Burgundy*; the Duke of *Alençon*, the Duke of *Bar*, and his brother; *Louis de Bourbon*, son to the Great Chamberlain of *France*; *Charles de Albert*, Constable of *France*; the Admiral de *Chastillon*, the Seigneur de *Rambure*, Great Master of the Cross-bow men; *Guichard Dauphin d'Auvergne*, Grand Master of *France*; the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Roucy*, *Grand-Pré*, *Blamont*, and *Toukemberg*, *Vidame* of *Amiens* and *Laonnois*; the Lords of *Crequy* and *Craicy*; *Matthew* and *John de Humiere*, *Raoul de Nesle*, and a vast many more. Among the prisoners were the Marshal de *Bouciquaut*, who died of his wounds in *England*; the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Vendosme* and *Richemont*, and many others of great distinction. On the side of the *English* there were slain only the Duke of *York*, the young Earl of *Suffolk*, and, if we believe some

historians, not above four Knights, one Esquire, and twenty-eight common soldiers. Some, however, with greater probability, say the *English* lost 400 men: *Mezeraye* says two thousand.

On the day after the battle, *Henry* pursued his march towards *Calais*; and passing over the field of battle, took occasion to commend the valour of his troops: at the same time exhorting those about him, "Not to be puffed up with a victory, which they seemed to have gained by a miraculous assistance." He was extremely civil to the Princes who were his prisoners; telling them, "He had not obtained the victory by the superiority of his merit; but because Providence had been pleased to make use of him as an instrument for punishing the sins of the *French* nation: that the advantages he might expect from his victory, were so far from making him averse to peace, that he was even inclined to it than the day before the battle." Some days after, the Duke of *Burgundy* sent him a defiance, and acquainted him by an herald, that he intended to revenge the death of his brothers. From this circumstance it is highly probable, that the Duke of *Brabant* and the Earl of *Nevers* were killed in the massacre after the battle. *Henry* was willing to keep fair with that Prince, because he still hoped to gain him to his interest, and therefore returned this modest answer: "That the *French* themselves could bear witness he had no hand in the death of those Princes; but that the Duke's own subjects ought to answer for their blood." This he said, because *Bourbonville*, who occasioned the slaughter of the prisoners, was a *Burgundian*: and we are told that the Duke intended to have inflicted upon him an exemplary punishment; but the Earl of *Charolois* found means to save his life.

*Henry* having staid at *Calais* till the middle of *November*, embarked for *England*, carrying along with him the prisoners

\* *Histoire de la France*, tom. I.

of greatest distinction; but in his passage he was overtaken by a violent storm, whereby his life was exposed to great danger, and some of his ships were sunk. After great fatigue, however, he arrived in *England*, and was received with the loudest acclamations, and other demonstrations of joy. The people thought, a Prince that had rendered the *English* name so formidable and glorious, could never be enough applauded.

In this short account of the battle of *Azincourt*, we have principally followed *Mezeraye*, who cannot be suspected of partiality to the *English* nation: those who desire a more full and circumstantial detail, may consult *Rapin's* History of *England*, and other historians of our own country. We shall conclude with taking notice of a mistake or two of a late *French* author, in relation to this celebrated battle. There is something so extraordinary in his account, that we cannot help laying it before our readers in his own words \*. “The *English*, says he, though they got the victory, lost many more of their men than the *French*, together with the best part of their baggage, especially some of the King’s coffers, wherein his ornaments, and the richest of his jewels were contained. The late M. *Baluze*, (continues he,) in his history of the family of *Auvergne*, vol. I. p. 245. says, that he has read in an ancient manuscript, wrote near the time of this battle, and giving an account of what passed with regard to the Lords of *Goucourt* and *Estouteville*, who were made prisoners by the King of *England*, upon their surrender to him of the town of *Harfleur*, That the Lord *Gaucourt* having obtained that Prince’s permission to treat with him about his own ransom, and those of the other *French* prisoners, the King told him, among other things, that he had

\* *Piganiol de la Force*, Nouvelle Description de la France, tom II. p. 412. & seq.

“lost a great many of his jewels at the battle of *Azincourt*, and that if he could find means to recover them, he would acknowledge the favour in a suitable manner, in the agreeable terms, upon which he would consent to the liberty of the *French* prisoners. That the said *Gaucourt* having returned to *France*, actually recovered those jewels which were dispersed in different hands, particularly the King of *England*’s crown, which was in one of the coffers already mentioned; a cross of gold, and precious stones of very great value, in which there was a piece of the true cross, half a foot long: that he also recovered, at the same time, the robes in which the King had been crowned, the seals belonging to the Chancellor’s office, and a great many other valuable things which the King had a great ambition to recover. Finally, that the said Lord *Gaucourt* had carried all these valuable utensils to *London*, and restored them to the King.”

This manuscript, found out by M. *Baleuse*, it must be owned, contains some surprising discoveries in history, but seems still to want collateral evidences to make them appear credible. It does not appear that King *Henry* carried his crown to *France* at that time, nor could he have any occasion for it there: again, supposing he had taken it along with him, and it had been lost, as is pretended, this could not have been a secret in *England*; nor would the historians, who have transmitted to posterity some very minute circumstances with regard to this battle, have omitted one so considerable. *John*, King of *England*, during the war he had with his subjects at home, not daring to trust his crown in other hands, carried it with him, and lost it in the marsh of *Wellstream*; this happened almost two hundred years before the battle of *Azincourt*, when historians were not so minute in their observations, nor voluminous in their works. It was lost in his own country, among his own subjects, and therefore might be more easily found. Yet the



memory of this accident has been preserved without interruption to this day; and can it be easily believed, that, supposing King *Henry's* crown had been taken in battle by an enemy, in an age, when writers of history were much more numerous, and more minute in their accounts, an event of this nature could be soon forgotten, or long buried in oblivion. Should we even suppose the *English* could forget, or industriously conceal a circumstance of this kind, is it to be imagined, the *French* would have neglected it, or could have been so modest as to have suppressed such an instance of their own generosity, as restoring, even in time of war, to the King of *England*, his crown which they had fairly won in battle; and, together with it, a relict so precious, in the opinion of those times, as a piece of the wood of the true cross, which the devotion then in fashion would have preferred to a great many crowns. To conclude, it would have been proper for this author to have suggested some proofs of the authenticity of his manuscript; and to have acquainted his readers by what means it had been so long preserved, and how it came to fall into his hands. These are circumstances which the incredulity of this age will expect to see cleared, before they give absolute credit to a story, that, on so many accounts, seems at least highly improbable.

But whatever judgment may be formed concerning M. *Baluze's* manuscript, it has no connexion with our author's general assertion, *That the English, though they got the victory, lost more of their men than the French.* Hitherto all historians, both *French* and *English* have agreed, that the loss of the *English* was inconsiderable, most of them asserting, that it did not exceed four hundred men; and, as far as we know, *Mezeray* is the only writer that raises it to the amount of 2000;

but all their own historians own, that the loss of the *French* was very great; and as none of them make it less than 6000, *Father Daniel*, who cannot be suspected of any partial inclination to the *English*, says expressly, *that the victory cost them but little bloodshed; but the French left ten thousand upon the field of battle.* It cannot then but appear strange, that this author should contradict the universal consent of history, without offering a single testimony, or argument in support of so bold an assertion. The truth is, if we take history for our guide, we will find the slain, on the *French* side, equal in number to the whole *English* army, or, at least, very nearly so.

The same author has fallen into another mistake with respect to the situation of the field wherein this memorable battle was fought, which he places in the *Vimeux*, near the river *Bresle*, on the borders of *Normandy*. This he seems to have copied from the *Dictionnaire Universel de la France Ancienne & Moderne*, which being published long before his work, has probably misled him. There may be a village of the same name in the *Vimeux*, but the reader, by this time, will be fully satisfied, that he who could believe the battle of *Azin-court* was fought in that country, must have had, at least, a very indistinct notion of it, and consequently might easily be imposed upon with regard to it. When therefore we consider our author's second mistake, we can, by no means, wonder at the first.

Having thus given a full account of the famous battles of *Creffy* and *Azin-court*, it is now time to return to the river *Somme*, on the banks whereof, about four miles below *Abbeville*, we meet with the town of

C R O T O Y

## C R O T O Y or C R O T T O Y,

**I**N *Latin Carocotinum*, also *Quartenfis Locus*, and *Cretense Castrum*, a city in the province of *Picardy*, and earldom of *Ponthieu*, in the diocese of *Amiens*, subject to the intendance of that city and the parliament of *Paris*, and containing about 764 inhabitants. It lies directly opposite to *St. Valery*, from which it is twenty two miles distant, if you go round by *Abbeville*, and not above three miles if you cross the mouth of the *Somme*, the two places being only separated by that river. It is a small sea-port town, and almost entirely inhabited by sailors, who live and carry on a trade by their fishing. It had formerly a very strong castle, but the fortifications were demolished some time ago, by order of the

government. The curacy of *St. Cretoy* is worth eight hundred livres of yearly rent, and is in the nomination of the chapter and cathedral of *Amiens*. There is here a small hospital for the sick. Letters for *Crottoy* are directed either for *Abbeville* or *St. Valery* on the *Somme*. The soil near it affords pasture, and produces some corn and other grain. The King, as Earl of *Ponthieu*, and the Abbot of *St. Riquier*, who is in the possession of the seigneurie of *Majoque*, which was formerly a priory, and called *Cretense Monasterium*, are superiors of this place.

Almost opposite to *Cretoy*, on the other side of the *Somme*, stands

## S T. V A L E R Y on the S O M M E,

**I**N *Latin, Oppidum Sancti Valeri*, a town of the *Vimeux*, in the province of *Picardy*, and diocese of *Amiens*, subject to the parliament of *Paris*, and having about three thousand three hundred inhabitants: it is situated in the latitude of 50 degrees, 11 minutes north, and longitude of 1 degree, 40 minutes east of the meridian of *London*, being four leagues distant from *Abbeville*, thirteen from *Boulogne*, and twelve

from *Dieppe*. It stands on a high ground on the south side and bay of the *Somme*, the sea, at high water, beating against its ruinous walls.

Its form is almost round, but a little long from south-east to north-west; the north side of it is covered by the river or bay, and the south by several eminences, the space betwixt them and the town being occupied by orchards and kitchen



kitchen gardens. It is pretended that the town was at first called *Leuconaus*, or *Legonau*, the place or station of ships; afterwards *Quinquenau*, and last of all, *St. Valery*, from the saint of that name, the companion of *St. Columbin*, who, coming to the *Vemeux*, took up his abode first at *Veaudricourt*, a league and an half from the town, but some time after moved to the place where the abbey now stands, and built an hermitage at the foot of a little hill, about a quarter of a mile from the city, to instruct the people of the country, who were plunged in idolatry. After having been for some time thus employed, he shut himself up in his hermitage, to lead a recluse life, and there died, on the 12th of *December*, in the year 622 or 623. His body was buried under a tree, upon this hill, the place to which he commonly went to say his prayers. *St. Blimont*, who had been his disciple, and cured by him of a kind of palsy, which deprived him of the use of his limbs, obtained leave of King *Clotarius*, and the Bishop of *Amiens* to build an abbey near this hermitage, whereof he himself was the first Abbot. In the year 859, in the reign of *Lewis II.* the country having been ravaged by domestick and foreign wars, the church was plundered and burnt by some barbarous people that came from the north, and the Monks were obliged to abandon their monastery. Soon after, some regular clergy got possession of it, and sold the shrine and body of *St. Valery*, which had been transported to the abbey soon after it was built, to *Arnould* Earl of *Flanders*, who carried them to the abbey of *St. Bertin*, where they continued till the tenth or eleventh century, when *Hugh Capet*, then Earl of *Paris*, and afterwards King of *France*, caused them to be carried back to the abbey of *St. Valery*, and re-placed in that monastery. In the year 1197, *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, offended that the *English*, made use of the harbour of *St. Valery* to import their goods into

*France*, contrary to his inclination, destroyed the town and monastery, and carried the reliëts of the Saint to Upper *Normandy*; but the Monks being reinstated in their original habitation, brought back the reliëts, and have preserved them ever since, as they pretend, with great care. A little above the abbey, towards the west, and on the little hill already mentioned, stands the chapel of *St. Valery*, to which a great many pilgrimages are made from very distant places; and 'tis pretended a great many miraculous cures have been, and are still performed there.

The town of *St. Valery* is but little, ill-built, and the streets ill-paved. It has only two gates, and contains about eight hundred houses.

It has been taken and retaken no less than eleven times. It was fortified in the year 1422, but little of those fortifications are now remaining, except a dry ditch, and a castle, almost ruinous on the land-side, in which there is a round tower, with a crevice in it, made by the force of gun-powder. It is built with large grey stones, having its wall from thirteen to sixteen foot thick, and proof against cannon-shot. It is pretended that it contains several lodgments, and had a garden on the top, about thirty foot in circumference; under it is a *souterain*, reaching a quarter of a league into the country, on account of which, in the time of war, several of the neighbouring gentry used to put themselves under the protection of the Count *de St. Valery*, and to hold their lands of him. The upper gate of the town is formed by two round towers, one on each side, cannon-proof, with a draw-bridge. These two towers communicate with one another, and under them is a vault, into which you go down by fifty steps. It has a communication on the south with the ditch of the town. On the north there is a tower, called *Raalt*, or *Rouault*, which stands at the foot of the eminence on the side of the bay, now quite in ruins, and

opposite to the castle of *Crotoy*, on the other side of the same bay. This castle is also entirely destroyed.

From *Raalt* tower, to the lower gate, and all along the beach, there was a wall, with a double revetement of large grey stones, which was fifty foot high. There is nothing of it now remaining, but that part which supports the church, and secures it from the waves; and here it is more than an hundred foot high. On this wall there is a terrace by the side of the bay, and at the end of the terrace a tower, built of grey stones, which is yet entire. In this tower is the town-house, where the courts of justice are held. The courts of the Admiralty have the privilege also of being held in it, by an edict in 1711; but the Admiral's deputy makes no use of this privilege, for he holds his courts at his own house in the town, or in the suburbs of *Ferté*, where he also resides sometimes. The King's procurator has made remonstrances upon this subject, from a regard to decency, and the interest of the publick, but has not yet prevailed. Since the year 1500, there has been but one parish church in the town, dedicated to *St. Martin*; and an old building, which appears to have been raised at several different times. There is nothing remarkable about it but a small stair-case, constructed in the same manner with that of the royal castle of *Chambord*; that is to say, it is double, and two persons may go up at the same time, without seeing one another. They enter at two opposite doors, and go up side by side; at the top of the stair they meet one another, and when they go down again, the one goes out by the door at which the other entered. It is said to have been built by the *English*.

There are only two publick places at *St. Valery*, the greatest is before the porch of the church, and the other in the midst of the town. This last is called the Little Market; in the middle of it is a draw-well, covered and shut up; the  
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water in it being unwholesome, and only used in cases of necessity; as for instance, when a fire happens. There is no trade carried on in the town, and it could not subsist were it not for the jurisdictions that are established there. Almost all the judges and officers belonging to the courts have their residence in it, except the Admiral's deputy, who has lived for some time past in the suburbs of *la Ferte*, though he too resides sometimes in the town, as has been already observed. Without the upper-gate of the town, there is a suburb called *Abbey-street*, because the abbey stands in it. It consists of about sixty little houses or cabins occupied by gardeners and other workmen.

At the end of this little suburb, about fifteen fathom from the chapel on the hill, where *St. Valery* was buried, there is a fountain which bears the name of that saint. It is grated up with iron bars; but the water runs under ground to the foot of the hill, where it appears again; and this is the only well about the town which yields water that is a little tolerable: therefore in time of great drought, which commonly happens here for two or three months of the year, the inhabitants are in great want of fresh water, when the cisterns belonging to some private persons are empty. There is also a little suburb without the Lower-gate of the town, called *Romerall*. It contains about eighty little houses, inhabited by turners in wood, rope-makers, spinsters, and day-labourers. Here also is a lime-kiln, from which the neighbouring country is supplied. The hospital stands also in this suburb. It is but small, for it contains only six beds; and the funds for supporting it are very poor. Five or six hospital sisters, who have been cloistered upwards of forty years ago, take care of the sick people in this hospital, under the direction of the Mayor and Aldermen. They name their own Director and Steward, but he must be approved by the Bishop. He has the inspection of the in and outside of their cloister, and they have power



to do nothing without him, besides farming out their lands.

The town of *St. Valery* has yet another suburb, called *la Ferte*, which is much more considerable than the town itself. It is situated on the bank of the river, at the foot of an eminence. From the town to the nearest end of this suburb they reckon 403 fathoms, and from one end of the suburb to the other 464, or thereabout. Ships may ly along this suburb, there being posts disposed at proper distances to which they may be moored. The harbour is about the middle of it, formed by a quay of good mason-work; and at the end of it another of wood. These quays were built in the year 1640, by order of M. de Noyers Secretary of State, and the Marquis de Saveuse, who was at that time on the spot. There are but three streets in the suburbs of *la Ferte*, which, taken together, contain twelve hundred houses. The merchants and Commissaries have their residence in this suburb, and so have the seafaring people, fishers, and tradesmen.

The inhabitants of this place were obliged formerly to go to the town to mass, which was very troublesome on account of the distance; but, to remove this inconvenience, in the year 1724, they obtained leave of the King and the Bishop of *Amiens*, to build a chapel at their own expence. It is dedicated to *St. Peter*, and the chaplain has a house and a salary of 150 livres, at the charge of the inhabitants. They also built, at the same time, just by the chapel, a school for girls, under the direction of two of the sisters of Providence, who settled here in the year 1725. The scholars are generally about two hundred in number, and each of them pays more or less for her instruction, there being no fund or fixed revenue to support the school. They have also three school-masters for boys, who are likewise paid by their scholars.

The inhabitants of *St. Valery*, and the suburbs belonging to it, pay the *taillon* or lesser tax, and are furnished with salt at three livres twelve sols the bushel; though in the country, the same quantity costs twelve livres and twelve sols. This privilege the inhabitants have enjoyed for a long tract of years, by the indulgence of the Kings, for it is renewed to them every nine years; but this renewal costs them 700 livres each time. There are no fountains or fresh water at *St. Valery*, except one draw-well at *la Ferte*; but as the water is not good, so it is at too great a distance to be very useful. There are some persons who bring water in carts, to sell it to the brewers of beer, which is the ordinary drink of the country, and is not very good of its kind. The common people drink a sort of decoction of bran, into which they put yeast, to give it a relish. They also drink, and employ for family uses, water of *St. Valery's* fountain, which we have already taken notice of, and that of a large pond near the abbey. There are men who make a trade of bringing these waters to town in casks upon wheel-barrows, and crying them in the streets. The former they commonly sell at 18 deniers the barrel, as it is the best; the other, which is not so good, from six to nine deniers. The town of *St. Valery*, with *la Ferte*, and the other suburbs, contain about three thousand five hundred communicants, or six thousand souls.

The soil about the town is dry, sandy, and unfruitful. It produces only rye, and a little barley, whereas the other parts of *Picardy* abound with all sorts of grain. The wine consumed at *St. Valery* comes for the most part from *Bordeaux* and *Rochelle*. The spirits which are brought to it to be conveyed to *Picardy*, *Artois*, and *Champagne*, are the greatest part of its trade; for there is three times as much brandy consumed in *Picardy* as there is of wine; the common people, with

the value of one sol in brandy, can put up with the want of a meal, which they cannot do with the same value in wine. Besides this, smoaking tobacco, which almost every body uses there, requires the use of brandy and spirits, and makes them almost necessary.

The river *Somme*, whence the town of *St. Valery* is sur-named *en Somme*, to distinguish it from *St. Valery en Caux*, takes its rise near *Fond Somme*, a village in the county of *Ver-mandois*, about two leagues and a half from *St. Quentin*. It was formerly navigable, even by boats, only from *Braye* to its mouth; but by an edict of the French King, in the year 1725, registered in the parliament of *Paris* on the 7th day of *September*, a permission was given to *Paul-Henry Cagnard*, *Sieur de Marcy* and his associates, to draw, at their own expence and charge, according to the proposals they had made, a canal of communication between the rivers *Somme* and the *Oise*, to begin at the Pond of *St. Quentin*, and pass through *Harli*, *Homblier*, *Marcy*, *Regny* and *Sissy* on the *Oise* to the town of *la Fere*; as also to enlarge, cure, and deepen the branch of the said river *Oise* from *Sissy* to *Chauny*. The King likewise, by the same edict, gave them leave to render the river *Somme* navigable from *St. Quentin* to *Amiens*, and from *Amiens* to *Pequigny*, by draining the marsh in which that river was wont to lose itself, and making a channel for it of forty-eight foot wide, with banks and sluices where they should be found necessary. In consequence of this edict, the work was begun on the month of *March*, 1728, when they rendered the river *Oise* navigable from *Chauny* to *Sissy*. They next drew a canal of forty-eight foot wide from the *Oise* to the *Somme*. This canal reached from *Sissy* to *St. Quentin*, and was three leagues in length, and six foot in depth. In the third place, they undertook to make the river *Somme* navigable where it was not so before; that is, from *St. Quentin* to *Amiens*, and from *Amiens* to *Pequigny*.

It was thought, at first, that the expence of these three operations would not exceed 5681800 livres, but in reckonings of this kind people are generally deceived, the charges are always heavier than is at first imagined. The *Sieurs Oudard* and *Du Mont*, who formerly drew the canal of *Louain* were also the directors of this. It is one of the largest that was ever undertaken, and must be of vast advantage to the trade of *France*; the northern parts of that kingdom will, by means of it, have easy access to the most southerly parts of the *English* channel, and also to the *Mediterranean*, and *Paris* will be the center of the trade between the southern and northern provinces. The work was completed in the beginning of the year 1734; and the *Sieur Peter Feverriat* was the first that entered the canal, with eleven boats, each loaded with 40000 weight of corn for the French King's magazine at *St. Quentin*. He past the first sluices with the sound of trumpets, symbals, and hautboys, in the presence of a great number of spectators, who met from all places to see a sight so uncommon, and expressed a great satisfaction, by loud and repeated acclamations.

The *Somme* thus improved, and rendered navigable from its source downwards, passes from *St. Quentin* by *Ham*, *Peron*, *Corbie*, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville* to *St. Valery*, soon after which, it discharges itself into the sea, between the point of *Hourdel* and the country of *St. Quentin* and *Tourmont*, which forms the bay of the *Somme*. This bay reaches from the sea to the village of *Noyelle*, which is two leagues from *Abbeville*, and from its entrance at the point of *Hourdel* to *St. Valery* there are two leagues more; so that the mouth of it is six leagues distant from *Abbeville*, and its breadth from *St. Valery* on the south to *Crotoy*, which is almost opposite to it on the north side, is no more than one league. At high water, it is itself a little sea; and at low water a large extent of sand, cut by several branches.



branches of the river, which often changes its channel, because it runs upon sand, which is easily moved, by the different settings and violence of the tides, as they enter into the bay. Ships anchor in the *Fosse* of *Cayeux*, which is a quarter of a league in length, two hundred and forty French feet in breadth, and about half a league distant from the town of *Cayeux*. They are there covered from all winds during a third part of the flood, by a bank which surrounds it on the north side, about the length of two cables from the coast. After this the bank is covered with water, and then the sea-winds are much to be dreaded, especially that which comes from the north-west. The tide, on the other hand, for the first three hours flood, is very violent; and, during that time, the ships are in great danger of running against their anchors; but, when the bank is once covered, the current becomes wider, and is not near so rapid. About an hour before high water, the tide rises high enough to bring them into the bay, and then there is water enough in the river to carry them to *Crotoy* or *la Ferte*, where they ride in safety during the rest of the flood, and are dry at low water.

If we may believe some ancient memoirs, in the year 1066, the harbour of *St. Valery* was on the inside of the point of *Hourdel*, which is to the west of the mouth of the bay. The road was then very large, and exceeding convenient. It is said, that about this time, *William Duke of Normandy*, afterwards surnamed the *Conqueror*, intending to make a conquest of *England*, embarked his army in the harbour of *St. Valery*, which then belonged to the Earl of *Ponthieu*, with eleven hundred sail of ships, eighty thousand regular troops, twenty thousand servants, workmen and purveyors, attended with four thousand gentlemen, in which number there were

more than two hundred Lords \*. Other authors, however, who seem to be better informed, reckon that his regular troops did not exceed fifty thousand †. All agree that this fleet was detained for some time by contrary winds, and that in coming a-shore he fell on the ground, which some of his officers taking to be a bad omen, he said, "You are mistaken, it is only a sign that I am taking possession of the country." Others say, that this was the expression of a soldier who stood by him.

The harbour was afterwards at *Crotoy*, about the year 1613. Since that time it has been established at *St. Valery*, and is now at *la Ferte*, as we have observed before. It can contain about ninety vessels, from twenty to an hundred and fifty tons burthen; and in the road without the harbour, a vast number of ships may be moored to the stakes that are placed at proper distances all the way from the mouth of the harbour to the end of the suburbs of *la Ferte*; but in this case they are exposed to the north-east wind, whilst in the harbour they have nothing to fear, but from the east. The sea rises in the harbour, near thirteen feet in high tides; and in time of ground ebb there is very little water in it. A stream which comes from a water-miln belonging to the benedictine Monks of the abbey of *St. Valery*, about a short half mile from the harbour, into which the tide flows during some part of the flood, serves at once to turn the miln, and clean the harbour all the time of the ebb; but it has not strength enough to keep the sand, which is brought in by the violence of the tides, from settling in it, and with

\* Mezeraye Hist. de la France, tom. I. p. 404. Piganiol de la Force, tom. II. p. 408.

† Rapin's History of England, translated by Tindal, vol. I. p. 164. fol. edit. Daniel's Hist. of France, vol. III. p. 92.

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and stopping up the mouth of it, so that a vessel cannot get in without difficulty. It would greatly contribute to the improvement of the harbour, if, at this miln, a large reservoir, and two sluices, were made to stop as much water, when the tide flows in, as should be thought necessary, and by opening the sluices let it go out at low water, to clean and deepen the harbour. By this means the sand would be carried away, and no banks would be formed at the mouth of it. As the expence would be inconsiderable, the advantage the country would reap must be very great, because larger vessels could then enter, and bring greater quantities of merchandise, not only for the benefit of the trade of that place, but also for the advantage of the merchants of *Abbeville*, *Amiens*, and those of *Higher Picardy*.

Notwithstanding the inconveniencies attending the harbour of *St. Valery*, it is of great use on account of the ease with which goods are conveyed to *Amiens*, as has been already observed, and from that, through all the province of *Picardy*, as far as *Artois*, *Champagne*, and *Paris*, without the delays which commonly attend the conveying of them to *Havre de Grace*. A ship arrives at *St. Valery* from *Holland*, and the goods with which she is loaded are transported from thence to *Amiens* in two days and a half, by means of gribanes which go up the *Somme*. Or, if the merchants want greater dispatch, they can send them in three days by carts to *Paris*. This was the consideration which determined the court of *France* to allow spices to be entered at this port, excepting sugars and wax, from foreign countries, the privilege of importing which commodities the King thought proper to confer upon other places. When there is any exportation of corn, a great deal of that commodity is loaded at *St. Valery* for *Bretagne* and *Normandy*. The same harbour is also of great use for exporting the ma-

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nufactures of *Picardy*, which are conveyed from thence to *Spain* and *Portugal*. On the other hand, the commodities which are conveyed by sea to this harbour, are sugars from *Nantz*, *Rochelle* and *Normandy*; brandy from *Rochelle* and *Bourdeaux*, soap of all kinds from *Toulon* and *Marseilles*, cyder from *Auge*, honey from *Britain*, skins from *Rochelle*, butter from *Normandy* and foreign parts, bleaching-ashes from *Denmark*, pot-ashes from *Holland* for making soap, oils of all kinds, and wool from *Spain* for the manufacture of stuffs, wood of *Campeachy* and *Brazil* for dying, &c. cod-fish, herrings, and cheese from *Holland*, iron and tin from *Hamburg*, steel from *Hungary*, soap, linen, whale-bone, broad-cloth, and camblets from *Holland*, hogs-lard, butter, coals, slate, lead, pewter, copers, all sorts of precious stones, and drugs, all kinds of small wares from *England*.

*St. Valery* is the capital of the *Vimeux*, called *Pagus Vimeensis*, or *Vinemacus*, a country in *Lower Picardy*, and belonging to the military government of that province. It lies between the *Somme* on the north, and the *Bresle*, which separates it from *Normandy* on the south. We shall therefore here conclude all that we design upon *Picardy* with the following general observations.

The province of *Picardy* is very plain and level; we meet rarely with high grounds, but on the banks of the rivers. It produces all kinds of grain, in great abundance, little fruit or pulse, unless near *Amiens*, and in the election of *Mondidier*; flax, hemp, and rape thrive very well, but there is not much pasture in the province, except in the *Boulonnois*, which produces large quantities of butter, a great part of which goes into *Artois*, and many horse and cattle, which are generally sold into *Normandy*. The climate is rather cold than temperate, especially near the sea, where winds and fogs prevail for a considerable part of the year. The people are generally lazy and inactive, but they are

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also



also faithful, upright, and sincere. They have no great ambition of acquiring riches or honours above the condition of their birth; but are content with the peaceable possession of what they inherit from their fathers, and manage it with great oeconomy. They would be able to maintain their families, which are commonly numerous, but the taxes are hard upon them, and oblige them to greater industry than their natural disposition will easily admit; for they never submit to hard labour but when necessity drives them. When corn is cheap, and the harvest plentiful, it is a difficult matter to find workmen among them, for they love to make the day and the journey alike. They are generally people of good sense, but, by no means, lively or cunning. Friendship is very little cultivated among them: nor do they, on the other hand, encourage enmity; but when one has lost their affection, it is not an easy matter to recover it. Their nobility and gentry profess great honour and sincerity; and these dispositions, seconded by a good education, have produced among them some excellent characters. They generally enter into the army; and it is rare to find a gentleman that has not, at least, made some campaigns. The *Picards*, in general, make excellent soldiers, not only as they are accustomed to hardships, but because they have a natural disposition to arms.

The whole province contains one thousand three hundred and forty-seven country towns or villages, small and great, and about fifty-two thousand one hundred and seventy-five inhabitants\*. This computation was made in the year 1698, when it was thought they were one twelfth part less than they had been some years before, and this decrease was imputed partly to the wars that raged about that time, but principally to the revocation of the edict of

*Nantz*, on account whereof, no less than two thousand six hundred Protestants had removed from the election of *Amiens*, eighty from that of *Abbeville*, sixty from the government of *Montreuil*, forty from *Boulogne*, two thousand seven hundred from *Calais*, and from other places in the same proportion.

Beside what we have already suggested concerning the trade and manufacture of *Picardy*, the whole of the flat country of *Ponthieu*, and the places about *Amiens*, are employed in manufactures. There were in the village of *Creveceur*, nine hundred and fifty looms at work upon serges, bearing the name of that place, made of the best wool; and producing about four hundred thousand livres; yet the author who reports this takes notice, that the manufacturers are, nevertheless, exceeding poor, so that the merchants are obliged to allow them a full year's trust of all the materials they have occasion for. There is a manufacture of the same kind in the villages of *Fouquiers*, *Hardevilliers*, *Tilly*, &c. where they keep an hundred and forty-eight looms at work, and the produce amounts to an hundred and ten thousand livres. Tho' *Aumale* itself does not belong to the province of *Picardy*, yet, in the villages of *Picardy* which lie near it, no less than a thousand one hundred and seventy looms are kept at work, and the produce amounts to one million five hundred thousand livres; yet the author who wrote about the year 1698, observes of this manufacture, that though it be the greatest of the kind in the kingdom, the manufacturers were like to perish for hunger, and obliged to leave their business, either on account of the dearth of wool, or because the ordinary and extraordinary impositions were greater than they could bear. There is another manufacture of cloth serges in the town of *Tricot*, in the election of *Mondidier*, about ten leagues from *Amiens*, where an hundred and fifty looms are kept at work, and seven thousand pieces of cloth are

\* *Etat de France*, vol. III. p. 29.

are manufactured, the produce amounting to an hundred and ninety thousand livres. There is still another manufacture at *Old Baucan* and *Compigneule*, not far from *Aumale*, where they manufacture stuffs called *belinges*, a sort of cloth proper for clothing the poor, and people of mean condition, for which there is a great demand; there are here seventy five looms at work, and three thousand pieces are manufactured, worth fifty livres each, in all producing fifteen thousand livres. It is almost impossible to ascertain the number of workmen employed in these manufactures, especially those in the country, where they are not constantly at work; yet some notion may be formed of their number, from this circumstance, that every piece of work must come through the hands of twenty different persons, at least, before it be completed.

But the principal trade of *Picardy*, and the great resource of that province, consists in the corn which they export, as the country produces much more than can be consumed in it; so that they send large quantities to *Flanders* and *Hainault*, not only for the subsistence of the inhabitants of these places, but also to supply the King's troops. They send also corn to *Paris*, and likewise export it from *St. Valery* by sea to other provinces when the King gives them leave. There is also a considerable trade of flax carried on in *Ponthieu*, the *Amiennois*, and particularly in the *Vermandois*. Beside what goes to *Rouen* and *Bretagne*, a great deal of this commodity is consumed in the country in the manufacture of linens. They deal also in lint-feed, because they are obliged to change their seed every year, from a strong persuasion, that otherwise the flax would degenerate. The hemp of *Ponthieu*, *Montreville*, the *Laonnois*, and the valley of *Riffour* towards *Mondidier* is, in a great measure, used in the country for coarse cloth, and cordage; some part of it is also sent to *Bretagne* and *Rochele*. We have already taken notice, that

a great many young colts are sold to the merchants of *Normandy*, to be improved in the rich pastures of that country; these may amount to five or six thousand every year. Besides the consumption of coals and butter in the province, great quantities are conveyed to *Dunkirk* by sea, as is also wood for the construction of ships, and large quantities of fascines for the improvement of the harbour. We have already taken notice of the fish-trade in several of the maritime places, and shall add nothing to what we have already offered, but only that the sea-ports of *Boulogne* and *St. Valery* get more than four hundred thousand livres by their herring and mackrel fisheries.

A royal manufactory of glass has been set up at *St. Gobin*, in the forest of *Vois*, where, it is pretended, they blow and cast the best plates that are to be met with in *Europe*, so that those of *Venice* fall far short of them, both with regard to size and beauty \*. Those that desire a more particular account of this manufactory, with the several alterations which have been made in it, may consult the *Nouvelle Description de la France*, written by *M. Piganiol de la Force*, who gives a full and particular account of every circumstance relating to it. And, to conclude, there is a manufactory of earthen ware at *Saincheni*, about six miles from *Laon*, near the extremity of the forest of *Vois*. In the year 1733, some veins of earth, which appeared at first sight proper for this purpose, were discovered near this place; these, upon trial, answered the highest expectations. Upon this the proprietor of the ground applied to the court of *France* for a privilege to set up, on his own estate, a manufactory of earthen ware, of the same kind with those of *Rouen* and *Nevers*, and having obtained a patent in the year 1737, assembled workmen, designers and painters, and built the furnaces and

\* *Nouvelle Description de la France*, tom. II. p. 131.



laboratories necessary for moulding, and polishing all sorts of vases and vessels. They find on the spot all sorts of materials necessary for such fabrics, except the enamel, which is composed by the director, and the paint. This manufactory gives employment to thirty families, who have settled at *Saincheni*. The vessels they make are exceeding handsome, and bear the fire. They are also in great esteem, so that the workmen are not able to answer the demands that are daily made upon them. They proceed in the same manner with those that are employed in the manufactories of *Rouen* and *Nevers*, which were set on foot long before.

Though the province of *Picardy* is fruitful in corn, and maintains a considerable trade, as we have already seen, yet the revenue the King of *France* draws from it is not very considerable \*. In the memorial which M. *Bignon*, Intendant of *Picardy*, laid before *Lewis XIV.* in the year 1698, the *douannes*, *aides*, *farm of tobacco*, *domain*, *royal forrests*, *tailles*, *gabelles*, and all the branches of the King's revenue, exclusive of the capitation, the extraordinary subsidies, and the contributions of the clergy, are said to produce no more than four millions, two hundred and forty-one thousand, two hundred and fifty-six livres, after deducting the charge of collecting them, and other sums necessarily laid out in the province; and though the increase of trade, since that time, has, no doubt, made some improvement in that branch, which arises from the duties laid upon the importation and exportation of goods; yet, on account of the many exemptions which obtain in this province, the revenue, in general, cannot be considerably augmented thereby.

The militia of *Picardy* is divided into three bodies, viz. that of the *Boulonnois*, that of the district of *Calais*, or the *pays reconquis*, and that of the rest of the province. The

first of these, as we have already observed, consists of six regiments of foot, and five of horse, besides a company of carabineers, and two of dragoons, in all amounting, according to some authors, to 3000, to others, 5000 men. The second consists of two regiments of foot, of seven hundred and fifty men each, and four companies of horse, composed of fifty men each. The officers of these two bodies bear the King's commission, and are gentlemen belonging to the respective countries, or some of the principal inhabitants, who have formerly served under the Governor or Lieutenant-governor of the respective cities. Detachments of these troops, in time of war, are stationed at different places, to guard the coasts of the province; and in times of necessity and imminent danger, are all obliged to repair to the sea-side, to secure the country from the approach of enemies, and prevent descents. The third body is properly called, the militia of the generality or province; and by an ordonnance of the 25th of *February*, 1726, and another of the 12th of *November*, 1733, ought to consist of four battalions, in all amounting to two thousand seven hundred and thirty-six men.

The river *Bresle*, which has its source near *Aumale*, and passing by the city of *Eu*, empties itself into the *British* channel, separates *Picardy* from *Normandy* on the north. It is pretended that its ancient names were *Essua*, *Essia*, *Aucia*, and *Auva*; but when *Charles the Simple* gave *Neustria* to the *Normans*, he appointed this river to be their boundary, and that from this circumstance it had the name of *Brifella*, *Brifelle*, and by contraction *Bresle*, from the *French* word *briser*, which signifies to break or separate. Be this as it will, at the mouth of this river we meet with the ancient sea-port town of

\* *Etat de la France*, tom. III. p. 45.

## T R E P O R T,

**S**ITUATED at the end of the high shore, which reaches from the river *Bresle* to the town of *Dieppe*, about a quarter of a league from that of *Eu*, and five from the above mentioned town of *Dieppe*, in the north latitude of 50 degrees 3 minutes, and 1 degree 25 minutes to the eastward of the meridian of *London*.

*Cæsar* tells us, in the fourth book of his *Commentaries*, that, intending to invade *Britain*, after he had embarked his infantry at the harbour of *Morini* (which, according to *Sanfon*, was that of *Boulogne*) he sent his cavalry to be embarked *ad ulteriorem portum*. Most of the criticks will have this *ulterior portus* of *Cæsar*, to be *Treport*; because, say they \*, it was the remotest port of that part of *Gaul* which was called *Belgium*, and indeed the only one betwixt *Boulogne* and the river *Seine*, which was the boundary on that side of the country of the *Belgæ*, *Dieppe* having had its beginning no sooner than the year 1080, and *St. Valery* only in the eighth century. But, on the other hand, they pretend there is no ground to doubt, that *Treport* was a place of as great consideration in the *Roman* times as *Boulogne*. *Sanfon* suggests a proof of this, in the remarks he makes upon the map of ancient *Gaul*; for, as he proves that the *Romans* had a great regard to *Boulogne*, as a sea-port, from their military ways which lead to it, it will follow, they presume, for the same reason, that they must have paid equal respect to *Tre-*

*port*. They add, that as *Cæsar* gave this place the *Latin* name of *ulterior portus*, it is highly probable it retained it all the time the *Romans* were in possession of *Gaul*; but when it fell into the hands of the *French*, they gave it that of *Treport*, a kind of contraction of *l'autre-port*, to signify that they looked upon it as the next in dignity and use to that of the *Morini*.

This is the general opinion; but others \*, though they agree that *Treport* was a sea-port in the time of the *Romans*, will not allow it to be the *ulterior portus* of *Cæsar*, because this, according to the description given of it, must have been at, or near the extremity of *Gaul*, which can by no means be said of *Treport*. It must also have rather been nearer to *Britain* than the harbour of the *Morini*; and, to speak the truth, it is at least very improbable, that *Cæsar* having embarked his infantry at *Boulogne*, would have sent his horse so far back as *Treport*, from which their passage to *Britain* must have been more than twice as long as that of his foot. But, not to insist upon a dispute of this nature, whatever reputation *Treport* may have acquired under the government of the *Romans*, it was still more considerable soon after the twelfth century, on account of the trade which was carried on there. In these times beautiful streets were built at *Treport*, great numbers of inhabitants resorted to it, and no less than a hundred merchant-ships and fishing-

\* Nouvelle Description de la France, vol. IX. p. 228, 230.

\* See Description Geographique & Historique de Haute Normandie, p. 12.



sloops might have been seen at once in its harbour. The road is one of the best on all the coast, and vessels which draw no more than two fathom of water, may anchor in it with great safety. The *Bresle* formerly run by the village of *Mers*, but in the year 1101, *Henry I.* Earl of *Eu*, turned its course a little to the west, that it might pass by *Treport*, which doubtless gave the inhabitants of that place the first opportunity of improving their commerce. In the year 1475, *Charles of Artois*, one of the successors of *Henry I.* of *Eu*, having formed a design of making the tide flow up to the town of that name, begun a canal for this purpose, and carried it from the mouth of the river, as far as the priory of *St. Croix*; but here the work stopped, and the design seems to have been dropped. In the time of *Francis I.* the *English* made a descent upon *Treport*; and this monarch, to secure his subjects against such insults for the future, built the large tower which is yet to be seen at the entrance of the harbour. In 1554, *Henry Duke of Guise*, who was also Earl of *Eu*, having dug at the foot of this tower a basin sufficient to receive vessels of 200 and 300 tons burthen, constructed at the same time a jetty of wood, and a strong pallisade to keep the river in its course, and support the jetty against the fury of the waves. These works cost immense sums of money; but nothing was able to stand against the ill fortune of the inhabitants. That jetty is no more to be seen: all is buried under the sand and the waters of the river, the course of which the inhabitants have been obliged to alter, and make a new channel for it a little more towards the north. A private man, named *Charles Myresse*, built a new jetty in the room of the former; but this is a work of no great importance, and would require to be begun a-new. Several whole streets have been swallowed up by the sea; and the houses which fall down are never built again; there are not twenty ships to be seen in the harbour; a great number of vaults, cellars,

ovens, and other conveniencies, with which the town still abounds, are now become the habitation of owls, and other wild creatures. The inhabitants, who are very poor, and few in number, are employed in making nets, gathering seaworms, baiting fishing-hooks, carrying and washing fish, and purchasing small parcels of them to sell again at the town of *Eu*.

Several causes have contributed to the ruin of this place. In the first place, it has no fortifications; for the tower of *Francis I.* which wanted to be secured by some other works, is not now kept in any state of defence. The distance from *Dover* to *Treport* is not above twenty-four leagues; a run which may be easily made in one tide; accordingly the *English* have made descents on this place, and several times ruined it entirely. In the year 1339, they landed with a hundred and twenty sail, and ravaged the whole town with fire and sword. Next year they returned with the same intention. In 1413 they put all they met to the sword, and set fire, not only to the town, but also to several places in the neighbourhood; not to mention the hardships it underwent during the civil wars of *France*, especially in the years 1545 and 1572. A second cause of the ruin of *Treport* is the neighbourhood of *Dieppe* and *St. Valeri en Caux*, which has engaged its inhabitants to leave their old habitations, and transport their families to the town of *Eu*. But that which made way for almost the total ruin of the place, was the retaking of *Calais* from the *English* in the year 1558. While that place was subject to the Kings of *England*, the *French* baked biscuit at *Treport* for their naval expeditions, and there unloaded and cured the herrings they caught in fishing: but since *Calais* has been recovered by the *French*, it has been thought a more secure and proper place for naval stores; and as it is also nearer the place where they

they fish for herrings, all the commerce of *Treport* has been transported to it.

After all, notwithstanding these misfortunes, the inhabitants retain some traces of their former grandeur. They had magistrates in the thirteenth century, and the town is now governed by a Mayor and five Aldermen. There is but one parish-church in the town, which was built in the year 1370, and is more than sufficient for the few families that remain in it. In the year 1141, the inhabitants of *Treport*

received into their town the first colony of the *Templars*, who were placed in the abbey of *St. Michael*, and in an hospital which is now so compleatly demolished, that nothing but some ruins of it remain. There was formerly near the town an infirmary, which has been some time ago united to the hospital of *Criel*.

About a quarter of a league, or little more than half an *English* mile, from *Treport*, and on the same river *Bresle*, stands the city of

## E U,

**I**N *Latin* *Auga*, *Augum*, and *Aucum*. The name, according to M. *Heuet* the famous Bishop of *Avranches*, is taken from its situation in the middle of fields and meadows; the word *Au*, *Aw* and *Awe*, in the *German* language, signifying a meadow.

The criticks find several monuments of *Roman* antiquity in this place, which, in the opinion of most of them, evidently prove not only the antiquity of the city of *Eu*, but also that in the *Roman* times it was considered as a place of great importance. The first is the *Roman* military road, which is said to have been continued all the way from *Amiens*, or as some pretend from *Soissons*, directly to this place, some parts of which, it is said, are still to be seen in the form of a causeway. The other monument is an ancient gate of the city, at present walled up, together with two large towers, which always had the name of the Gate of the Empire, as the street

which leads to it has still the name of the *Empire-street*, and both are so denominated from the *Roman* highway which terminates there. To these two monuments some add that of an ancient temple yet standing in the city, and some *Roman* tombs discovered a little way from the Empire-gate. These monuments, especially the military way, evidently demonstrate, say they, that in the time of the *Romans*, the towns of *Eu*, and *Treport*, which, on account of their proximity, may be considered as one city, were then looked upon as places of great importance, and the greatest seaport from *Boulogne* to the mouth of the *Sione* \*. This seems to be the general opinion of the learned among the *French*, but in this they are not unanimous; a † late author is not convinced, by the ar-

\* See *Nouvelle Description de la France*, vol. 9. p. 227.

† *Description Geographique et Historique de la haute Normandie*, vol. 1st, p. 67.



guments above mentioned, and with regard to the temple of the *Gauls*, said to be at *Eu*, asserts that it is a chimera which never yet was visible to any but M. Capperon, if credit may be given to what is advanced by him in the *Mercure de le France* for the month of July, 1730. He adds, that the first author who takes notice of the town of *Eu*, is *Flodoard*, who only says it was a city before the year 925, whereas he himself is willing to allow it an older standing than the tenth century; but as its name is of a *Teutonic* original, the greatest favour that can be done it, is to rank it among the most antient cities which were built in the country after it fell under the dominion of the *French*. Be this as it will, it is certain that the town of *Eu* was a place of some importance in the time of *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*. *Philip de Comines* tells us that the privateers belonging to *Eu*, in the year 1470, carried off a vessel belonging to the subjects of the Duke of *Burgundy*, which was the occasion of a war between *Lewis* XI. and that duke, about five years thereafter. We find, by the same author, that these privateers had the boldness to carry off some of the *English* ships, who were carrying troops to *Calais*, to invade *France*. But that which had hitherto raised their fame and reputation, became at this time the source of their misery and the ruin of their city. For the King of *England* having given out that he designed to make a descent upon *Normandy*, and take up his winter quarters in the town of *Eu*, *Lewis* XI. could think of no more effectual means to disappoint him than to set fire to that city. Accordingly on the eighteenth of July, 1475, Marishal *Robaut*, lord of *Gamaches*, marched to *Eu*, by the King's express order, at the head of 400 men, and set it on fire at nine o'clock in the morning. The castle and the whole town were consumed by these flames, except the church, which was purposely preserved, and a few houses, that escaped merely by the negligence of those

who were trusted with the execution of the King's order \*. Upon the back of this misfortune, the towns of *Dieppe*, *St. Valery* and *Abbeville*, so effectually took advantage of the miserable condition of the distressed city, that it never could recover the loss it sustained upon that occasion; although the Kings of *France* encouraged its restoration by granting the inhabitants the advantage of free fairs, and other considerable privileges.

The greatest part of the town of *Eu* belongs to the diocese of *Rouen*; but the quarter called *la Chaussée*, which lies on the north side of the *Bresle*, is included in that of *Amiens*. Yet this same quarter is a fief of the earldom of *Eu*, and in the province of *Normandy*. In this quarter there was antiently a castle, now in ruins, the lords of which were hereditary Viscounts of the county of *Eu*. *William* the eldest son of *Eustace* of *Eu* and *Alice* of *Pequigni*, who in the year 1366 was slain at the battle of *Nicopolis*, was one of these Viscounts of *Eu*, and lords of *Chaussée*. On the other side of the town, towards *Treport*, stood another castle in the middle of a grove called the *Bois du Pare*, which was rebuilt by the Duke of *Guise* in 1583. In the year 1151, *Eu* was raised to the dignity of a corporation town, by the interest of *John* Earl of *Eu*, on the same plan with *St. Quintin* in the *Vermandois*, and the inhabitants of *Chaussée*, at their own desire, were admitted to the freedom of it: but the mayor and aldermen of *Eu* did not assume their titles, and the badges belonging to their office, till 1272. It was agreed at the same time, that the person who had served one year Mayor, should next year have only the title of Alderman, but some time after he had that of Lieutenant, to distinguish him from the rest of the Aldermen. The town of *Treport* had Magistrates of its own since the year 1288; but in the fifteenth century,

\* This account is said to be extracted out of the records of the city of *Eu*. See *Nouvelle Description de la France*, vol. 9. p. 231, &c.

it was united to the town of *Eu* and the village of *Pont*, so that since that time, *Eu*, *la Chauffe*, *Treport*, and *Pont* are considered as one corporation; but still, which is a little strange, *Treport* continues to have a Mayor and Aldermen of its own, and though the Mayor of *Eu* looks upon this other as his deputy, the Mayor of *Treport* has a vote in the election of the Mayors of *Eu*, but the latter has no voice in the election of the former.

The town of *Eu* in antient times was very populous, but now its inhabitants are reduced to three thousand four hundred. It was also formerly divided into five parishes, out of these two were suppressed by order of the Arch-Bishop in 1622. The principal church is dedicated to St. *Laurence*, but commonly goes under the title of *Notredame*. In this church stands the tomb of *Philip* of *Artois* Earl of *Eu*, and constable of *France*, on which \* *M. Piganiol de la Force* has made some remarks which may not be disagreeable to the curious. He tells us, that this tomb is distinguished from all those of the house of *Artois* which are in the same church, in that it not only has a hedge of iron palisades round it to hinder people from coming too near it, but also within that hedge a kind of iron cage so near the tomb, that one can stand without the former, and handle the latter at his pleasure, which appears to him to have something mysterious in it, especially as there is nothing in the tomb extraordinary fine, or that requires to be preserved with uncommon care. And moreover as those who built the tombs in that church have been so careful to place the figures of little dogs at the feet of the statues of the personages for whom those tombs were erected, he is persuaded some secret meaning lies concealed under these symbols. Particularly, he observes, that in the time when these tombs were built, it was usual to give them such ornaments

\* Nouvelle description de la France, vol. 9. p. 233, &c.

as served to represent some circumstances concerning the death of those for whom they were erected. “*Oliver de le Marche*,” says he, in his history, tells us, these little dogs, placed “at the foot of the dead, were designed to signify that they died in their beds. That if they were men of quality, who died in battle, their statues appeared completely armed; and if they were carried off by wounds, or any other accident, which commonly happen in war, they were represented with a coat of mail, but without any helmet on their heads, or gauntlets on their hands.” This is exactly the manner in which *Philip* of *Artois* is represented on his tomb; for this Lord having had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the *Turks* in the year 1396, at the famous battle of *Nicopolis*, and to die in prison some time after; to express the manner of his death, his statue is cased in armour, but without helmet on the head, or gauntlets on the hands, with two little dogs at his feet, and an iron cage round him, within the circle of iron palisades, which goes round the whole tomb, to signify that he died a prisoner. It will not be improper here to observe, that, according to the testimony of *Roger de Malderée*, who was at that time receiver of the rents of the earldom of *Eu*, this tomb, including the statue of *Philip d’Artois*, in white marble, as large as the life, with the two circles of iron palisades that go round it, cost only a hundred livres; so scarce was money in those days.

The county of *Eu*, as the *French* pretend, gave birth to the person who first attempted the discovery of the new world, and opened the way to *America*. This was *John de Betbencourt*, Baron of *St. Martin le Gaillard*, who began the first civil establishment that was ever made in the *Canary* islands. *Robert de Bracquemont* his cousin, first formed the design of taking possession of those isles; and with this view obtained



the permission of *John II.* King of *Castile* to make a conquest of them, about the year 1401; but sometime after, having laid aside thoughts of this expedition, and returned to his native country, where he attained to the dignity of High Admiral of *France*, he left the honour of discovering the fortunate islands to *John de Bethencourt* his relation, who being encouraged and authorised by *Queen Catherine*, the widow of *John II.* of *Spain*, embarked in the year 1402, and had the good fortune to get possession of some of them. But not finding himself strong enough to conquer the rest, he returned to *Spain*, where he was supplied with money and provisions by *Henry III.* King of *Castile*, who also gave him the sovereignty of these islands, on condition of doing homage to him for them. With this encouragement *Bethencourt* returned to the *Canaries*, and seized some more of them, particularly that which is called the island of *Sancerote*, in which he built a fort. He also took upon him the title of King, but died soon after, leaving his nephew *Menaut* to succeed him in his new dignity.

There are four convents in the town of *Eu*, one of the *Jesuits*, who also have a college there; one of the *Ursuline* Nuns, one of the *Capuchin* Monks, and one of the regular Canonesses, who have the direction of the hospital for the sick. In the twelfth century there were three schools at *Eu*, but they were suppressed in the year 1563, upon occasion of

the troubles which arose on the account of religion, and set on foot again in 1573, but not in their former flourishing state. *Henry* Duke of *Guise*, and *Catherine* of *Cleves* his consort, instead of those schools, erected a college in 1582, and gave the direction of it to the *Jesuits*, for whom also they built a convent.

The town of *Eu* is the capital of the county of the same name, called in *Latin* *Comitatus Aucensis*, which is of very large extent, containing more than forty parishes, the most considerable of which are *Blany*, *Treport*, and *Criel*. It was erected into an earldom by *Richard I.* Duke of *Normandy*, for his bastard son *William*, about the year 950, and has since passed successively into the families of *Lusignan*, *Brienne*, *Artois*, *Cleves*, and *Guise*; from the last of which, *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, daughter to *Gaston* Duke of *Orleans*, purchased it in the year 1660, for two millions, five hundred thousand livres, and made a present of it in 1682 to the Duke de *Maine*, one of the legitimated sons of *Lewis XIV.* of *France*. This Prince, in quality of Earl of *Eu*, and Peer of *France*, took his seat in the Parliament on the 8th of *May*, 1694, immediately after the Princes of the blood, and had the precedence of all the Peers of *France*, secular as well as ecclesiastic.

About five leagues to the west of *Eu*, and twelve to the north of *Rouen*, stands the town of

## D I E P P E,

**I**N *Latin Dieppa*, a sea-port in the country of *Caux*, on the coast of the province of *Normandy*, situated in the north latitude of 49 degrees, 56 minutes, and longitude of 1 degree 20 minutes to the eastward of the meridian of *London*. *M. de Valois* seems to be mistaken, when he thinks that *Dieppe* has taken its name from the river, upon the banks whereof it stands; because, on the contrary, the town appears to have given its name to the river. But this learned man has not probably considered that *Dieppe* is derived from the *Flemish* word *diep*, which has the same signification with *deep* in *English*: and whoever has viewed the town of *Dieppe*, as it stands in the bottom of a low valley, will be ready to acknowledge that this etymology is very natural.

In tracing the original of the town of *Dieppe*, we need not go so far back as the time of the *Gauls* and *Romans*, nor even that of the first or second race of *French Kings*. *Daviti* thinks it was built in the place of an ancient town called *Limes*, which probably he confounds with that of *Lunes*; whereof the *Norman* historians make mention, in the accounts they give of the famous pirate *Hastings*. But *Lunes*, according to *Strabo*, was a town of *Tuscany*, much celebrated for its harbour; and the same with that which is now known by the name of *Porto-Venere*. If we were to believe some traditions, which are current in this province,

we would say that *Charlemain* repaired this town in the year 798, and put a good garrison in it to defend the country from the incursions of the *Danes*; that he called the fortification which he built at the same time *Berteville*, from the name of his wife, sister, or daughter; for they are not positive which of the three; that this fortress fell into the hands of the *Normans* about the year 888; that soon after it returned to the obedience of the *French Kings*; that Duke *Rollo* having retaken it, embarked an army there to invade *England*; that in 912 *Berteville* changed its name to that of *Dieppe*: and finally, that *Richard I.* Duke of *Normandy* built a new fort there in the year 917. These, and other fables of the same kind, gain easy credit in *Normandy*; but, if we are directed by true history, we will find, that in the beginning of the tenth century, the town of *Dieppe* had no existence. The ground which lies between it and *Arques*, was comprehended in the territory of the latter, and bore its name. The sea-port also, which is now called *Dieppe*, anciently had the name of the port of *Arques*. It is also very conceivable, that the inhabitants of *Arques* might advance along the river by degrees, to the place where *Dieppe* now stands; and that the conveniency of fishing, and the salt-pits, might be a strong motive to them to leave their first habitations, and take up their residence there. Accordingly we find mention is made of the salt



salt-pits of *Arques*, in a deed of *Goffelin's* who founded the abbey of *St. Catherine* at *Rouen* about the year 1030. Thus it is highly probable, that the town of *Dieppe* was first formed by the inhabitants of *Arques*; but it is hardly possible to carry its origin further back than the end of the eleventh century. Be this as it may, *Henry II.* King of *England*, in the year 1088, built at *Dieppe* the first fortress of which we have any certain accounts. The town, at that time, was not very considerable; eight or nine years after, *Richard I.* the son of the said *Henry II.* having built the fortresses of *Andeli* or *Chateau-Geillard*, to secure his dominions from the inroads of the *French*, *Walter* of *Coutances*, Archbishop of *Rouen*, who found himself injured thereby, carried his complaints to *Rome*, and the former, to indemnify that Prelate, gave him in exchange for *Andeli*, the town and lordship of *Dieppe*, the town and lordship of *Louviers*, the lands and forests of *Alibermont*, the lands and lordship of *Bonteilles*, and the mills of *Rouen*; leaving also to the Archbishop the patronage of all the benefices lying in the town and district of *Andeli*. *Dieppe* alone, it must be acknowledged, was far from being sufficient, at that time, to compensate the loss of *Andeli*; and consequently, at the end of the twelfth century, was a place of no great importance, but soon after it came to be very considerable, and the Archbishops of *Rouen* could not but be sensible, that the treaty which *Walter* of *Coutances* had made for them was greatly in their favour.

Two years before this exchange, *Philip the August* King of *France*, had taken the town of *Dieppe* by assault, and demolished its fortresses. King *Richard* imagined, that a town thus degraded, and without fortresses or walls, could not be of equal value with that of *Andeli*. However, the inhabitants took courage, the town was re-peopled, and having struggled a hundred and fifty years or more, with various

misfortunes, which gave them leave to think of nothing but repairing their losses, it began about the middle of the fourteenth century, to make a considerable figure, and carry its views very high. The burghers purchased of *Robert de Eslouterville* Lord of *Hotot*, the fiefs of several estates lying at the foot of the mount of *Caux*, they built there a large street, and raised a wall all along that side of the town. These fiefs gave rise to a war which was carried on with great animosity, but did not last long. The *Sieur de Hotot*, not being paid for these fiefs, set loose upon the inhabitants, some soldiers he kept at his castle of *Hotot*, situated in the middle of a wood, about half a league from the town. The inhabitants of *Dieppe*, continually harassed by an adversary who gave them no quarter, thought proper to make their peace by means of a handsome sum of florins, and all was quiet again in the year 1360. Since that time the town is considerably increased, many new streets have been built, a ditch with bulwarks has been drawn round it: its streets were paved in the year 1390, and, by means of *St. Denis's* fair, which was granted by the Kings of *England*, about that time, it became more rich and flourishing than ever it had been before. Although it is commonly pretended that the inhabitants are all sailors, yet, perhaps, there is scarce any place in the world where they work to greater perfection in ivory; and the women of *Dieppe* make very fine lace. It is also a temporary magazine for oysters, which are brought from *Cancall*, and kept alive at *Dieppe* till opportunities are found to dispose of them. For this end, they build a kind of enclosures within the flood-mark, of hurdles kept down by large stones, then put the oysters in a heap within those parks, and the tide covers them twice in twenty-four hours, which is just enough to preserve their life.

A small

A small fortune, acquired by labour and industry, enlarges our desires, and disposes to make new attempts, which often succeed better than the former. The inhabitants of *Dieppe* have amply experienced the truth of this maxim. A handful of people having left the town of *Arques*, in hopes of a more comfortable subsistence, removed to the sea-side, where, by fishing, and the salt-pits, they were able, in a little time, to exchange their huts and cottages for convenient habitations. Encouraged by this first success, they exerted themselves to render their conditions still more agreeable. The sea opened its treasures to them; they exposed themselves to all kinds of hazards, and found themselves greatly enriched thereby. The sea became, as it were, their peculiar element, and they signalized themselves upon it by enterprizes, new discoveries, and great actions, which raised their reputation to a very considerable height. In the year 1555, the inhabitants of *Dieppe* had a fleet of 19 small ships of war, and six sloops of about 80 tons burthen, with which they used to scour the channel between *England* and *Flanders*, and in some sort, blocked up all the harbours of the Low Countries. About this time they attacked a fleet of two and twenty *Flemish* ships loaded with spices, and other valuable commodities of the *East-Indies*, off the harbour of *Dover*. These *East-India* ships were very long, very high, and equipped like ships of war, so that they were much better provided with cannon, and artificial fires, than those of the inhabitants of *Dieppe*; but, on the other hand, the latter were better manned; for the *Flemings* put their greatest confidence in their artillery, but the *Normans* depend most on their personal courage in fighting hand to hand. The latter, as soon as they came up with the enemies fleet, attempted to board them; and for that end seized, with grappling irons, no less than fifteen of their ships at once; upon which a furious battle ensued, and lasted almost six hours, N° XVIII.

without the least respite; the *Normans* exerting themselves to get upon the enemies ships sword in hand, and the *Flemings* defending themselves with musquets, grenades, and long pikes. At last, some of the ships being set on fire, whether by accident or by design, in a little time five ships on both sides were in flames. This circumstance, notwithstanding the animosity of the parties, soon disposed them to part; but they did not separate with equal advantage; for the *Normans*, before the fire broke out, had made themselves masters of five ships richly loaded, which they carried in triumph to *Dieppe*. In this scuffle the *Flemings* lost between 900 and 1000 of their men, the *French* only 400; but they were the best they had, and among them their General *Espinville*, a native of *Honfleur*, of great abilities, and therefore much regretted\*.

In the year 1562, *John Ribaud* a citizen of *Dieppe*, sailed from that place at the head of an expedition for *Florida*. In 1559, the *Sieur de Chauvin*, who was also of *Dieppe*, sailed to plant a colony in *Canada*, for carrying on the fur trade. An armament was also fitted out at *Dieppe* in 1637, for an expedition to *Senegal*, under the conduct of Captain *Thomas Lambart*, likewise a native of that city. He arrived happily at the place of his destination, in the year 1638, and planted the first Christian colony that ever settled in these parts; but subsisted only twenty years; that is, to 1661. The famous *Abraham du Quene*, Lieutenant-General of the naval forces of *France* was born at *Dieppe*; which was also the native city of *Peter des Chaliers*, a priest of *Arques*, who is said to have been the first who projected sea charts in *France*. But we now proceed to the description of the town.

The canal, which reaches from *Arques* to the sea, divides *Dieppe* into two parts, which communicate with one

\* Mezeraye Histoire de la France, vol. II. p. 666.



another by a stone bridge, supported by six large pillars. It was built in the year 1511, and is only 100 paces in length, and 11 in breadth. From the year 1280 *Dieppe* had two harbours, one toward the east, which was called *le Port de l'Est*, and afterwards, by corruption, *le Pollet*; the other toward the west, which was originally named *le Port d'Ouest*, in time corrupted to that of *le Porquet*. On this side the river formerly had its course; but, in the year 1616, the sea having made itself a passage through the east harbour, to the foot of the high shore; the river, soon after, turned to the same side, and the old canal was in a short time filled up with sand and gravel. On this new spot of ground was built the suburb, now called *le Petit Veules*, so named from a number of fishermen from the town of *Veules*, who retired to that place, in hopes of finding there a more convenient residence; and this is the true origin of the names given to the two quarters of the city, viz. the *Porquet*, which lies along the shore, from the church of *St. Remi*, or thereabouts, to the castle; and the *Pollet*, comprehending that part of the town which lies on the right side of the river. At the mouth of this river, and the foot of the high shore of *Pollet* lies the harbour; for there is now no more than one. It is 48 fathoms broad, at the end of the jetties, and grows gradually narrower towards the bridge. In the highest tides the water rises 30 feet at the entry of the harbour, and 15 feet at the bridge, where it ends; in the lowest only 24 feet at the entry of the harbour, and 9 at the bridge, which makes six feet of difference. The length of the harbour, from the end of the jetty to the bridge, is about 640 fathoms. The road lies open to the north, north-west, and west winds: the two last are the most dangerous, because commonly they are the most violent, and blow cross the harbour. But, after all, the bottom is good, and proper for anchorage. There is a

great and little road, the first is about a league from the land, in twelve fathom water; the other is but half a league from the town, and three fathom deep. The greatest ships that can enter the harbour, are those of 400 tons burthen, which draw about 14 feet of water, and no more than 200 vessels can be accommodated in it, comprehending, in this number, even fishing-boats. The *Pollet* was, for a long time, considered as a suburb, and is indeed altogether within the parish of *Neuville*, which is without the town. In the month of *November*, 1442, the famous *Talbot* built there a strong bastile, from which he battered the town, and a large tower, called the *Tower of Crabs*, to command the harbour; but, on the 14th of *August*, next year, *Lewis XI.* who was then only Dauphin, having besieged it in person, carried it by assault, and ordered it to be demolished. In 1562, the Protestants, then masters of the town, erected a fort in the same place; and eight or ten years thereafter, *Henry IV.* added some new works to it: but no part of them is now remaining, the whole having been demolished in the year 1689. In the year 1589, the same *Henry IV.* granted the inhabitants of *Pollet* all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of *Dieppe*. Six years thereafter, he granted letters patent, dated on the 12th of *April*, 1595, by which the *Pollet* was united to *Dieppe*. These letters were confirmed by others on the 15th of *January*, 1597, and by a new patent, granted on the 31st of *May*, 1618, the King gave the inhabitants of *Pollet* leave to fortify that place, and inclose it together with the town of *Dieppe*, renewing, at the same time, all the privileges granted them by the letters patent of the year 1589, 1595, and 1597. After all, the inhabitants of *Dieppe*, Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, who was then Governor of the province, opposed the registration of these edicts; but, notwithstanding all their interest, the parliament ordered them to be re-

registered, and sent the Governor and his party to the King, to account for their opposition. About the year 1509, the streets of the *Pollet* were compleatly paved, and in 1662, they began to enclose that quarter within the same fortifications with *Dieppe*, that from that time forward these two should be considered as one city. The Dauphin had no sooner made himself master of the bastile of *Pollet*, than he gave the government of the town to the *Sieur de Marets*, who was the first Governor of *Dieppe*, and built upon an eminence near the *Porduet*, the castle which is still standing, on the same spot with that which *Henry II.* of *England* had erected before. An hundred years afterwards, *Henry II.* of *France* gave the inhabitants leave to add a citadel, which was not compleated till near the end of *Henry IV's* reign. It consists of four irregular bastions, supported by some other works, a good ditch, and covered way. Thus this city rose from small beginnings to a considerable pitch of grandeur, and being, at different times, embellished and fortified, continued in flourishing circumstances till the year 1694, when it received a severe, and probably, an unsuspected blow.

After the unsuccessful attempt, which the *English*, under the conduct of Lieutenant-General *Talmash*, made upon *Brest*, Lord *Berkley* failed with the fleet to the coast of *England*, and on the 15th of *June*, arrived at *St. Helens*. There he found the Queen's order to call a council of war, and consider how the troops and ships of war might be best employed. After several consultations, it was resolved to keep no more than four regiments on board, and to make some attempts on the coast of *Normandy*. Advice of this being sent to court, and an answer returned on the 27th of the same month, it was resolved, at another council of war, to begin their operations on the *French* coast, by bombarding the town of *Dieppe*, and then proceed to do what prejudice they could in other places. In pursuance of this resolu-

tion, they came before that town, but were forced to sea by a storm, and afterwards anchored off *Dunginess*, whence they sailed on the 5th of *July*, and on the 8th arrived once more in the road of *Dieppe*. The next day they intended to have bombarded the place, but were prevented by foul weather till the 12th, when they began to play upon the town at 9 o'clock in the morning, and continued, without ceasing, till 9 at night. About 11 they sent in one of their machines, with an intent to burn the pier; but several vessels full of stones having been sunk before it, that attempt was thereby rendered ineffectual, so that, except astonishing the inhabitants by the noise of its explosion, it did little other mischief. Captain *Dunbar*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, who commanded it, acquired immortal honour on this occasion; for the train not taking effect, as was expected, he went on board again, and finding the fuzee out, set fire to it a second time, for which he and those who went with him, were justly rewarded. The bombardment was afterward continued till day-light, and the streets being narrow, the houses old, and for the most part built of timber, the town was set on fire in twenty places at once, so that the far greater part of it was consumed to ashes. The *French* court did all they could to stifle the report of this, at least at *Paris*, but the place was too near for such artifices to take effect; so that, by endeavouring to lessen, they really increased the people's apprehensions, and all the inhabitants of the sea-coast would have abandoned their towns and villages, if forces had not been sent to restrain them.

After the peace of *Ryswick*, the city of *Dieppe* was rebuilt according to a plan drawn by an engineer, called *Ventabren*. The principal streets are beautiful, of a sufficient breadth, and well laid out. The houses are all of brick, their fronts quite uniform, and all 28 feet high from the street; but they have no graceful appearance without, nor any



<sup>a</sup>ny convenience within, so that it is said, the inhabitants called the engineer, who drew the plan, ever afterwards, *M. de Gateville*; and that the *Sieur de Ventabren* having carried the *Marishal de Vauban* through the new-built town, to let him see the works he had made, the latter could not help saying to him, "Sir you might have done better, but you never can do worse." It is added, that the *Marishal* made no alteration of the plan, because it could not be improved without entirely rebuilding the town. He therefore contented himself, at that time, with adding some new works for the better defence of the place. Some time after, he drew up a long memorial, with proposals for securing *Dieppe* from the like calamity for the future; and, as the harbour was in bad condition, he proposed, that for cleaning and deepening it, the pillars which support the bridge of *Pollet*, should be lengthened, and sluices of a particular construction built opposite to the arches of it; but none of these projects hath as yet been put in execution \*.

There are two gates in the town, called the *Bar-gate* and the *Bridge-gate*, by the first of which those enter who come from *Rouen* and *Havre de Grace*, and by the latter those who come from *Picardy*, particularly from the city of *Eu*. The *Bar-gate* is covered by a half-moon at the foot of the citadel. Without it is a small suburb, called the suburb of *Bar*. The origin of that name is as follows: in the reign of *Lewis le Debonnaire*, who succeeded the Emperor *Charlemain*, the inhabitants built a wall, that they might retain all the waters which, in the time of high tides, should come over it, and to this they gave the name of the *Bar*. Moreover, that they might have a fund for repairing this bar, from time to time, they imposed upon all the goods exported from this harbour, a tax, which was called the *barage*,

and continues to be paid to this day. The *Bridge-gate*, is so called, because of its situation, at the end of the street which leads to the suburbs of *Pollet*. It has a large tower, faced on the inside with cut stone, which, for some time past, has been employed as a powder-magazine. There are six public places at *Dieppe*, the largest whereof is called the *Place of arms*, and lies in the middle of the town, adjacent to the most publick street. Formerly they had no sweet water at *Dieppe*, but in the year 1732, the inhabitants obtained letters patent, authorising them to convey into their town proper supplies from the fountain belonging to the village of *St. Aubin*, which is about a league from *Dieppe*, on the side next *Rouen*. This design was executed in the year 1738, by means of pipes under ground, which afford water to 15 different public fountains, in several places and quarters of the town, and 68 fountains belonging to private families.

On the 14th and 15th of the month of *August* there is a solemn annual procession in the town of *Dieppe*, instituted by the Dauphin of *France*, the son of *Charles VII.* as a memorial of his having taken the town by assault in the year 1443. He also gave to the church of *St. James*, on the same occasion, a statue of the Blessed Virgin, made of silver, and five feet in height; but, by reason of the many wars and revolutions that have since happened in the town, no body now knows what is become of it.

*Dieppe*, from the castle to the wind-miln, which lies at the other extremity of the town, near the harbour, is defended by a stone wall, in which there are five gates, and without it a dry ditch, and a covered way, with a parapet. Upon it are erected four batteries, three of cannon, 36, 24, and 18 pounders; and the fourth, of two mortars, all intended for the security of the road. There are also two batteries, each of two mortars, near the castle, and a third upon

\* See Belidor's *Architecture Hydraulique*, tom. I. p. 346.

upon the eminence of *Pollet*, which are also designed for the security of the marine, and never armed but in time of war. Near the wind-milln, at the place called the *Tower of Crabs*, begins the quay built of stone, which forms the harbour, and reaches to the *Bridge-gate*. It lies along the outside of the town-wall, in which there are thirteen gates, that the citizens may have easy access to the harbour and quay. This wall was compleated in the year 1597. The *Bridge-gate*, as we have already observed, forms the communication with the suburbs of *Pollet*, and stands at the end of the quay. From this *gate* proceeds a high rampart, covered with a stone wall, along the side next the town of *Arques*, with a ditch at the foot of it, which is supplied with water from the sea every tide. This rampart being about 300 fathoms long, with a row of trees on each side, furnishes a very good publick walk. It reaches to the gate of *Bar* near the citadel, and the other end near the *Bridge-gate*, is defended by a cavalier. The bridge, which forms the communication betwixt *Dieppe* and *Pollet*, was first erected in the year 1511, rebuilt in 1722, and finished in 1724. It consists of seven arches, built of cut stone, is 47 fathoms long, and something more than three in breadth.

There are two parish-churches in *Dieppe*, that of *St. Remi*, which is the principal church of the town, and that of *St. James*, to which the harbour belongs. They are both very large, and attended by a numerous clergy. Besides the college belonging to the fathers of the Oratory, and a society of *Jesuits*, there are here three convents of Monks, viz. the *Carmelites*, *Minnims*, and *Capuchins*; and four of Nuns; viz. *Benedictines*, Nuns of *St. Augustin*, *Carmelites*, and *Ursulines*. There is also a general hospital, erected in the year 1668, for the poor belonging to the city and suburbs at *Dieppe*, under the direction of the Curates of the churches of *St. James* and *St. Remi*.

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A late *French* author \* reckons that the inhabitants of *Dieppe* and its suburbs amount to near 55,000; and, if this account is not greatly exaggerated, as it is more than probable it is, the town must have encreased prodigiously within these last forty years; for, another author of the same nation †, who seems to have wrote about the year 1720, or soon after, reckons them no more than 20,000. Be this as it will, the citizens of *Dieppe*, and what is generally called the suburbs of *Pollet*, are exempted from the *tailles* and salt-duty. This privilege was first granted by *Henry V.* of *England*, while he was in possession of *Normandy*; confirmed in 1589 by *Henry IV.* of *France*, whose example has been followed by subsequent Kings of that nation.

The revenue raised by the town amounts to 40,100 livres: the charges to be deducted from this sum come to 30,000 so that only 10,100 clear, come to the King's exchequer. The citizens of *Dieppe* guard themselves: their militia consists of twelve companies, of 120 men each, and one of grenadiers. They mount guard, and take their orders from the Commandant of the town. There is also an artillery company of 64 private men, besides officers, designed to serve the cannon of the citadel. They are exercised every *Sunday* in shooting at a mark; and on the first *Sunday* of *May* they shoot at the figure of a bird, cut out of a piece of wood, and set up at a proper distance. He that brings it down gains a prize of 150 livres, out of which he is obliged to pay 60, towards the prizes which are distributed to such as excel in shooting at the ordinary mark.

There are two annual fairs at *Dieppe*, held at the place called *la Vase*, because it is near the gate of the

\* *Piganiol de la Force*, dans la *Nouvelle Description de la France*, tom. IX. p. 205.

† *Dictionnaire Universelle de la France*, in vice *Dieppe*.



same name, which opens towards the harbour. One of these fairs is free, and lasts 15 days: it is held yearly, in the beginning of *December*; the other is also free, only it lasts but eight days, and is held in the month of *August*. We have already taken notice, that the inhabitants of *Dieppe* excel in working ivory and horn, and the women of that city in manufacturing lace; but its principal trade is carried on by sea. In time of peace the herring-fishing begins in the month of *August*, upon the coast of *England*, near *Yarmouth*, and the inhabitants of *Dieppe* generally send to it 60 large boats with salt and casks, which return home about the middle of *October*: then they begin a new fishing on the *French* coast from *Boulogne* to *Havre*. This they continue till *Christmas*; but the herrings are not near so good as what they catch on the coast of *England*: however, they commonly employ in it an hundred boats. Another fishing begins about *Lent*, near the coast of *England*, that of mackarel about the end of *April*, and is attended with considerable advantage. They fish for whittings and soles all the year round. The inhabitants of *Dieppe* have about eighty frigates, barks, brigantines, and doggars, with which they carry on a trade with the *American* islands, the *Levant*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Holland*, *England*, *Ireland*, *Petersburgh*, *Bremen*, and *Hamburgh*, *Calais*, *Rouen*, *Bordeaux*, and *Rochelle*.

About half a league from *Dieppe*, towards the east, upon an eminence near *Puis*, a village in the parish of *Braquemont*, there is a large place which they call the city of *Limes*, or *Cæsar's Camp*. This seems to have been the retrenchment of some great army, from the ditches that still appear about it. It is said, that *Lewis XIII.* when at *Dieppe*, in the year 1617, went to visit it, attended by the Princes of the blood, and several of his Ministers, who were all of opinion, that it had formerly been one of *Cæsar's* encampments, from the

similitude it bears to one which that conqueror describes in his Commentaries; especially as they knew that *Cæsar*, after having built the city of *Julia Bona*, now called *l'Isle Bonne*, in the *Pays de Caux*, passed the nine rivers of *Normandy*, and visited all the towns of that country, as far as *Eu*; whence they concluded, that having passed the river of *Dieppe* or *Arques*, he encamped his army in this place, as a post where it would be secure from the enterprizes of the inhabitants of the *Pays de Caux*, of whom he had some diffidence; and therefore secured his encampment with strong forts, and deep entrenchments, the remains whereof are still visible.

In the year 1589, *Henry IV.* having marched into *Normandy*, at the head of a small army, *Emar de Chates*, Governor of *Dieppe*, sent a Gentleman to assure him of his sincere attachment to his interest, and that he might dispose of the town of *Dieppe* as he thought proper. The King, not being perfectly acquainted with his character, was afraid he only meant a compliment, and could not be depended on; wherefore he thought proper to march directly to *Dieppe*, at the head of 400 horse, and oblige him to keep his promise. *Chates* perceiving the King's diffidence, was willing to give him evident proofs of his sincerity, and therefore marched out at the head of his garrison, and met him a great way from the town. The King, charmed with this generosity, gave him such a gracious reception as he deserved; nor was he less pleased with the citizens of *Dieppe*, who received him with so great cheerfulness, affection and zeal, that, he said, he never felt the pleasure of being King of *France* till that day. While he staid at *Dieppe*, the Governor of the town and castle of *Caen*, sent a Gentleman to assure him of his allegiance and zeal for his service: he had also accounts, that a part of his army which he had sent to besiege the town of *Neufchâtel*, had succeeded, and made themselves masters of it. These little successes so raised the spirits of the inhabitants

tants of *Dieppe*, that they pressed him to undertake the siege of *Rouen*, offering to defray the expence of his army for eight days. To this the King consented, not so much on account of their importunity, as from other motives of greater weight. But, after he had marched to that city, and posted his army about it, he understood the Duke *de Mayenne* was coming with his whole army to attack him. The King having received this intelligence, did not chuse to wait for him there, with an army so much inferior to his, but broke up his camp directly, and marched toward the town of *Eu*. *Henry*, in resolving to attack this place, seems not to have foreseen the dangerous consequences of such an enterprise, nor the evils to which he exposed himself thereby. He did not imagine that the Duke of *Mayenne* would have marched his whole army to the relief of *Rouen*, nor that, if he should be obliged to retreat, the Duke would venture to pass the river in pursuit of him, he was also persuaded, the enemy's army was much weaker, and not so ready to march as in truth it was; for in a few days it had been surprisingly increased by the arrival of troops from all quarters, so that, by this time, it amounted to more than 15,000 foot, and 4000 horse. The King was also surprised to find his enemy had passed the river *Seine* at *Vernon*, and that there was now no river between them; and therefore, as soon as he had intelligence of it, sent orders to the Dukes of *Longueville* and *Aumont*, to draw together all their troops, and join him with all possible expedition. Mean time he himself retired to *Dieppe*; where he undoubtedly run the hazard of being entirely routed, if the absence of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was gone into *Hainault*, to have an interview with the Duke of *Parma*, had not retarded the march of his army for some days. The Duke's design was, to shut up the King so closely in some corner of *Normandy*, that, to save himself, he should be obliged to abandon his army.

I

With this view, he made himself master of several small places round him, such as *Gournay*, *Neufchâtel*, *Eu*, and some other forts, by means whereof, he thought he had infallibly secured his purpose; insomuch that he wrote to his friends in *France*, and even to *Spain*, that he had the King of *Navarre* (*le Bearnais*) shut up in a place from which he could not escape, unless he jumped into the sea. But, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the latter found means to extricate himself by the famous battle of *Arques*, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak more particularly.

The Duke, after this battle, kept his army for two days close in their camp, the third, he set out about mid-night, in such hurry, that he left a great part of his wounded, and a part of his baggage, behind him: and having marched, and countermarched for two days more; as if he had been at a loss what course to take; on the third, he fetched a compass as far as he could, from the King's army, and encamped between *Arques* and *Dieppe*. The King, upon this, immediately led his army to the defence of the latter, lodged a part of his troops in the suburbs; and having entrenched a little eminence near that of *Pollet*, about 500 paces from the village where the Duke had posted himself, put therein some pieces of cannon, and a body of 800 foot. The Duke, in like manner, fortified all his lodgments, and finding that skirmishing had no other effect but to discourage his men, prohibited it altogether, so that it was not easy to distinguish the besieged from the besiegers. The second day, the Duke thinking the post of *Arques* would, by this time, be either quite abandoned, or at least ill provided, sent the Duke *d'Aumale* against it, at the head of two thousand men. The officer whom the King had left in the castle, with his regiment, could not prevent their entering into the town; but, *Danville* coming to his relief, he made

a vigo-



<sup>a</sup> vigorous sally upon them, in which he killed six and twenty of their number, and obliged the rest to take to their heels. That very day, the Duke erected some batteries against *Dieppe*, but at a great distance; because the artillery, which the King had planted on the eminence already mentioned, prevented his approaching nearer, and dismounted his cannon. Mean time, under the protection of the cannon which were now employed on both sides, the practice of skirmishing was renewed, but nothing memorable happened, except a stratagem the King employed, which had never before been practised by the *French*. He concealed two field-pieces with light carriages in the middle of a squadron of horse, who opening their ranks within fifty paces of the enemy, discharged upon them cartridges filled with musquet-balls, and pieces of iron, which greatly disordered the Duke's cavalry, and killed a number of his men and horses.

All the time the Duke remained before the town, after this, there were no attacks nor approaches made, nor so much as an alarm given. The tenth day of the siege, being informed that the *English* fleet had appeared at a distance; and that, on the other hand, the Dukes *de Longueville* and *Aumont* were advancing with reinforcements to the King, he quite despaired of succeeding in his design, and therefore raised the siege next morning; but, by marching and counter-marching as formerly, and removing no farther than three or four leagues from *Dieppe*, he gave ground to suspect that he intended to intercept the troops under the command of *Longueville* and *Aumont*. This apprehension obliged the King to put himself at the head of 800 horse,

and advance about half a league from his army to meet the succours, which joined him near *Soissons*. With this reinforcement he tried, by all means, to draw the Duke to an engagement. He also retook the town and castle of *Gamaches* on the river *Epte*, and the town of *Eu*, almost in the sight of the enemy. But the Duke, patiently submitting to these insults, passed the *Somme*, and marched his army into *Picardy*. On the other hand, the King not thinking it proper to venture a battle in that country, led his army back to *Dieppe*.

A manuscript account of *Dieppe* observes, that in the year 1645, there was in that town an old maid named *Ann Cauchie*, in the 150th year of her age; and that, at that time of life, her judgment and understanding were quite sound. She is said to have been the daughter of an old soldier, called *Peter Cauchie*, who died at the age of 180 years, and had a twin-brother who lived only till he arrived at that of 113.

*Lewis XIV.* being at *Dieppe*, to shew the regard he had for the inhabitants, on account of their signal loyalty to his ancestors, and particularly to his grandfather *Henry IV.* dismissed the regiment of guards which attended him, and committed himself to the care of the citizens.

The reader is desired to take notice, that the works and sluices marked with a capital A in the plan of *Dieppe* are improvements proposed some time ago, which have not, as yet, as far as we know, been put in execution.

About a league and a half, or near four *English* miles from *Dieppe*, stands the city of

## A R Q U E S,

THE only remarkable place in the *Pays de Caux*, founded in the eighth century. It was at first only a plain fort to keep the country in awe; and, by degrees, several houses being raised about it, became first a village, and sometime after a considerable town, but is now far short of its ancient splendor. Over one of the gates of the enclosure of the castle, there is a stone on which are cut three figures, the two first 7 and 4 are still very plain; the third, which is almost half-effaced, appears to be either a 5, a 7, or 9; whence it may be concluded, with some degree of probability, that it was built by one of the sons of *Charles Martel*, *Carloman*, or rather, *Pepin*, surnamed *le Bref*, about the year 745, 747, or 749. This castle, in after-times, was given as an appanage, together with the county of *Talou*, to *William* the son of *Richard II.* Duke of *Normandy*, by a third marriage; and, from it, that Prince had the title of Count of *Arques*, under which he is oftener mentioned in history, than under that of the Count of *Talou*. It was also this Prince, if we can give credit to the antient historian of the miracles of *St. Vulfran*, who built the castle of which we are speaking; but it is probable, he only repaired, and improved it with some new works. For there was a garrison in it according to *Flodoard*, in the year 744; from which it would seem to follow, that it was built at least in the minority of Duke *Richard I.* and consequently a good many  
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years before *William* Count of *Talou*. Though nothing now remains but the ruins of it, it appears that it was supported by very fine arches, cut, for the most part, out of a rock, about ten or twelve foot high, and wide enough to let five or six men pass in a rank. At the end of these arches, there is a thick and strong wall, and the water of the river is received into a large reservoir of stone, which is now of little use, but for watering the horses belonging to the garrison, when there is any in the town. It is highly probable, the town and castle had their name from these arches; so that *Adrian de Valois* is mistaken in his conjecture, that the town was originally called *Arcus*, from some triumphal arch erected near it; or a bridge built over the river\*. Its first name was *Asdans* or *Hafdans*, according to the most antient historians of *Normandy*, if the text of these authors has not been corrupted. But, not to insist upon criticisms of this kind, the town of *Arques*, which was formerly so considerable, has the appearance of a very poor, pitiful village, since that of *Dieppe* rose in its neighbourhood, flourished on its territory, and grew great at its expence. It retains, however, the honours and privileges of a city; but, about sixty years ago, its inhabitants were reduced to the number of 620; and it is not very probable that they have

\* Vales Notit. Gall. *Arce Caletorum*.



remarkably increased since. In the year 1589, notwithstanding it was then greatly short of its former splendor, it acquired reputation from the famous victory gained in its neighbourhood by Henry IV. of *France*, with a small handful of troops, over the numerous army of the League, under the command of the Duke *de Mayenne*.

We have taken notice, in the preceeding article, that Henry having been obliged to raise the siege of *Rouen* at the approach of the Duke *de Mayenne*, had retired towards *Dieppe*, where he was so surrounded and penned up by the army of the League, that his enemies thought it was impossible for him to escape from them. These accounts spreading through *France*, his friends every where were greatly alarmed; the officers of his army, even those of them who were Protestants, and hardened by difficulties and dangers, comparing their strength with that of the enemy, could not comprehend by what expedient they could extricate themselves, and were extremely apprehensive for the safety of the King, on which that of the whole kingdom depended, so that, in a council which was held on the 5th of *September*, the greatest part of the members concluded, that leaving his troops fortified in posts where they could be sheltered from the attacks of the enemy, and wait for the reinforcements they expected, he should secure his own person by embarking as soon as possible for *England* or *Rochelle*; because there was ground to apprehend, that if he did not, he would soon find himself invested by sea, as well as land; which might easily be effected by the vessels which the Duke of *Parma* had in readiness, in conjunction with the barks which came down from *Rouen*, in great numbers. This advice they supported with so many arguments, that they began to make impression on the King himself; when the Marishal *de Biron*, who had heard the whole reasoning with disdain, grieved to find that it had a greater effect than it

ought, addressed the King with such a tone of voice, as sufficiently shewed his indignation. "Do your friends, then, Sire, said he, advise you, in good earnest, to have recourse to the sea, as if the only means you had to save your kingdom were to abandon it. If you were not in *France*, you ought to force your way to it through all dangers, and all kinds of obstacles: now, that you are in it, you are advised to leave it! And your friends would have you to do, of your own accord, what the greatest efforts of your enemies can ever force you to. As matters are now situated, to leave *France*, even for four and twenty hours, is in effect, banishing yourself out of it for ever. It may be justly said, that your hopes must be resigned to the winds which fill the sails of the ship that carries you hence. You must never talk of a return; it will be as impossible, as to exchange death for life. After all, the danger is, by no means, so great as it is represented. Those who think to penn us up here, are either the same men who so meanly suffered us to shut them up in *Paris*, or such as are, by no means, better than they, and will do more hurt to one another, than they possibly can do to us. To conclude, Sire, we are in *France*, here we must be buried: a kingdom is at stake, we must carry it, or lose our lives in the pursuit. And even suppose there were no other means to save your sacred person, but flight, I know well, that you would chuse to die a thousand times, sword in hand, rather than preserve your life by such an inglorious expedient. Your Majesty will never suffer it to be said, that a younger son of the house of *Lorraine* made you turn your back, much less, that you were seen begging at the gate of any foreign Prince. No; no; Sire, there is no crown nor honour waiting for you on the other side of the sea: if you go to meet the succours from *England*, they will return back again, if you present yourself

" at

“ at the gates of *Rochelle*, in the character of one who has  
 “ escaped from danger, you will meet with nothing there  
 “ but reproaches and contempt. I cannot, for my own  
 “ part, believe, that you ought to trust the safety of your  
 “ person to the inconstancy of the waves, and the mercy of  
 “ a stranger, rather than to so many brave Gentlemen, and  
 “ old soldiers, who are willing to serve you instead of a ram-  
 “ part and buckler; and I am too much your Majesty’s ser-  
 “ vant to dissemble, that if you look for safety from any  
 “ other quarter, they will be obliged to look for theirs from  
 “ some other side than yours.” By such words as these the  
 Marshall stopt the mouths of those who proposed this advice.  
 And the King, whose courage always closed with the boldest  
 resolutions, and was soon determined on the most urgent  
 occasions, resolved to wait for the enemy in a post of great  
 advantage, situated as follows.

In the middle of the *Pays de Caux*, as you come down  
 from *Rouen*, on the side next *Neufchâtel*, towards that place  
 where the earth opens a kind of crooked bay of five or six  
 leagues in length, as it were, to receive the sea quietly into  
 its bosom, there is a long valley hedged in on each side by  
 two ridges of hills; which, taking their rise from the sea-  
 shore, advance almost two leagues into the country, open-  
 ing gradually during their progress. Both are covered with  
 woods, in several places, and interrupted by some vallies;  
 but that which is on the left hand as you come from the sea,  
 is steeper than the other, and thicker set with trees. Through  
 the middle of this valley runs the little river of *Arques*, called  
 also the *Betune*. The tide flows up this river almost two  
 leagues, by which means the valley is rendered so full of  
 morasses, that it is a difficult matter to walk in it, or to pass  
 from one of the ridges to the other, except by a narrow  
 passage, in which there are several bridges, as the river, at  
 that place, divides itself into a good many streams. In the

end of this valley, next the sea, stands the town of *Dieppe*,  
 between two rocks or eminencies, the feet whereof are washed  
 by the waves. Its situation is such, that it might easily be  
 made a place of very good defence; as it actually was se-  
 cured by very good out-works, considering the taste of these  
 times. On the right hand is the harbour in the mouth of  
 the river, capable of securing a great number of ships: on  
 the same side is a suburb called the *Pollet*, which commands  
 the harbour, and communicates with the town by the bridge  
 over the *Betune*. Opposite to this suburb is a square fort called  
 the *Castle*, two towers of which command the town, and  
 two the approaches from the country. There is also a fort  
 built upon the point of the *Pollet*; and some retrenchments  
 made to secure an eminence near the suburbs on the right  
 hand, whence every part of the town could be battered with  
 good success. The approaches to the place are moreover  
 very difficult, as it cannot be approached on the side next  
*Neufchâtel*, but by the ways along the two ridges already  
 mentioned, and by another, which leads to the foot of that  
 on the left hand, whence, by several turnings, you arrive at  
 the gate. About a league and a half from *Dieppe*, between  
 the two ridges, but nearest to that on the left, is an emi-  
 nence pretty steep on every side. On this stands the castle of  
*Arques*, belonging to the King which commands a large vil-  
 lage of the same name, built at the foot of the ridge often  
 mentioned, and near the high-way which leads along the ri-  
 ver to the town of *Dieppe*. The ridge on the right hand  
 ends in a large valley where you see, a handsome village,  
 called *Martinglise*, and an infirmary or hospital, built in for-  
 mer times for the relief of persons infected with leprous  
 disorders.

The King, judging this post very convenient for securing  
 his army, and defending the approaches of *Dieppe* from the  
 enemy, who must have had it in his power to distress him  
 greatly,



greatly, if he had shut himself up in the town, traced, with his own hand, by the advice of Marishal *Biron*, the outlines of an incampment inclosing a large space of ground, and joined the village and castle by a line of communication. Diligence being absolutely necessary, he himself was the first that put his hand to the pick-ax; and, after his example, all the soldiers and gentlemen laboured, as well as the pioneers, with so much zeal and spirit, that in three days the works were put into a good state of defence, and flanked with redoubts at the distance of sixty paces from one another. These works being compleated, he posted the *French* infantry with himself in the castle, the two regiments of *Swiss*, and one of *German* foot, with the Marishal *de Biron* in the borough, and his horse in the villages betwixt that and *Dieppe*; leaving at some places of his lines, openings of thirty or forty paces, for the conveniency of sallying out when there should be occasion. The enemy could not get at this post, but by two avenues, which were both exposed to the cannon of the castle, and moreover very convenient for his incampment, in regard that at the nearest ends of them there were two little vallies, where the King might place his cavalry under cover, and without hazarding any thing, greatly distress his enemies, if their infantry should advance in a body to force his entrenchments. The Duke *de Mayenne*, apprised of this disposition, did not march directly to him, as the partizans of the league boasted he would; but fetching a large compass, passed the river higher up, and posted himself over against the town of *Arques*. He might, from that post, have attacked the said town, and besides, marched to surprise the suburbs of *Pollet*, after which advantage he might easily have made himself master of the harbour and town of *Dieppe*. The King was sensible of these two inconveniencies, and, to provide against them, covered the town of *Arques* on that side, by a large entrenchment, put 300

men in the infirmary, and set fire to some villages which the enemies troops might have occupied. He posted also 900 men in the suburbs of *Pollet*, under the command of *Chastillon*, with orders to fortify it, which, by the good conduct of that officer, and the incredible activity of the inhabitants of *Dieppe*, was performed in very few days, though, before that time, the place was entirely open, on every side. On the 13th of *September*, the enemies made a lodgement upon the ridge, and after having waited there three days, without attempting any thing, marched the greatest part of their infantry, and some of their horse, to the suburbs of *Pollet*, having posted the rest of their troops at *Martinglise*. As soon as the King saw them march that way, he repaired thither himself, because there the danger appeared to be greatest; but, instead of shutting up his troops in that suburb, he placed them before it, so that the men covered the entrenchments, and not the entrenchments the men. In effect, the troops, animated by his own presence, not only kept their ground in skirmishing, but also repulsed the troops of the league, who, without giving any proof of valour or good conduct, retreated, and lodged four of their regiments in one of the villages which had been lately burnt. Those at *Martinglise* were yet more severely handled; the Marishal *de Biron* gave them so warm a reception, and the Grand Prior and *Danville*, by his order, charged them with such fury, that notwithstanding they thought themselves sure of carrying the lodgment at the infirmary, they were put intirely to the rout, and lost more than 100 of their men. The next day there was no engagement, and the day after would have passed in the same inactive manner, if the King's troops, who were in the suburb of *Pollet*, had not attacked the enemy in one of their lodgments, where they forced two or three of their barricades, and carried the quarter which was farthest advanced. The troops of the League

League discharged fifteen or twenty cannon-shot at the infirmary; but the King, having ordered three pieces of cannon to be drawn to a rising-ground, at the head of his entrenchment, and fired some rounds into the village of *Martinglife*, frightened them to such a pitch, that they abandoned it with great terror and precipitation.

For four days after the two armies were so quiet, that had not the Duke twice put his army in order of battle, as if he had intended to attack the infirmary, there would have been reason to say, they had agreed upon a cessation of arms. The Duke's inactivity on this occasion, did not proceed, as was generally thought, from any expectation he had of starving the King's army; because he had seen, when he attacked the suburbs of *Pollet*, the harbour full of barks loaded with provisions, which the towns of *Normandy* had sent to *Dieppe*, but from a misunderstanding among his officers, and the murmurs of his troops. The *Germans* and *Swiss* in his army refused to fight, if they were not first paid the bounty money, which had been promised them; and of all the Princes and Lords who commanded under him, there were not two that lived in good understanding together, or were not even ready to cut one another's throat; for, as they believed it absolutely certain, that the King must either fall into their hands, or abandon his troops and make his escape; and in this persuasion, were already disposing of the kingdom as their conquest; they looked upon one another with the same eye that a gang of robbers do when a rich merchant falls into their hands, every one forming designs upon the lives of his companions, that he may seize their shares of the spoil. The Marquis *du Pont*, who was the eldest of the family, and had come to *France* in hopes of being made King, thought it inconsistent with his dignity to yield to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and if he did submit to his reputation and great experience, imagined that he

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ought at least to have the precedence of all the rest: but his right of primogeniture not being supported with spirit, and other great qualities, which give a title to empire, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Duke and Chevalier *d'Aumale* treated him as a young man, and would have gladly deprived him of any share of an advantage wherein they did not desire to have many companions. The same jealousy animated them against one another. Add also to this, that the arrogance of the Chevalier *d'Aumale* was quite insupportable; and perhaps the Duke *de Mayenne* was contriving measures to disappoint them all of their pretensions, as soon as he should gain the victory, which, by the bye, he thought could not possibly escape him. Beside these jealousies, the common disgusts between different nations united in the same body, set the *Swiss* and *Germans* at variance with the *French*; and as, from want of authority universal confusion commonly takes its rise, little disputes, punctilios, and quarrels rose every moment between regiments, companies, and captains; so that the Duke *de Mayenne* having sufficient employment in composing these disputes, thought it not advisable to attempt any thing for some days.

But on the 29th of the month he resolved to make a vigorous effort to make himself master of the King's intrenchments. He could not get at them from *Martinglife*, without first gaining possession of the hospital. Now, from the beginning, the King did not think it of great consequence to dispute this post with obstinacy, and therefore had only drawn round it a small intrenchment: but the faint attacks of the army of the League, had given him ground to think he could keep it; in consequence of which persuasion, he drew between it and the enemy, a line of more than 2,000 paces in length. Fronting this hospital there are two plains, the one below a wood, on the top of a hill, the other on a lower ground, separated from the former by

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a hollow way, planted with a strong hedge on both sides. Behind the hospital there is also another plain, bounded by a hollow way, and beyond that a little spot of meadow ground. The Duke having given his troops their orders in the evening, they passed the river, without noise, a little before mid-night, and were ready to begin the attack at break of day. He thought, that by this means, he must carry the lodgment, before those who guarded it could know what they were about, or the King have the advice of its being attacked: but the latter, more upon his guard than the Duke imagined, had repaired to the place two hours before day-light, attended by Marshal *Biron*, and putting things in order, with wonderful diligence, had lodged 800 *Swiss* in the infirmary, lined the entrenchments with 500 *German* foot, two regiments of *Swiss*, and some *French* troops; and posted below the infirmary three companies of light horse, commanded by the Grand Prior, three companies belonging to the artillery, to support the former, and a little lower still two other companies. The Marshal de *Biron*, with two companies of artillery men, posted himself on the highest part of the entrenchment; and the King a little lower, with the bulk of the *French* nobility, not only to defend that post, but also that he might have a distinct view of every thing that passed. The attack was made with great spirit, and sustained with equal vigour. In one place, 400 of the Duke's horse, commanded by *John de Babou-Sagonne*, instead of charging the Royalists, were attacked themselves so vigorously by the Grand Prior, at the head of no more than 120 horse; that he drove them into a great body of troops, commanded by the Duke de *Aumale*; and during this rout, *Sagonne*, one of the bravest men of his party, being wounded in the thigh by a pistol-shot, discharged by the Grand Prior himself, fell off his horse, and had the misfortune to break his neck. The other compa-

nies belonging to the artillery, attacked with equal fury, and forced their way as far as the white standard of the League; but the Duke d'*Aumale* falling upon them with a large body of 600 horse, made them stop short, repulsed and broke them. Upon this the Duke of *Mayenne*, bringing up another body of 500 horse, they must have been soon surrounded by the enemy, if they had not been rescued by Colonel *Galaty's* Regiment of *Swiss*. *Darville*, who was at their head, had brought them out of the entrenchment, which was guarded by another Regiment of the same nation, and posted them so properly, that the King's horse could easily rally under the cover of their musquet-shot, whilst that of the League, distressed by some cannon which played upon them, and several files of musqueteers, that *Darville* had posted in the hedges, durst not venture to attack them.

This first attempt having succeeded so ill with the Duke de *Mayenne*, he consulted on horseback with his principal officers, during the action, and having acknowledged his mistakes, gave orders for making a second effort. To this end, he ordered *Francis d'Averton de Serillac*, Count de *Belin*, one of his Field Marshals, to take the regiments of *Germans*, commanded by *Colatte*, *Tremblecourt*, and *Chastaigneraye*, and fall upon the side of the entrenchment, the Duke d'*Aumale* to march a little to the left, and support the former with 12000 horse, the Duke de *Nemours* to draw to the right, and charge *Darville's Swiss* with his light horse, and he himself promised to follow with the rest of the army, to make themselves masters of the posts by plain strength, and oppress the Royalists by the vast superiority of their numbers. While the action was very hot on every side, *Colatte's Germans*, whether from a premeditated design, or sudden resolution, suggested by the immediate fear of danger, having got to the brink of the entrenchment, which appeared to them too strong to be forced, began to cry, *Vive le Roy*, and

and put their hats upon the points of their pikes, to make the Royalist believe they were willing to surrender. The *Germans* on the King's Side, trusting them too easily, received them with joy, and stretched out their hands to help them into their entrenchment. The *Marishal de Biron*, going to attack them, was stopped, by solemn protestations, that they were willing to desert the interest of the League and several of their officers having advanced to the place where the King had posted himself, kissed his hand, and begged him to order the *Marishal* to treat with them, as they were willing to engage in his service, without insisting upon any other terms, but that he would undertake for the money which was due to them by the League. Mean time the Duke *de Nemours* attacked *Danville's Swifs*, with so much fury, that they began to give way, which these *Germans* observing, immediately turned their arms against the *Germans* and *Swifs* belonging to the King, who guarded that entrenchment, obliged them to abandon it; and when *Biron* came to them to know the cause of this extraordinary behaviour, they beat him off his horse, and had almost killed him. On this occasion they made prisoners *Hercules de Roban Rochefort*, the Duke of *Montbazon's* brother, and *James de Beauval du Rivau*. By this means, the partizans of the League being masters of the first entrenchment, attacked, with great vigour, the second, which they carried almost by assault, and after it the infirmary. The King's *Swifs* and *Germans* were seized with so great a panic, that they talked of surrendering; and the King himself was very near surprized with a stroke so sudden and unexpected. In one word, if the Duke *de Mayenne* had come up a quarter of an hour sooner, he had gained that day a compleat victory; but, as he marched too slow, he let it escape out of his hands. The King, redoubling his courage, and his prudence, on sight of a danger so imminent, ran through all

the posts, and stopped those that were flying, by his presence, and encouraging expressions, till *Chastillon*, marching in the greatest haste from *Arques*, with two regiments, posted himself at his side. Upon his arrival, the *Swifs* and *Germans* resumed their courage; the battle was renewed a-fresh, and the King charged the regiment of *Tremblecourt* with such resolution, that he disengaged the *Marishal de Biron*, and made the Count *de Belin*, and *Lewis de Beauval Tremblecourt* prisoners. The Duke of *Montpensier* coming up at the same time with his troop, and *la Noue* with fifty horse, which he had rallied, the Royalists gained first the second line, and the infirmary, and then made themselves masters of the grand entrenchment. The partizans of the League being dispossessed of the advantages they had formerly gained, began their retreat in the sight of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who, not daring to venture a third attack, and seeing the sun ready to set, led them back to their former camp. During their march, they were harrassed by the King's cannon, which he had caused to be brought from *Arques* during the heat of the battle. This is a full account of what passed in this engagement, which was begun at the rising of the sun, and continued with various success to his setting. The King certainly had the advantage in it, because he stood his ground, and maintained the post which was the subject of the dispute. He lost, on his side, 200 soldiers, and 10 or 12 gentlemen, of whom the most considerable were *Josias de la Rouchefoucaut*, Count *de Rouffi*, and *Charles Martel Baquerville*, who died a little after of his wounds. The partisans of the League lost near 600 men, and in that number many officers and persons of distinction; particularly, *Sagonne*, *James d'Agut André*, brother to the Count *de Sault*, and *Duilly*, a Cornet in the Marquis *du Pont's* regiment of the *Gens d'Armes*; but this loss was inconsiderable, in respect of what they suffered in their reputation; as the first steps they took, on this occasion,

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gave evident proofs of weakness and bad conduct, which inspired the Royalists with a contempt of them, and so great a confidence in themselves, that from that day forth they never scrupled to meet them in the field, or even to go and attack them with great inequality of numbers. The Duke of *Mayenne's* conduct was particularly censured, because he had let the

victory escape out of his hands by mere indolence, and given the King reason to say, "That if he conducted his affairs in this manner, he was sure he could always beat him in the field."

About seven leagues to the westward of *Arques* stands the sea-port of

## ST. V A L E R Y E N C A U X,

**I**N *Latin*, *Sanctus Valarius in Planis*, probably so called on account of its Situation, in a large plain, and to distinguish it from *St. Valery* in *Picardy*. It is situated in the latitude of 49 degrees, 52 minutes north, and 45 minutes to the east of the meridian of *London*, being six leagues distant from *Dieppe*, twelve from *Rouen*, and fourteen from *Havre de Grace*. It stands on the side of the *English* channel, in a deep valley, which the sea overflows in the time of high water. At the end of this valley, next the sea, is the small harbour belonging to the place, inclosed on the land-side by quays, and a batterdeau, in which there are four sluices with turning gates, to stop the water in the time of high tide, and let it loose again at low water to clear the harbour. The valley already mentioned, which forms the reservoir for this purpose, is every where five foot deep, but it is daily filled up, more and more, by the mud which the rain-water brings from the neighbouring places,

while the sluices are shut to keep in the water, for clearing the entry of the harbour, which is apt to be choaked up with stones and gravel, every strong west and north-west wind that blows. But some years ago they have constructed a stone jetty, 16 fathoms long, which, in some measure, prevents this evil, and keeps the harbour from being filled up so oft as it used to be in former times. The entry into this harbour lies north and south, and is bounded by a piece of a quay, of no great strength, and a short jetty on the east side, the end whereof is covered and supported by a frame of wood. On the west side it has a row of pallisades parallel to the jetty, without which the harbour would be entirely filled up. The mouth of the harbour is defended by a small tower of brick, in the walls whereof are loop-holes, to flank an old wall six foot thick, which was drawn quite cross the valley, along the sea-side; but this wall is now in ruins, as are also the three gates that were.

were formerly in it. On the other side of the harbour are the ruins of another small tower opposite to the first, to which the chain for shutting up the harbour, was wont to be fixed.

At the time of new and full-moons, the tide rises in the harbour of *St. Valery* from 16 to 18 feet, *French* measure; and it might still be made four or five feet deeper. It is the only harbour between *Havré de Grace* and *Dieppe*, that can receive middle-sized vessels, whereof it may contain 30 at a time, and of those five or six will always be afloat, in a corner of it where there is four and twenty foot of water in the time of ground-ebb. The road is quite open to all winds; but about half a cannon-shot from land there is good anchoring.

Here there is but one parish-church, which is about a quarter of a league from the town; three chapels, a convent of penitent Monks, and an hospital for the poor; this last was founded in 1690, by one *Nicholas Vasse*, a merchant and inhabitant of the place, who made a donation of two houses, the one of 400, and the other of 26 livres of yearly rent out of his estate, for the relief and entertainment of the diseased poor belonging to the place, or of such as shall have lived ten years in it; and also for the maintenance of a Chaplain, to say mass on *Sundays* and holidays, in a chapel within the hospital, reserving to himself and his descendants the right of presenting this Chaplain, with consent of the Abbe of *Fescamp*, as superior, or of his Vicar, or the Curate of the Parish. This donation was made in favour of a society established in the town, under the name of *the Ladies of Charity*. It consists of twelve of the wives of the principal citizens, who daily visit the sick, provide them with what they want, and are at the charge of burying the dead belonging to the hospital; but they are carried to the grave by another society, called *the fraternity of the Holy Ghost*,  
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consisting of twelve of the principal citizens, who furnish the linen necessary for burying the poor, and the bodies of such as are thrown out by the sea.

When this hospital was founded, there were but six beds in it, which were far from being sufficient for the poor of the place. Upon this the *Ladies of Charity* resolved, with the consent of their superiors, to lett the hospital to tenants for the use of the charity; and since that time, these ladies go to the houses of the poor, and distribute provisions to the sick and distressed families that are ashamed to beg. By this means, the poor of the place are more comfortably supported than if the hospital subsisted. The revenue of it, together with the daily collections which the Ladies make in the town, and the alms given by the sailors, is a sufficient relief for the poor. Mass is regularly said in the little chapel, according to the intention of the founder. The office of Mayor of the town was established by an edict in the month of *August*, 1692, and suppressed in 1715. Since that time they have only two Aldermen chosen at the end of every three years by the corporation. The families in the town are computed to be 800, and the communicants between 4 and 5000.

The inhabitants have a proportion of salt duty-free; that is, every family has five bushels of salt distributed them yearly by the salt-officers, in consequence of the privilege granted them by *Henry II.* of *France*, and pay in lieu of the salt-duty eighteen livres and fifteen sols, according to the letters patent of the month of *February*, 1550, confirmed by *Henry IV.* in 1602, *Lewis XIII.* 1636, and *Lewis XIV.* in 1651. The merchants of *St. Valery* have also, by the same letters patent, the liberty of taking what salt they want for their cod, herring, mackarel, and other fish, free of all duty. They used to bring it generally from *Rochelle* or *Brouage*; but, for some time past, the farmers of the salt-duty  
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duty have agreed to furnish them at ninety livres the bushel in time of peace, and two hundred in time of war. When these privileges were granted to the inhabitants by *Henry II.* they obliged themselves to repair, not only the quays of the harbour, but also to build a stone bridge, and the sluice already mentioned. These expences, together with the poverty of the place, which *Henry* himself had witnessed, when he was at *St. Valery*, in his progress through *Normandy*, and the intercession of the Cardinal *de Lorrain*, then Abbe of *Fescamp*, and Lord of *St. Valery*, prevailed with that Prince to grant the inhabitants the privileges just now mentioned. Justice is distributed in the name of the Abbé of *Fescamp*, by a bailiff, a Lieutenant, an Advocate, and Procurator-Fiscal. The Abbe of *Fescamp* was formerly in possession of the harbour of *Valery en Caux*, by a donation made to his abbey, by a charter of *Richard II.* Duke of *Normandy*, and his successors continued to enjoy it to the year 1685, when *M. de Neubourg*, a German Prince, and at that time Abbe of *Fescamp*, having gone into a foreign country, the King seized at once the harbour of *St. Valery* and that of *Fescamp*.

There is no river at *St. Valery en Caux*, nor any fountains. The inhabitants are supplied from draw-wells; but the water is very bad, because it has a saltish taste. The Monks of the third order of *St. Francis* have the best, because their convent stands upon a high ground. It is pretended, however, that there was formerly a river there; that the source of it was near the church, and it would be no difficult matter to recover it, as the inhabitants easily find springs of water, if they dig but the depth of two or three feet into the ground. The inhabitants of *St. Valery* go two or

three hundred paces out of the town, to wash their linen, at a place lying under the high shore on the east side, where there are two fountains issuing out of the rock. The water is very fresh, in the time of ground-ebb, but it is overflowed every tide.

Hitherto we have taken no notice of the origin and antiquity of *St. Valery*; and the truth is, this matter is so wrapt up in darkness and obscurity, that history warrants us to advance very little on the subject. Some imagine it was founded in the seventh century, but without any good authority to support their conjectures. They think, however, the obscurity we have mentioned is a proof of its being of old standing, and therefore place its origin so far back; to account for its name, they say that some of the disciples of *St. Valery*, being obliged to leave their monastery in *Picardy* about the beginning of that century, settled in this corner of the *Pays de Caux*, and built an oratory, to which they gave the name of their founder. That this gave birth to a small village, which having in time grown considerable, likewise assumed the title of *St. Valery*, with the addition of *en Caux*, to distinguish it from *St. Valery en Somme*, in the province of *Picardy*. Others say, it had not that title till the year 1197, when *Richard I.* King of *England* and Duke of *Normandy*, having destroyed the town and monastery of *St. Valery en Somme*, carried the relicts of the Saint to *Normandy*, and deposited them in this place. Be this as it will, we intend not to stay to determine the merits of this cause, or enquire which of these conjectures are best founded.

About six leagues from *St. Valery en Caux*, and on the coast of the *English* channel, we meet with the town of

## F E S C A M P,

IN *Latin Fiscannum, Fescannus, Fiscannum*, a small town in the *Pays de Caux*, in the latitude of 49 degrees, 45 minutes north, and longitude of 27 minutes to the eastward of the meridian of *London*, being twelve leagues distant from *Dieppe*, fourteen from *Rouen*, and eight from *Havre de Grace*. It stands on the side of a small river of the same name, the mouth whereof forms an harbour little frequented, and of a very inconsiderable trade. *Henry II.* of *England* made a present of this harbour to the celebrated abbey of *Fescamp*, but since the year 1560, it has been in possession of the *French King*. The town, which was formerly more considerable than at present, appears to have been the principal place of the government of *Caux*, under the first and second race of the *Kings of France*. The *Earls of Caux* had a castle in it, and made it the ordinary place of their residence. *William*, surnamed *Long Sword*, Duke of *Normandy*, rebuilt this castle with great magnificence; he took pleasure in the place, and not only he, but also his immediate successors, past a great part of their time in it; however, that palace is now no more; the place where it stood is shut up within the walls of the abbey, and no part of it remains but one square tower, to which the Monks give the name of *Babylon*, possibly because it was built too high, or never finished, or for some other reason now unknown. The inhabitants having espoused the interests of the League, in opposition to *Henry IV.* built a for-

treffs under the name of *Fort Baudouin*, which was demolished in the year 1595.

The market-place of *Fescamp* is one of the neatest of the whole province. It is about 51 fathoms long, and almost 45 in breadth. It has only two gates, one towards the sea, and the other on the side next the abbey. The security which traders find here, engages them to come to it from all quarters; because, as soon as any roguery is perceived, the gates are shut, and the persons who are employed to gather the taxes due to the Abbé, easily find out the cheat or thief, who can by no means make his escape, or conceal himself. There are ten parishes in the town, and all of them good livings; one convent of *Capuchins*, another of the Nuns called *Annonciades*, an hospital, two priories, and a chapel. The *Capuchins* were established there in 1621, by *Henry of Lorraine*, at that time Abbé of *Fescamp*. The *Annonciades*, of the order of *St. Jeanne of France* in 1648. This society consisted originally of twelve Nuns, but now they are increased to thirty. The hospital is almost as old as the abbey of *Fescamp*. There are only two wards in it, one for men and another for women, and six beds in each. There is also a Chaplain, who says mass every day, and the administration of the hospital is committed to one of the Curates of the town, a gentleman, and a merchant, who are annually elected. The two priories are that of *Notredame du Baudouin*, and that of *Sepulchre*. The chapel, which



which is dedicated to *St. Martin*, was formerly an infirmary; and the hospital of *Havre de Grace* is now in actual possession of the revenue which belonged to it.

The town of *Fescamp* is governed by a subdelegate of the intendant of *Rouen*, and two aldermen, who are elected by the corporation every three years. The town contains about 1300 standing houses, besides 4 or 500 now in ruins; and the inhabitants, including every age and sex, don't exceed 6000. However they have the privilege of salt duty-free, at least every family has a right to two bushels of salt, which is delivered to them by the salt-officers of the place, upon the payment of 37 livres and ten sols yearly, in place of all the duties on salt imposed by law. This privilege was granted to the inhabitants of *Fescamp*, in the year 1550, by *Henry II. of France*, at the intercession of Cardinal *Lorrain* then Abbé of *Fescamp* upon condition, that the said inhabitants should contribute half the money that should be found necessary for building a jetty and repairing the harbour. They have also the privilege of being indulged with all the salt necessary for their herring, mackarel, cod, and other fish, in common with the towns in the same neighbourhood; but the farmers of the revenue have agreed with them, some time ago, to furnish salt for their fish at 90 livres the bushel, in time of peace, and 210 in time of war. The King's tax of the town of *Fescamp* amounts yearly to 12,000 livres.

The valley in which the town stands is overflowed by the sea every tide, and thereby serves for a reservoir of water for clearing their harbour. It is about 218 fathoms in breadth, 853 in length, and quite dry at low water. The air of the place would, notwithstanding this situation, be wholesome, were it not for the rivers of *Valmont* and *Ganseville*, which unite about half a league from the town, and take their course through this valley into the sea. The harbour,

which is situated at the entry of this valley, is of a square form, bounded on the sides next the land by high caufeways, and some pieces of a quay. There are two batardeaux to confine the waters in the reservoir, in each of which there is a sluice with four turning gates, and over each of these sluices a bridge; that on the east side is of wood, the other towards the west of stone. The water in the reservoir rises about 7 foot and an half throughout its whole extent, and serves to clear entrance into the harbour, which is greatly choaked up by banks of gravel and sand formed by the tide, in the time of strong west, and north-west winds, an inconvenience thought to be principally owing to the want of a jetty on the west side. Vessels find easy access into the harbour, except when it blows fresh from the west, or south-west. The mouth of it lies almost north-west and south-east, along a quay of no great strength, and a piece of a stone jetty towards the east; the end of which they are obliged to secure by a case of wood-work; but there is no jetty to stop the gravel on the west side. It is defended by two old batteries of cannon, and a large round tower. The battery on the east side is called *Cafagnet*, and armed with seven pieces of cannon; that on the west, called *Batifou*, is nearly on a level with the water, faced with a stone wall, the foot whereof is washed by the tide, and has nine pieces of artillery. The tower stands between the battery of *Batifou* and the mouth of the harbour, for the more effectual defence of the latter, as that battery is at some distance.

Engineers have thought, that, to improve the harbour of *Fescamp*, and make it more useful, it would be proper to lengthen the high stone jetty toward the east, and carry it as far as the low water mark; and also to build another jetty of cut stone on the west side, which might be easily done, as the country produces the materials at a small distance from the place. This second jetty, it has been said, would effectually stop the gravel,

vel, which, notwithstanding the force of the two sluices already mentioned, continued, for a long time, to fill up the mouth of the harbour. It has been also proposed to carry the quay, adjoining to the sluice on the east side, quite up to the stone jetty already built, and to make a third sluice about the middle of the causeway, which forms the reservoir of water. But a few years ago, Mr. *Cloutier*, principal engineer at *Fescamp*, has effectually recovered the harbour, removed the bank of stones and gravel, which had been long settled at the mouth of it, and pointed out the means of dispersing such heaps of rubbish, as are often brought to it by the violence of winds and tides; merely by taking advantage of the abundant supplies of water, furnished by a large reservoir, fed by a considerable river, which flows into it, and a dexterous application of the sluices \*. So that it is now one of the best harbours on that coast; whereas it was formerly a nuisance and discouragement to the few merchants that resorted to it. It has besides this advantage above the harbours in the neighbourhood, that the vessels in it are in great security.

The great road lies over against *Criqueboeuf*, at the distance of three quarters of a league. Ships are there covered from all winds, from the south-east to the south-west point of the compass. The bottom is clay, red earth, or potters earth mixed with sand; which secure the anchors so, that they cannot drive. The water is 24 fathoms deep, at high tide, and 16 at low water. The little road, opposite to *Batifou* battery, has ten fathom water in time of high tide, and never less than seven or eight; but it is exposed to the winds on the south, south-west, and east.

There are two fairs at *Fescamp*, one called the Yearly Fair, held on the first *Saturday* of *January*, the other Trinity Fair, because held the *Saturday* immediately preceding the

\* See the next article, and Mr. Belidor's *Architecture Hydraulique*, tom. I. p. 388.

*Sunday* of that name. There is also at *Fescamp*, at the foot of the high shore on the east side, a fountain of excellent water; and a mineral well in the parish of *Coutnemoulin*, about a league from the town, the inhabitants whereof, when they are afflicted with distempers, drink it by the prescription of the physicians.

What has been said may suffice for an account of the town and harbour of *Fescamp*; we must now take some notice of the abbey of that name, which gave rise to the town, and is one of the richest, and most considerable of all *France*. It was originally a convent of Nuns, founded in the year 666, by *St. Waning*, proprietor of *Fescamp*, who lived at the same time with *St. Ouen*. *William Longsword* Duke of *Normandy*, who succeeded *Rollo*, having afterwards built a castle at *Fescamp*, thought proper to transport the Nuns to *Montivilliers*, and substituted regular canons in their place. Duke *Robert*, brother and successor to *Richard III.* augmented the revenues of the abbey, and invited to it Monks of *St. Benedict* of *Dijon*, on whom he conferred very high privileges. But before this, *Richard I.* had got the abbey-church consecrated in the year 990, in the presence of fifteen Bishops of *Normandy*, and the neighbouring provinces. On the day of its dedication, he annexed to it considerable temporalities, particularly twelve parishes, together with the right of patronage and presentation. *Richard II.* not only confirmed the donations made by his father, but also augmented them, and got the twelve parishes already mentioned exempted from the jurisdiction of the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, and all other ordinaries both spiritual and temporal. In order to this, *Robert*, Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, and the six Bishops of the province, who are his suffragans, assembled by this Prince's order, and signed a charter, by which they declared the abbey of *Fescamp*, together with the twelve parishes annexed to it, entirely exempted from their jurisdiction: the



Duke, who had procured this exemption, not only confirmed it himself, but also applied to *Robert King of France*, his superior, who, upon sight of the charter signed by the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, and his suffragans, and that of *Richard II.* confirming the former, granted letters patent in the year 1006, ratifying and confirming the privileges and donations already made to that abbey, or that should be conferred upon it in time to come. Pope *Benedict VIII.* confirmed these deeds of the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, the Dukes of *Normandy*, and the King of *France*, by his pontifical power, and declared it as free and independant of Episcopal authority as the abbey of *Cluny*. This exemption and spiritual jurisdiction, instead of being impaired in after-times, have been greatly enlarged; for at present its jurisdiction is extended to thirty-six parishes, eleven priories, and fourteen chapels: over all which it has a kind of Episcopal jurisdiction, together with a revenue of 100000 livres.

The Monks of this abbey are obliged to give alms every day to all the poor that apply to them, except in the month of *August*. This alms consists of half a pound of bread to each person; and on account of it, vast numbers of poor, from the neighbouring parishes, are seen to resort to *Fescamp*, so that, when the price of corn is high, 12 or 1500 of them make application to the Monks of that abbey every day, which greatly affects their revenues. They are also obliged to lodge all the strangers that apply to them. Before we dismiss the abbey of *Fescamp*, it will be proper to take some notice of one of the relicts said to be preserved in that monastery, which sufficiently shews the amazing credulity of the people, and the monstrous impositions of the priests. This is the *Preieux Sang*, which, they pretend, is a little earth stained with the blood that dropt from the wounds of our Saviour in the time of his passion. This relict is contained in two tubes of lead, of about an inch diameter, cased in

silver, laid in the bottom of a vermillion box, and this last inclosed in a valuable case done up in the form of a pyramid, said to have been presented by the *Abbé Babier*. For the greater security of this precious depositum, they have made an apartment for it in the sanctuary, against one of the pillars, hedged in with little pallisades of brass, where it is exposed to be worshipped by the people. If the reader desires to know how this venerable piece of earth was conveyed to *Fescamp*, he must be acquainted, that *Nicodemus*, when he buried the Saviour of the world, took care to preserve the blood which dropped from his wounds in a vial, which he left as a legacy to his nephew *Isaac*. *Isaac* having travelled into *France*, happened to pass through the *Pays du Caux*, where, we know not for what reason, he thought proper to bury this valuable treasure at the foot of a fig-tree. It is no great difficulty to guess why he chose a fig-tree rather than an oak or an elm; for the fig-tree being in *Latin ficus*, the field where it stood must be, in that language, called *fici campus*, whence naturally comes *Fiscampus*, and from this again *Fescamp*. If one finds any difficulty in believing a story of this nature, he will certainly be confounded, tho' perhaps not cured of his infidelity, by a great many, if possible, more surprising stories which are firmly believed with regard to *Fescamp*, particularly he will be informed of the white hart, which pointed out to the Duke of *Angise* the place where the church of that town was to be built; of the roof which came by sea from the diocese of *Coutances*, to place itself upon the walls of the same church when ready-built; and of the knife which an angel laid upon the altar, inscribed with the words *in nomine Sanctæ & individuae Trinitatis*, to shew that the church should be dedicated to the sacred Trinity; together with a great many other stories equally worthy of credit. This valuable relict, it is pretended, was deposited in the abbey of *Fescamp*, by Duke *Richard I.* but after some time it was lost,

lost, and no body knew what was become of it till the 19th of *July*, 1171, when it was found inclosed in a stone pillar, concealed in the wall of *St. Saviour's* church, near the altar, to the great joy of all true *Roman Catholics*. It must be owned, after all, that what we have offered did not entirely satisfy the critics; therefore, to silence them, and entirely stop the mouths of unbelievers, a decision of the faculty of theology at *Paris* was obtained on the 28th of *May*, 1448, in confirmation of the truth of this history, and approving of the guard paid to the valuable relict \*. It is true, these reverend doctors chuse to express themselves with their ordinary caution, and in an obscure unintelligible manner, more suited

to the design of the conductors of the antient oracles of the heathen, than to the open plainness and simplicity of the christian teachers; but it had the effect they intended, the people understood it as an approbation of the worship they paid to this piece of dead earth, and yet the doctors did not think themselves obliged to answer for the absurdities attending such an unaccountable worship, or the ridiculous legendary story upon which it is founded.

After leaving *Fescamp* we meet with no harbour, nor any town, or even village of consequence, till having travelled eight leagues, we arrive at the mouth of the *Seine*, and the celebrated sea-port of

## H A V R E D E G R A C E,

IN *Latin Franciscopoli Portus Gratiae*, situated in the *Pays de Caux*, about eighteen leagues from *Rouen*, and as much from *Dieppe*, on the point of a large valley, at the mouth of the river *Seine*, in the latitude of 49 degrees 30 minutes north, and 10 minutes to the eastward of the meridian of *London*. It stands upon a plain spot of ground, full of morasses, and crossed by a great number of creeks, and ditches full of water, which contribute not a little to its security. This ground was originally gained out of the sea, and formed from the large quantities of sand, gravel, and mud, which the force of the tide, and the river, conveyed to that place, in a long course of time, and by insensible degrees. And as it was first formed, so it seems to be daily increased by the

same means: for we are assured by a late author \*, that about 70 or 80 years ago, the sea, at high water, came very near that gate of the city which is next the harbour; whereas now the high water mark is more than 106 fathoms distant from it. So that it appears, the sea has gradually given way, and, as it were, retired to leave the earth at liberty to enlarge and extend itself. Nor ought we to be surprised at this, the ground on which the city of *Tyre* is built, tho' now united to the continent, being formerly part of an island. *Venice* would have had the same fate long ago, had it not been for the great pains the inhabitants have taken to prevent it: the sea formerly washed the walls of *Ravenna*, which is now a league distant from it; nor are other instances of this kind wanting, even in the

\* D'Argentré's *Collect. Judicor. de novis Errorib.* tom. I. p. 250. Non repugnat pietati fidelium credere, quod aliquid de sanguine Christi effuso tempore passionis, remanserit in terris.

\* Piganiol de la Force, *Nouvelle Description de la France*, tom. IX. p. 593.



same kingdom of *France*, particularly *Frejus* and *Narbonne*, not long ago, were on the shore of the Mediterranean; but now the one is a league, and the other almost two, distant from it \*.

In the year 1509, the place where *Havre* now stands, was only a village inhabited by fishermen, with a harbour capable of receiving fisher-boats, and a little chapel thatched with straw, called *Notredame de Grace*. But after the battle of *Marignan*, which happened in the year 1515, *Francis I.* intending to build a sea-port on the coast of *Normandy*, found no place more proper for his purpose than this, not only on account of its situation at the mouth of the *Seine*, where it might serve for a rampart against the *English*, and other northern nations, who had often made descents on that part of the province; but also greatly promote foreign trade, and be made a temporary magazine for all sorts of merchandise to be dispersed, as occasion should require, through the other parts of the kingdom.

*M. de Chillon*, Vice-Admiral of *France*, laid the first stone of the town in the year 1516, by order of his King *Francis I.* who gave it the name of *Francoise*, *Francoise de Grace*, and *Havre de Grace*, partly from his own name, and partly from the antient chapel already mentioned, called *Notredame de Grace*. He also gave it the privileges and exemptions which it enjoys to this day. The same *M. de Chillon* was also the first governor of the town of *Havre*, and purchased from the inhabitants of the village of *Ingouville*, their commons, upon which he built the fortifications of the place, the jetties, which form the entrance of the harbour, and the other out-works. These commons he himself possessed as fiefs, till the year 1524, when *M. de Vendome*, *Vidame* of *Chartres*, by order of the Parliament of *Rouen*, took possession of it, as su-

perior of the Marquisate of *Graville*, and to him the inhabitants paid one sol of rent, for every square-foot of the ground upon which their houses stood; but in the year 1551, *Francis I.* suppressed these rights of superiority, and freed the inhabitants of *Havre* from any kind of dependence upon the Marquisate of *Graville*.

The town of *Havre de Grace* is fortified by four bastions, viz. the bastions of *St. Andre*, *St. Adresse*, *La Musique*, the *Capuchins*; and five half-moons. Towards the east it is commanded by the citadel, and bounded on the west side by the quays built along the harbour. The bastion of *St. Andre* lies towards the sea, and commands the entry of the harbour, and the little road. It is, in effect, but half a bastion, having only one flank, and one orillon. It was built in the year 1587, when *M. de Villars* was governor of the town. That of *St. Adresse* commands on one side the little road, and a morass near the sea; on the other side the bridge, and the gate of *Ingouville*. There are in it two little magazines, and a guard-house. It was formerly called the bulwark of *St. Croix*. The bastion of *la Musique*, formerly called the bastion of the hospital, commands the entry of the gate of *Ingouville*, the causey, and the great morass. There is in it a terrace walk, planted with elm-trees, on which a centinel stands, and the cavalier is armed with several small pieces of cannon. This bastion is irregular, and one of the most antient works belonging to the town, as it was built in the time of *Francis I.* The *Capuchin* bastion flanks the great morass and the citadel, and was also built in the time of *Francis I.* Its plat-form is planted with elms, and there is also a guard-room in it. The ramparts of the town, which are continued from the bastion of *St. Adresse* to that of the *Capuchins*, are planted with a double row of elms. The citadel stands on the east side of the town, and was built in the year 1628, by order of Cardinal *Richlieu*. It is a regular

\* Description de la Haute Normandie, tom. I. p. 193.

gular square, consisting of four bastions and three half moons, with a ditch and advanced ditch quite round it; it commands the town and part of the shore which lies on the east side of the *Seine*. It has two gates, one towards the town called the *Royal Gate*, and the other towards the country named *Porte Dauphine*. The front of the Royal Gate is a piece of fine architecture, ornamented with four pillars. Over it are the arms of *France*, and those of cardinal *Richelieu*. The whole edifice is built of cut stone, as well as the arches; the latter are very beautiful, and of a good height. Under the arches are three large gates, that open and shut. Before the first of these is a gate of wood hung up in the arch, formed of large cross bars, with square interstices, and having the lower ends of the upright bars pointed with iron, which they call a herse, or orgue, to shut up the entrance of the citadel in case of a siege. *Porte Dauphine* has before it an orgue of the same kind, but nothing else about it is remarkable. Under each of the gates are two large places, which serve as guard rooms.

The parade, or place of arms, is very large, of a square form, and planted with two rows of elm-trees. On the right, as you enter, stands the Governor's house; and on the left, the magazine of arms and provisions. The two other sides consist of double rows of regular barracks, for the accommodation of the officers and soldiers of the garrison, and may lodge two battalions. On the left side of the Governor's house, are the prisons, where state criminals are confined; they are called the prisons of the princes, because in the minority of *Lewis XIV.* the Prince of *Condé*, the Prince of *Conti* his brother, and the Duke of *Longueville* their brother-in-law, were confined in them. The chapel is also on the right hand, attended by two capuchins belonging to the convent in the town, who have each a yearly salary of 200 livres from the crown. No body is buried in this chapel  
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but the Commandants of the place; for the other officers and soldiers are interred in the burying-place belonging to the church of *St. Francis*. At the two extremities of the citadel are two beautiful fountains, having only one orifice, each of which throw water into basons of cut stone finely ornamented; and in the *Souterain* belonging to the place, there is on the east side a cistern, composed of three vaults, full of water, for the use of the garrison, when the fountains do not run. The ramparts of this citadel are of a considerable height. Over them are two rows of elms, which cover the barracks, and render the place very pleasant. The ditches of the citadel, as well as those of the town, are filled with sea water by means of sluices, when there is occasion.

The town of *Havre* is divided into two parts; the greatest of which, towards the west, is called the division of *Notre-dame*; and the other, towards the east, that of *St. Francis*. They are separated from one another by a part of the harbour, the bason, and the arsenal for the marine. The turning bridge forms the entrance into the bason, and a communication between the two parts of the town. The division of *Notre-dame* is an irregular square, that of *St. Francis* a trapezium, and the two together, form a kind of irregular pentagon. The town has two gates, both in the quarter of *Notre-dame*. The greatest of these is commonly called the Gate of *Ingouville*, and has a fine front towards the country; it is flanked by two large and high towers built of brick and cut stone, with *Dorick* ornaments, and covered at top with slate. They were built in the year 1630, by the order of cardinal *Richelieu*, whose arms are placed over the gate. There is here a beautiful apartment for the officer who takes care of the gate, and attends regularly when it is opened and shut. From this gate a beautiful and straight street is continued through the middle of the town to the harbour. The other gate, called *Porte du Perry*, is older than that of *Ingouville*;  
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*gouville*; but very far from being so beautiful, or richly ornamented. It leads to the harbour and the sea side, and is contiguous to a small house, belonging to the town, which formerly was the residence of the King's lieutenant. The streets of the town are large, straight, and regular, but badly paved, excepting only the principal street and the quays, which were laid since the year 1715, by an order of the magistrates, in consequence of an arret of the council of state, dated the 22d of September, 1114. Between the tower, near the harbour, and the *Porte du Perry*, at the entrance into the place of arms, is the most beautiful walk belonging to the town; it is called the *Course Major*, and planted with three rows of trees. There is some difference among the *French* authors concerning the number of the inhabitants of the town of *Havre*. A late author \* reckons them to be 32000; another, whose work was printed in the year 1755 †, makes the amount of them to be no more than 24000; but a third, who seems to have wrote in the year 1726, computes them at 6964 ‡. Be this as it may, their houses are generally built of wood; but since the year 1719, the magistrates have made a regulation, that all who, in time to come, shall build houses in the streets, shall at least give them fronts of stone, or of brick; and since that time there are some built in this manner. There are two public places in the town, the one called the place of arms or parade, and the other *Le Marche de Canniballe*. The first is over against the town-house, and fronts the harbour; in it there is a fountain, upon which stands a statue of *Lewis IV.* of cut stone. The *Marche de Canniballe* is a very large place, built during the reigns of *Francis I.* and *Henry II.* having in the middle a fountain with four ori-

fices. Besides the two already mentioned, there are six other public fountains in the town, built, in the year 1670, by the friar *Constance*, a capuchin monk, for the times in which he lived, of great skill in hydrostaticks. The springs which supply these fountains, and the others in the citadel, are in the middle of a valley in the parish of *St. Adresse*, about half a league from *Havre*; from whence they are conducted to a reservoir of nine feet diameter, and eight feet in height, vaulted above, and paved at the bottom with a kind of black stone. This reservoir stands near *Fort St. Agnan*, about a quarter of a league from the springs, in the way to *Havre*; whence they are brought by canals along *du Perry* to the covered way of the bastion of *St. André*, where the canals form a turning, or elbow, and are carried by an aqueduct of wood, through the waters in the ditch of this bastion, to the *Revêtement* of the face of the same bastion, where they rise sixteen or eighteen feet, and enter into a reservoir in the *Souterrain* of the *Cavalier* of that bastion, whence they are conveyed to the several fountains already mentioned.

There are but two parish churches in the town, and these were originally but chappels, annexed to the parish church of *St. Michael* of *Ingouville*, which stands on an eminence in the village of *Ingouville*, about 700 fathom from the town of *Havre*. The church of *Notre-dame* is the greatest, though it was at first only a chapel, called *Notre-dame de Grace*, which gave *Havre* the surname of *Grace*, as we already observed. The church was built in the reign of *Francis I.* when *M. de Montmorency* was governor of the town, and is a mixture of antient and modern architecture. There are no less than sixteen chapels round the choir, which is ornamented with a fine balustrade of iron; the steeple stands on the south side of the church, is of a square form, and has on the top of it a large lanthorn covered with lead. As this steeple is visible at a great distance from the sea and the river

*Seine*,

\* Piganiol de la Force, Nouvelle Description de la France, tom. IX. p. 601.

† M. Vaissette in his Geographie Historique, tom. II. p. 387.

‡ Dictionnaire Universelle de la France, in voce Havre.

*Seine*, they used formerly to put a light in the lanthorn in the night-time, as a signal for the ships which might happen to be within sight. M. de Montmorency laid the first stone of this tower, in the year 1536. The other church is that of St. Francis. It was founded and so named in honour of Francis I. though not built till the year 1551, in the reign of Henry II. There are here two convents of monks, and one of nuns, viz. the convent of Capuchins, at the extremity of the division of St. Francis; that of the monks of the third order of St. Francis, in the village Ingouville; and the convent of Ursuline nuns, in the division of Notre-Dame. The town-house is not grand or magnificent, but large and well situated. It is near the *Porte du Perrey*, and fronts the entrance into the harbour and the river of *Seine*. In the month of October, 1540, Henry II. having made his public entry into Havre, lodged in this hotel; and Henry III. his son, having, in the year 1567, on St. John's eve, honoured the town with his presence, and that of the Queen his consort, that Princess made choice of this hotel for the place of her lodging. Under the court-yard of this hotel, is a cistern capable of containing 1500 tons of water, and in time of necessity might supply 9000 persons, with a pot of water each, every day, for two years and an half. This cistern was built by order of the Admiral De Villars, at that time Governor of the town, in the year 1586. The magistracy of the town was settled by a charter of Henry II. dated in the year 1551; and by an arret of council, of the 6th of November, 1686, consists of a governor, or, in his absence, the King's lieutenant, four Alderman, a procurator-syndic, a receiver, a secretary, and two clerks. The aldermen are elected, and continue in office four years; one of them goes out every first day of January, and a new one succeeds in his place. The syndic, receiver-general, and secretary, are also elected, but for life. The alder-

men have each of them a yearly salary of 150 livres out of the grants of the town; the syndic 200 livres; the receiver-general, and the secretary, 300 each. The town of Havre has no other revenue but the old and new grants made to it by the crown. The old grants are those which were made by its original charter; the new ones, such as have been added by several acts of the council of state since that time.

These grants are levied upon the wines, brandy, cyder, and perry, consumed in the town; as also upon the iron brought from foreign countries, and some other subjects. They produce, one year with another, between 50 and 60,000 livres. The yearly pensions which, by acts of council, are paid out of these grants, amount to 40000 livres, viz. 9000 for repairing the fortifications, and keeping the harbour in good condition; 6000 to the hospital general; and the rest for the payment of officers salaries, such as the commissioners of war, engineers, and others, supporting the public buildings, the maintenance of the town-guard, and furnishing wood, candles, and other necessaries to it. The annual charges thus paid, the remaining part of the produce of these grants, is, by several acts of council, to be divided into three parts, and laid out as follows, viz. one third to be applied to the payment of the old debts of the town; another to the payment of the arrears due to the officers; and the last to be laid out on paving the streets.

There is no town in France where letters are less cultivated than in Havre de Grace, because they have but one little college, under the direction of two priests, maintained by the town; the first whereof has an annual pension of 150 livres, the second of 120, out of the grants already mentioned. There are also two charity-schools, one for poor boys, and another for girls. The master of the former has 200 livres, paid by the town, and the like sum is shared between the mistresses of the latter. By the charter granted by Francis I.

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in the month of *August*, 1520, the inhabitants of *Havre* have two free markets every week, which are held regularly on *Tuesdays* and *Fridays*, in the *Marche Canniballe*. The principal commodities sold there, are such linens and flax as are produced in the country, and some other of the necessities and conveniences of life. There is also a particular place for a corn-market, which is also held on *Tuesdays* and *Fridays*. The *East-India* company has set up in this town, some time ago, a tobacco manufacture, in the division of *St. Francis*, near the convent of the *Capuchins*, where the company has raised a fine building of brick and cut stone: the manufactory itself has been finished some years ago, and they were actually at work upon houses for the director and other officers; whether the whole design is yet compleated, we cannot say. There were, in the year 1730, sixty tables, every one of which had a wheel, and seven persons at work upon it. Every wheel prepares 90 pound weight of tobacco a day. It is pretended, that the product of this manufacture, together with the temporary magazines of *Caudebec*, *Hornfleur*, and *Fescamp*, amounts yearly to 170,000 livres. The harbour of *Havre* is within the walls of the town, and can contain more than 300 vessels at once. It lies east north-east, and south south-west. In the highest tides the water rises within it near twenty feet. The entrance is formed by two jetties of stone, the longest of which is toward the west side. The access to the harbour, some pretend, would be much easier, if they were carried a good deal further into the sea. It might be also enlarged by cutting off a number of houses, between the entrance to the basin and citadel, upon a large spot of ground which jets into the harbour. This was an observation made by the Marshal *de Vauban*, and confirmed by several engineers since his time. At the mouth of the harbour, near the tower, are three sluices, to stop the water in the ditches of

the town, and let it loose when there is occasion for cleaning the harbour. They are commonly called the *Sluices du Perry*.

The harbour of *Havre* has a particular advantage, not only over the other sea-ports of *Normandy*, but of the whole kingdom, that the water in it does not begin to ebb, at least sensibly, till three hours after full tide; insomuch, that fleets of an hundred and twenty sail, have often been observed to sail out of it in one tide, even with the wind against them. The cause of this uncommon effect is generally ascribed to the *Seine*, the current whereof, crossing the mouth of the harbour, comes down with such force, as soon as the sea begins to retire, that it confines the water in the harbour till it has spent its strength, which it does not for ordinary in a shorter space of time than just now mentioned. Be this as it may, the *French* are very sensible that this, and other circumstances of the harbour, are very favourable to their commerce, and therefore have been at no small expence to keep it in proper order; but as the means used for this purpose have not been attended with all the success expected from them, a late ingenious author\*, and able engineer, has been at great pains to enquire into the causes of the inconveniences attending that harbour, and the proper methods for removing them.

A superficial view of the plan of *Havre* will shew, that the channel of the harbour naturally points to the south-west, and it is merely accidental that it is turned more towards the west, by a bank of stones and rubbish deposited by the sea, which has at once made the entrance into it narrow and very dangerous, as vessels run the hazard of driving upon the back of the western jetty, every strong westerly wind

\* M. Belidor, Colonel d'Infanterie, Chevalier de l'Ordre Militaire de St. Louis. See *Architecture Hydraulique*, tom. I. p. 382, et seq.

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that blows. What we here call stones and rubbish, the French term *galets*, by which they mean a sort of hard stones and gravel, which fall from the high shores of that country, especially between *Havre* and *Cape la Heve*, where they abound more than in any other place. The rising tide carries them along, and lays them down at the end of the jetties, and the mouth of the *Seine*, or wherever they meet with a contrary current in their course. It is almost incredible to what degree the harbours of *Normandy* are pestered by them: they are collected at the mouths of them in such quantities, that were it not for the sluices, which drive them away as soon as they are laid down, the harbours would be entirely blocked up.

This harbour, having at all times been exposed to the same inconvenience, sluices were formerly constructed here, and placed in the most advantageous situation that could be contrived, for dispersing these banks of rubbish as soon as formed. The sluice next the channel stands near the tower of *Francis I.* at the entrance of the town-ditch. It has three passages, each seven foot wide, separated by pillars, and obliquely directed to accommodate, as much as possible, the course of the current to the position of the channel, but as the ditch which serves it instead of a reservoir, has no great depth, it never had a very considerable effect. A little further stands the second, almost forty-three feet in breadth, at the mouth of the basin for the King's ships, having only one pair of gates, with vannes for clearing the harbour; and, for the same purpose, a third, sixteen feet broad, at the further end of the basin, to let in the water from the ditches of the place. There is also a fourth of eighteen feet in breadth, with three vannes on the causeway, which forms the communication between the town and the citadel, called the sluice *de la Barre*, which is most commonly employed to clean the harbour and channel, but too weak to destroy the bank of stones

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at the entrance, on account of its great distance, and the small quantity of water communicated to its reservoir by the flowing tide. Last of all there is a fifth on the ditch of the citadel, which serves instead of a reservoir to it, for the same purpose, but of little or no use, because it is never opened but once a year, to catch the fish, which the King's Lieutenant keeps in that ditch.

Nothing can be better contrived than the distribution of these sluices, especially three of them, viz. that of *la Barre*, that on the ditch of the citadel, and that at the tower of *Francis I.* which support one another as they approach the channel, upon which they had a surprising effect about the end of the last century; as the distance between that tower and the remotest extremity of the channel was not then above seventy-five fathoms, whereas it is now more than 212. The channel was also then in a much better condition than now, because all the sluices, without exception, were employed, sometimes together, and at other times apart, as they could best serve the purpose for which they were intended. But, even then, as they had not all the effect expected from them, for want of sufficient stores of water to keep them playing for six hours together; the Marshal *de Vauban*, always happy in finding expedients, caused the canal of *Harfleur* to be constructed, and thereby conveyed the river of *Montivilliers* into the ditches of the town of *Havre*.

This canal, about 364 fathoms in length, near eleven in breadth, and seven feet deep, at *Harfleur*, drawn with an easy descent to the ditch of *Havre*, was compleated sometime before the death of *M. de Colbert*, who was extremely sensible of its great utility. This great man came on purpose to the place, together with *M. de Vauban*, to see the effect of it, and found that it perfectly answered his expectation. Can it be believed! that, in the space of a few years, the inhabitants ceased to make any use of this canal. Nor can any reason be given

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for such extraordinary conduct; especially as, on the other hand, there is no ground to question the great advantage the town might have drawn from it, if the ditches of the place, as they certainly ought, had been made deep enough to receive fifteen foot of water, as the tide rises commonly to sixteen in the harbour. It is then by no means surprising that the channel has fallen into great disorder since the beginning of this century, because, according to the opinion of very able engineers, who have enquired into the affair, proper methods have not been taken to remove the defects and inconveniencies attending it.

As the flowing tides drive from east to west those great quantities of the rubbish and stones, we have already mentioned, the managers built long ago, at a vast expence, wooden fences, parallel to the jetties, at equal distances, from *Cape la Heve* to the mouth of the harbour, to stop the stones and rubbish in their course, which succeeded for some years; but after these fences were covered, the *Gulets* proceeded further, and lodged behind the western jetty as formerly, where accumulating for some time, they at last got over, and formed at its extremity a bank, which, by its continual increase, threatened to block up the harbour. To remedy this evil it was thought there could be no more effectual means than to lengthen the jetty, and raise it to the height of thirty foot of mason work; but they soon found their labour was lost. The stones formed banks as before, and had the same effect on the entrance of the channel, so that all the expences laid out upon these works for forty years, ended in bringing matters to the situation in which they are at present; that is, in producing at the head of the same jetty a prodigious heap of stones, which is still growing greater, because the sluices are at too great a distance to carry it away, and it may be truly said, that, by lengthening the jetty, they have increased the evil instead of removing it.

It may be objected, that, if that jetty had not been lengthened, the harbour would have been, a long time ago, reduced to the condition in which it is now, and before this time entirely blocked up; but to this it is answered, that this inconvenience could not have happened, if they had employed the sluices according to their original intention, by playing them all at once to give sufficient force to their current, and not satisfied themselves in a great measure with the use of that of *la Barre* only. If, in the second place, instead of suffering the current of the sluices to spread and diverge, they had confined it to narrower bounds, and the direction most proper for facilitating the entrance of ships into harbour. And lastly, if, instead of employing vast sums of money to put the evil day far off, they had put the reservoirs of water in a good condition, by deepening the ditches of the place, especially as the ground taken out of them might have been employed to good purpose, in constructing new outworks for the defence of the town. To all this it may be added, that they ought to have taken great care not to stop the sea stones and rubbish by lengthening the jetty; but, on the contrary, have let it take its course to the mouth of the *Seine*, which would have thrown it out upon the strand, where it would have secured the neighbouring fields from the damage which has been done them by the inroads of the sea. That with regard to the banks which might be formed at the mouth of the harbour, sluices, well supplied with water, would not have suffered them to continue long there, because the current from the sluice of *la Barre* would not have had then 530 fathoms to run before it came to the place where it was to produce its effect, which is now the case, whereby its strength is too much impaired to remove the banks of stones, especially as they have had time to settle, and acquire strength by means of the sand incorporating with them, and filling their in-

interstices. It is a sufficient proof of this that at low water they are now obliged to remove as much as they can of this rubbish by the hands of men, otherwise the pass would become impracticable, and the harbour entirely useless. From all which it may be concluded, that it had been better, this unhappy jetty had never been lengthened nor raised to its present height; if so the harbour would not have been so far within land, by means of the banks which the sea has formed successively along the shore, to such a degree that the point of the eastern jetty, which, about sixty years ago, was at the low water mark, is now at the distance of more than 212 fathoms from it; for this jetty has been lengthened too, but not near so much as the other.

As there is not the least reason to doubt that these banks will continue to gain upon the sea, according as they continue to encrease; there is ground to apprehend, that in time the harbour will be so far within land as to be quite inaccessible, because the sluices will then be rendered entirely useless. Our author, having thus given a full account of the inconveniences of the harbour of *Havre*, proceeds to give his judgment with respect of the means of removing them. To this purpose he advises that a double fence of hurdles be laid from the point of the western jetty, in a direct line, toward the south-west, and carried quite over the bank. The height of the fence, above the surface of the bank, need not exceed eight inches, only between the bank and the jetty it must be of a sufficient height to form a kind of enclosure, and stop the stones which the tide will bring up. This rubbish lodging behind the fence of hurdles, will, in a few days, form a kind of battardeau, and hinder the current of the sluices from running off at that side, which must be prevented with great care, otherwise no success can be expected. For the greater security, instead of a fence of hurdles a row of piles, close-

ly joined together, may be employed in this place to very good purpose. The same must be done on the east side, that is, a double fence of hurdles must be also laid parallel to the former. This done, the distance betwixt the two fences must be divided into four parts, by means of three marks set at proper places. Of these, the two next the fences on each side, are to be made the middle points of two canals, from 12 to 16 feet broad, on which labourers must be employed, with pick-axes, and other proper instruments, to loose the stones and rubbish, in a direction parallel to the fences of hurdles, that the current proceeding from the sluice of *la Barre* may carry off the stones and gravel so loosed, and scatter them in the sea. This labour to be continued six hours every tide, for several days without intermission, till the canals be large enough to contain the whole stream of that sluice. Thus, supposing the whole distance, between the two double rows of hurdles, to be forty fathoms, the middle of the canals will be at the distance of ten from the nearest row; and the part of the bank, lying between the middle of the one and the middle of the other, will be twenty fathoms broad. When the canals are sufficiently formed to oblige the stream to divide itself into two branches, the force of the current must be encreased by setting all the sluices open at once every tide; this will add such strength and vigour to the current, that the two canals must soon be enlarged on each side, and made considerably deeper at the bottom, so that the breadth and depth of them will be continually encreasing. But if the stones and gravel should be so mixed and cemented with sand, that it should be necessary, from time to time, to employ workmen to assist the current, in this case the labour of the pioneers ought not to be spared. That part of the bank, which separates the two canals, being thus diminished more and more every day, in a little time will be reduced to nothing, the two canals united into one, and the banks of this



this one will insensibly be carried to the rows of hurdles on each side. But as the current will have the less force, the more the canal is enlarged, it must be directed sometimes to one side, sometimes to another, as occasion requires, by means of that ingenious machine sometime ago built at *Havre* under the direction of *M. Caſſin* \*. If this method be exactly followed, there will be no reason to question the success, since *M. Cloutier*, principal engineer at *Fescamp*, has lately experienced the advantage of it to his great satisfaction. The harbour of that place having been, sometime ago, entirely blocked up, by these stones and gravel, he employed the method here recommended, and cleared it in a very little time, by the continual application of the sluices, which probably had been neglected before, or at least not employed so often as they ought.

To conclude, none ought to imagine, that the entrance into the harbour of *Havre* can, by any means, be brought to its true direction, without collecting very large supplies of water, that the sluices may have their full effect. They cannot play too often to deepen the channel by degrees, and drive away the rubbish as fast as it is deposited by the tide, as has been done at *Fescamp*, where it is not at all uncommon to see the sluices playing six hours together after a storm, and to find, that in that time they have dispersed banks of rubbish six feet high. But such advantages cannot be had at *Havre*, till the town ditches be deepened to a level with the floor of the sluices, and the canal of *Harfleur* be repaired, and applied to the purpose for which it was originally designed. This canal may even be made more useful than ever it was before, by introducing into it all the waters of the *Lezarde*, formed by the union of the rivers of *Gournay* and *Montivilliers*; this would be easily effected by a canal of communication, drawn through a

\* See a description of this machine in the second vol. of *M. Belidor's Architecture Hydraulique*.

spot of ground no more than twelve or thirteen fathoms broad; thus might that river be applied to a very useful purpose, whereas it is now entirely lost in the *Seine*. Besides, as the banks of that canal are in very good condition, it might, with a moderate expence, be made a large reservoir, and easily provided with water from the sea, when there is not enough in the river to supply the sluices.

Such is the scheme lately proposed, for improving, or rather saving from ruin, the celebrated harbour of *Havre*; we do not yet find that any step is taken toward putting it in execution; but there is no ground to doubt that the *French* will think seriously of it sometime or other, tho' possibly that may not happen till it be too late.

The tower of *Francis I.* stands at the mouth of the harbour: it is round, very large, and of a considerable height, vaulted and bomb-proof, with a beautiful plat-form a top, planted with cannon for the defence of the mouth of the harbour. It was built in the year 1520. The officer who commands in it has 600 livres a year, and is appointed by the King, upon the recommendation of the ministers of war. This officer is under the direction of the commandant of the town: but after all, he has power to change the word when the draw bridge is pulled up. In this tower is the chain which shuts up the harbour every night, to hinder vessels from entering in at their pleasure. There are also in it two powder magazines, one for the artillery used at land, and another for the private adventurers by sea. The town secretary has a key of the latter, and the master gunner belonging to the harbour another. All the merchants ships that arrive at *Havre* deposit their gun powder in it, when they enter the harbour, and have it restored to them when they go out again. The secretary, and the master gunner keep, each of them

them, a register of the powder so deposited; and every ship pays only twenty sols to the secretary for his trouble.

When a vessel appears before the harbour, they send a coasting pilot to bring her in. Of these several are kept at the King's expence, who are perfectly acquainted with the position of the banks of sand, and rocks which lie before the harbour, and secure it against enterprizes of the enemies. From the time that one of these pilots gets on board a ship, he never leaves her till she is moored at the quay. The great road is two good leagues from the harbour, and lies west-south-west from *Cape la Heve*. It extends a whole league from North to South, and is twelve fathom deep at high, and between eight or nine at low water. The bottom is hard ground, clean, free from rocks, and holds well. In the year 1690 the whole *French* fleet lay at anchor there for several days, in great safety. The little road is but half a league from the harbour, and lies south-south-east of *Cape la Heve*. It is of a square form, extending about a quarter of a league every way. The bottom is of a good earth, covered with hard flints and oysters. Little ships may anchor here tolerably well, the water rising eight fathom and a half in time of full sea, and four at low water. But after all, it is not an eligible place to anchor in, except in cases of necessity; not only for want of a proper depth of water, but also because the flints are apt to cut the cables. This is the account given of the road of *Havre* by *M. Piganiol-de la Force*\*, but another later author, and much more accurate, speaks of it as follows. "It is of the greater importance, says he, to spare no expence necessary for putting the harbour into a good condition, that all the world knows the road of *Havre* is very bad; the bottom being of such a composition, that an anchor can take no sure hold of it. It is, besides, full of what the sailors call

"*high grounds*, that is, little banks of sand, which the river *Seine* deposits, in the time of low water: so that the anchors cannot withstand the violence of the currents, nor the high winds, which commonly blow about the new and full moons; the ships, which happen to be then in this road, are in great danger of being lost at the mouth of the *Seine*, or driven against the coast, because they cannot get into the harbour." \*

That part of the harbour we have hitherto described, is intended for the reception of merchants ships; what they call the *basin* is reserved for the King's ships of war. Of these it can contain five and twenty or thirty; and ships of sixty guns can enter it, for in high tides the water rises in it eighteen *French* feet, which is more than nineteen of ours. There is a good sluice for cleaning this basin by means of the water of the town ditches. A large and magnificent basin might also be formed out of the morasses which lies behind the convent of the *Capuchins*; and might easily be cleaned by means of the canal of the new river of *Harfleur*. The late *Marshal de Vauban* had a project of this kind, and drew some plans to direct the execution of it. At the end of the basin stands the *arsenal for the marine* between the division of *Notre-Dame* and that of *St. Francis*. The entry into it lies near the harbour, and the turning bridge; and the other extremity is near the bastion *de la Musique*. The two sides of the entry are secured by iron grates, and two grated gates, one towards the division of *Notre-Dame*, and the other towards that of *St. Francis*. At the first gate is the marine guard room, and a little walk, with a row of elm trees on each side; at the other, a walk called *le Beauregard*, which is also planted with elms, where the officers of the marine commonly meet together. The arsenal has also rows of elm trees round the walls of its inclosure.

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\* See *Nouvelle Description de la France*, tom. IX. p. 615.

\* *Belidors' Architecture Hydraulique*, tom. 1st, p. 388, 389.



closure. The docks for building the King's ships, are at the bottom of this arsenal, which is indeed a little one, but in other respects very handsome, and agreeable. That which is most remarkable in it is the store-house of arms, and the chapel. The boards of the marine are also kept there, except that of the Intendant, and that of the classes. There is also to be seen there the council chamber, the marine school, the school for training the artillery companies, the chamber of construction, the store-house for sails, the apartment for the carvers, and the armourer shops, on the end of the arsenal. Next the division of *St. Francis* is a large building, which is now the residence of the controller of the marine, and was formerly the East India-House.

As *Havre* is one of the six departments or arsenals-general for the whole marine of the kingdom, we meet with every thing that can be expected in a place of that kind. You see there, for instance, two rope walks, a great and a small one, both constructed of wood. The first has two apartments, one above the other, and lies in the division of *Notre-Dame*, upon the remparts of the town, extending from the gorge of the bastion of *St. André* to that of the bastion of *St. Adress*, being near 205 *English* fathoms long, and about six in breadth. The little rope walk lies in the division of *St. Francis*, and also built on the remparts of the town. It extends from the flank of the bastion *de la Musique*, to the bastion of the *Capuchins*, being 165 fathoms long, and five in breadth. It was built in 1670 by the East India company. The magazines of provisions for the marine are near the rope walk, and were also formerly the property of the East India company. There are also near the du Perrey, in the way to the tile and the brick works, several rope walks belonging to private men, who provide cordage for the privateers and merchant ships. The cooperage for the marine

stands in the gorge of the bastion of *St. André*, at the end of the King's great rope walk. Here are also two ice houses, one for the Intendant of the marine, and the other for the director of the fortifications. The King's forge for making anchors is without the gate of the town, in the half moon of *Ingouville*. There are also several forges in the flank of the bastion *de la Musique*, where they work, when the King has any ships a building at the arsenal. The store of masts is in the bastion of the *Capuchins*, lying between the division of *St. Francis*, and the covered way of the citadel. In this basin, commonly called *la Grande Barre*, is the great sluice for cleaning the harbour. The basin *de la Floride*, where the King's masts are laid, lies behind the powder magazine and the south-east jetty. The wood park lies without the gate of *Ingouville*, in the little marsh, where several creeks are cut for holding wood. It consists of eight acres of ground, which the King holds in fief of the Prince of *Conti*, at the rate of 25 livres per annum.

Without the town of *Havre*, on the sea side, near fort *St. Aignan*, is a place called the *Tuilleries* or *Tile works*, where there are several shades and kilns, for making tiles, bricks, and little squares, for the use of the town and the neighbouring places. There are also several merchant ships which take on board bricks and little squares to serve as ballast, and to sell in the *American islands*. The powder magazine for the marine is also without the town, in the way to the citadel, and on the side of the river *Seine*. Just by it is a guard house, belonging to the garrison, and a centinel placed at the door of the magazine. It was built bomb proof, and can contain two hundred thousand weight of powder. The house of the Intendant of the marine is in the division of *St. Francis*, that he may be as near as possible to the harbour and arsenal.

The hospital general, to which is annexed an infirmary, is also without the town, near the village of *Ingouville*. It was erected by an edict of the twenty sixth of May 1669, under the name of the charity of *John the Baptist*, for the relief of poor beggars, strong and weak, sickly and sound, belonging to the town of *Havre*, and the village of *Ingouville*. The revenue amounts to 32000 livres, including the grants and casualties specified by that edict, and by an act of the privy council, in form of a general regulation for the ordinary affairs and police of the town, dated on the fifth of November 1686, wherein mention is also made of the privileges and exemptions of the hospital, as well as of those of its administrators and directors. When it was first set on foot, the direction of it was committed to the aldermen of the town; but since the edict of the fifth of November 1686, the administration has been in the hands of four directors and a receiver-general. The curate of the town is the first of these directors; and continues in office, as long as he is possessed of that curacy; but the other three and the receiver are elective, and continue in their office three years. They are chosen by the Aldermen, with the consent of the governor, so that one of them goes out of office every fifth day of *January*, and a new one is chosen in his place, who continues in power till the other three go out successively before him, and then he in his turn gives place to a new comer. The receiver may be continued other three years, if he gives entire satisfaction, by a faithful discharge of his duty. The soldiers of the garrison, and the marines, when they are sick, are admitted to the hospital, which has a right to their pay, so long as their indisposition continues, besides five sols a day, paid by the King, for every soldier or marine. The sick sailors belonging to the King's ships are also admitted, and the hospital has ten sols a day for each of them. The buildings belonging to the hospital are beau-

tiful, and it has a large area inclosed within its walls. The worst that can be said of it, is, that it is ill provided with water; which, it must be owned, is a very great defect, considering the great number of poor and sick persons that are constantly in it. What they have is from a draw-well within the area of the hospital. The citizens and inhabitants of *Havre*, are exempted from the King's tax and salt duty, not only for what they have occasion for in their families, but also for what they want in salting their fish.

The most considerable manufacture carried on in the town of *Havre* is that of coarse lace. Most of all the women and girls, under the rank of gentlewomen, are employed in this manufacture, by thirty merchants belonging to the town, who purchase these laces: and some of the merchants have made considerable fortunes by this branch of business. These laces are conveyed not only to several Provinces of the Kingdom, but also into foreign countries. They are sent particularly to the *South Sea*, the *Indies*, and the *American Islands*. In former times the fishing for green cod, on the banks of *Newfoundland*, was a very considerable branch of trade at *Havre*, in which the inhabitants used to employ more than 100 ships, by means whereof many considerable sums of money were brought to their town, and several private traders made great fortunes. The cod are generally sold by the hundred, and this consists of sixty-six *poignees*, as they call them, or a hundred and thirty-two cod; they are of four sorts, called, by the *French*, *de Marchande*, *de Trie*, *de Raguet*, and *Valide*. The two first sorts sell commonly from 150 to 300 livres the hundred; the third at 200 livres; and the fourth at 300. One merchant alone purchases the whole quantity of fish, and sets a price upon them, but he allows some other merchants to share with him. They are commonly purchased for the accompt  
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of the merchants of *Paris*; and conveyed up the river to *Rouen*, from thence to *Paris*, and from *Paris* dispersed through the Provinces and principal towns of the Kingdom. Land carriages arrive also at *Havre* from *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, loaded with wines of the growth of these Provinces, and return freighted with cod. This trade however is far from being so considerable as it was formerly; and has been on the declining hand ever since the beginning of the present century; so that in the year 1730, there were not above thirteen ships employed in it. When the vessels arrive loaded with cod, they are obliged to make some presents, according to regulations settled by an arrêt of council in the year 1688; particularly, every ship is obliged to give the Governor six cod, the King's Lieutenant four, the Commandant of the Tower two, the Major two, the hospital-general four, the poor *de la miséricorde* two, the Curate of the town two, and those that keep the town gates two. The merchants of *Havre* have long neglected this trade, to engage in that to the *American* islands; which, next to that of lace, is now the principal branch of their commerce. The ships of *Havre* carry to these islands bleached and brown linen, coarse and fine laces, silks, woollen cloth, mercery goods, looking glasses, small wares, hats, stockings, shoes, ironmongers ware, nails, chrystal, earthen-ware, harness for horses, oils, all sorts of soap, cheese, powder and shot; flour, butter, burgundy and champagne, with the other wines of the growth of *France*, brandy and other provisions.

Without entering more minutely into the trade carried on at this place, it will be sufficient to remark, that the situation of *Havre* is one of the happiest for commerce in *Europe*, and the most proper for a temporary magazine of all sorts of merchandize; as it stands on the *Seine*, by means whereof goods are easily conveyed to the center of the King-

dom, from whence they are conveniently dispersed through all the provinces of *France*, and its harbour has the peculiar advantage, already mentioned, of remaining full for three hours after high water.

Ever since the charter granted by *Henry* the second, in the year 1551, and confirmed by an act of council of the fifth of *November* 1586, the citizens and inhabitants of *Havre* have had the privilege of guarding their own town, and defending themselves. For this end, the town is divided into four parts, in each of which there is a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign, to command the four divisions of the city militia. They mount guard daily by turns, at particular places of the town, but for some years past some other posts have been guarded by the soldiers of the garrison. The officers of the militia are chosen from the citizens of greatest note, by the Aldermen, with the consent of the governor. They rise according to their seniority, from the rank of an Ensign to that of Lieutenant, and from the degree of a Lieutenant to that of Captain; but every one of them continues twelve years in the service; four years in the station of an Ensign, four in that of Lieutenant, and four more in that of a Captain. Every year the oldest Captain goes out of the service, and the oldest Lieutenant becomes Captain in his room; this latter is succeeded by the first Ensign, and this last has another chosen in his room, who from the rank of youngest Ensign rises in his turn to those of Lieutenant and Captain. In former times these Officers purchased their places; but the town has, some time ago, repaid their purchase money, and ever since, the four Aldermen are Colonels of the four companies of the city militia; and the colours are carried to the town-house. These Aldermen and other Officers take their orders from the Governor, and in his absence from the King's Lieutenant, or any other officer that happens to command in the place. The Officers of the

the militia are paid out of the grants made to the town, and by the constitution of the 5th of November 1686, the captains have 72 livres, the lieutenants and ensigns 36, the twelve serjeants 50, and the four drummers 100 each *per annum* \*. A little way up the *Seine* from *Havre*, is the place called *le Hoc*, which in the old dialect signifies a little hill, or rising ground. It stands on the point of a small promontory which jetties into the river, a little below *Harfleur*. On this promontory, formerly, there were only a few cabins for the accommodation of fishermen, afterwards a large magazine was erected upon the ruins of these huts. It has been also used as a lazaretto, that is, a place where vessels arriving at *Havre*, and suspected of infectious disorders, unloaded their goods, and performed quarantine. One might see there, so late as the beginning of this century, a very beautiful quay of cut stone, with large iron rings fixed to it at proper distances, for mooring vessels: but all these are now buried a good way down in the sand. The *Hoc* is very much exposed to winds and storms; but when the air is clear, it is very pleasant to observe there the wonderful effects of the tide: when it rises, you see it not only stop the waters of the *Seine*, but also drive them back towards their source, with a frightful noise; and when it begins to ebb, the river following its natural course, advances with a slow and majestic pace to mix its waters with those of the ocean. But if the wind happens to be a little high, and the sea is in the least troubled, nothing at all is to be seen, but high surges and waves. There was formerly good anchoring at this place, on an excellent bottom, but it is now become very dangerous, on account of banks of quick-sands frequently deposited there by the river. The first ship of the line which was built at *Havre*, being a vessel of 70 guns, cal-

led the *Rouen*, was unhappily lost there about the middle of last century. The pilots who brought her out of the harbour having lost their wind, by their own misconduct, exerted their utmost to get her into the *Hoc*, in hopes of finding good anchoring ground there: they succeeded in their design, so far as to get her to that place; but the ship was so suddenly swallowed up by the quick-sands, that they could not save her cannon, nor any part of her rich cargo. Only the top of her main-mast was seen above the water for 20 years thereafter. About the year 1538, they built at *Havre* a ship of uncommon size, called *la Grande Françoise*, of 2000 tons burthen: her cables are said to have been as thick as a man's leg, and there was on board a tennis court, and a wind-mill. This vessel was designed for the *East Indies*; but in two tides they could get her no farther than the point of the jetties. In short, the ship was so enormous and unwieldy, that they were obliged to break her down, and the materials served to build the greatest part of the houses of the suburbs of *la Barre*.

During the civil wars which happened in France, on account of religion, the *French* protestants made themselves masters of *Havre*, and in consideration of the succours they received from Queen *Elizabeth*, put that place into the hands of the *English*. But in the year 1563, soon after the death of the duke of *Guise*, their mortal enemy, they concluded a peace with the *French* King, without taking care to have their generous friend, and sole protectress, the Queen of *England*, included in it. Nor was this all, for *Charles IX.* having laid siege to that town, the *Hugonots* distinguished themselves by driving the *English* out of the place, which they themselves had put into their hands. This conduct was by no means inconsistent with the opinion the world had generally entertained of *French* honour, in regard to treaties, but quite irreconcilable to true policy. The truth is, they

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\* Nouvelle description de la France, tom. 9. p. 579.



could not have done a thing more prejudicial to their own interest. The earl of *Warwick*, however, defended the place for some time with great intrepidity; but of the succours which were sent him from *England*, two hundred perished by shipwreck, together with their commander sir *Thomas Finch*, and two brothers of the lord *Wentworth*. Besides, the plague unhappily got into the town, and raged to such a degree, that it daily carried off 50 or more of his garrison. These discouraging circumstances reduced him to the necessity of submitting to a capitulation, by which the town was delivered into the hands of the *French* King, and the garrison returning to *England*, brought the infection along with them, which made such terrible ravages in that country, that in *London* only, not to mention other places, above 2000 died of it in a day. They have every year at *Havre*, two general processions, one on the *Tuesday* of *Easter* week, in memory of the troubles occasioned by the *Calvinists*, being brought to a conclusion in the year 1580, and of a great earthquake, which also happened on that day in the same year; the other on the 27th of *July*, in commemoration of the recovery of the town out of the hands of the *English*, on that day, in 1563.

Before we conclude this article, it will be proper to observe, that *Havre* is the capital of a general military government, distinct from that of *Normandy*, comprehending the western parts of the *Pays de Caux*, and the particular governments of *Fescamp*, *Montivilliers*, *Havre de Grace*, and *Harfleur*; but, at the same time, it must not be forgot, that this government is nevertheless subject to the intendance and archbishoprick of *Rouen*, except with respect to what we have elsewhere observed, of the independence and exemptions of the abbeys of *Fescamp* and *Montivilliers*.

*George de Scudery*, governor of *Notre-dame de la Gard*, and one of the members of the *French* academy, and *Magdalen de Scudery*, his sister, were both natives of *Havre*. Their father was Governour of the town, under admiral *de Villars*. *George de Scudery* composed several pieces for the theatre, sixteen whereof have been printed, with several other works in prose and verse. He died in 1680. *Magdalen de Scudery* gained the esteem and admiration of all good judges, by the excellency of her genius, insomuch that she deserved the title of the modern *Sappho*. She died in the year 1701, in the 94th year of her age.

About two leagues from *Havre de Grace*, lies

## H A R F L E U R,

*Harebotum*, *Harefluum*, *Herisfoium*, *Herisflorium*, *Auriflorum*, on the side of the little river *Lezarde*, about 16 leagues from *Rouen*, situated at the end of a valley, lying between two mountains, the one on the east, and the other on the west. Toward the north are several valleys extending to the church

of *Notredame de Consolation*, and on the south a marsh toward the banks of the *Seine*. In the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, mention is made of a place called *Corocotinum*, or *Carocotinum*, about five leagues from *Juliobona*. Some, without the least shadow of reason, would have this to be *Crotoy*; *Cellarius* conjectures

conjectures that it may be *Havre de Grace*. But this latter, as we have seen, had its original only in the time of *Francis I.* and we have very good reason to conclude, that the ground upon which it stands was not in being in the time of the *Romans*, since it is certain, that even in the 16th century, the sea came sometimes to the foot of the walls of *Granville*. Is it not then more probable that *Granville* itself was the *Carocotinum* of the *Romans*, and still more probable, that the latter was the antient name of *Harfleur*, which is exactly five leagues from *Ilebonne*? Be this as it may, it is certain this little town is of great antiquity, as appears from the causeway, which is continued for nine leagues, from *Harfleur* to *Caudebec*. This causeway is said to have been the work of *Cæsar*; but whether it be or not, it shews what *Harfleur* has been in former times, seeing such a great expence is not commonly laid out for the sake of an inconsiderable place. This causeway is now called the causeway of *St. Romain de Collabosc*.

The town of *Harfleur* was formerly the rampart of *France* on that side, against the descents and enterprizes of the *English*; but it was taken and sacked by *Henry V.* the conqueror of *France*, in the year 1415, and afterwards by the *French* protestants in the year 1562. All its charters, gifts, grants, confirmations, and other valuable records, being lost, pillaged, or burned, upon these occasions, *Charles IX.* in the year 1566, granted letters patent, containing a permission

to the inhabitants to prove the tenour of the privileges, franchises, gifts and grants which they had been possessed of before the calamity which happened to their town in 1562. An enquiry was accordingly made into this affair by the *Sieur de Beaune*, Lieutenant-general of the viscounty of *Montivilliers*, in the month of *April* 1568; in consequence of which the inhabitants obtained a confirmation of their antient privileges, rights, and grants, by charters and letters patent, granted in the month of *July* thereafter. By other charters, they obtained an exemption from the duties upon salt. These privileges were afterwards confirmed by *Henry III.* in *August* 1575, by *Henry IV.* in *July* 1594, *Lewis XIII.* in *May* 1611, and finally, by *Lewis XIV.* in the month of *October* 1643. The inhabitants of *Harfleur* were exempted from the *taille* or King's tax till the year 1710, when they were deprived of this privilege; upon which more than 100 families left the town. Upon the whole, since *Havre* came to a considerable place, *Harfleur* in a great measure lost its lustre, its walls and fortifications were suffered to go to ruin, and its harbour is now so filled up, that no vessel above the size of a bark can enter it. It has but one parish church, dedicated to *St. Martin*; and this indeed is sufficient for its present inhabitants, who do not exceed the number of 2600. The *Capuchins* have a convent here.

About three quarters of a league above *Harfleur*, stands the town of



## M O N T I V I L L I E R S,

**I**N *Latin, Monasterium villare*, situated on the banks of the small river *Lezarde*, about six leagues from *Fescamp*, and two from *Havre de Grace*. It has three gates, three suburbs, and three parishes, with the privileges of a Bailliwick, viscounty and election. Its abbey of *Benedictines* is one of the richest and most antient in all *Normandy*. It was founded in the year 662, by St. *Waning* at *Fescamp*, whence it was transported to *Montivilliers*, where it was enriched and greatly improved by the care of St. *Philbert*, and the liberalities of *Waraton*, a person of great wealth and honour at that time. It was afterwards ruined by the incursions of the *Normans*, and built again in the year 1033, by Robert II. duke of *Normandy*. This prince, just before his departure for the *Holy-Land*, having re-established the abbey, made his aunt *Beatrix* abbess of it, in the presence of Robert archbishop of *Rouen*, Hugh bishop of *Avranches*, John abbé of *Fescamp*, Gradulph abbé of St. *Vandrille*, who had given this lady the veil, and administered to her the vows in the presence of a

great number of lords of the best quality in *Normandy*. The abbess exercises a kind of episcopal jurisdiction over fifteen parishes in the neighbourhood, whereof she has also the patronage; and the rents of the abbey are said to amount to 25,000 livres *per annum*.

*Isaac de Larrey*, a historian of some reputation, was born at *Montivilliers*, in the month of *September* 1638, of a noble and wealthy family, much attached to the protestant religion. His zeal for the principles in which he had been educated, obliged him to leave his country and take refuge at *Berlin*, where he died on the 7th of *March* 1719. His principal works are the history of *Augustus*, published in the year 1690; that of *Eleanor of Guienne*, in 1691; the history of *England* in four volumes folio; the history of the seven wise men, and that of *Lewis XIV.* of *France*, which have been all well received by the publick.

About two leagues from *Montivilliers*, on the west side of the *Seine*, we meet with the town of

## C A U D E B E C,

**I**N *Latin, Caledum Beccum*, a city in the province of *Normandy*, subject to the parliament and intendance of *Rouen*, and the capital of an election; contains about 2300 inhabi-

tants. It seems to take its name from the *Pays de Caux*, whereof it is one of the principal towns; and *Bec*, which in the *Norwegian* language signifies a stream, because in fact a large

large stream, or rivulet, falls into the *Seine* at this place, and has this remarkable about it, that its waters have a very saltish taste.

*Caudebec* is about 36 leagues distant from *Paris*, and seven from *Rouen*, being situated on the bank of the *Seine*, at the foot of a large hill, covered with woods. Although it is but a little place, it is populous for its size. It has also good walls, flanked with towers, and surrounded with an excellent ditch. When it was besieged by the *English* in the year 1419, it made a very good defence, and at last obtained an honourable capitulation. In 1562, the protestants made themselves masters of it, but it was retaken that very year by the baron *de St. Clare*. In 1592, the duke of *Parma*, at the head of the army of the League, made himself master of it, and had his arm broke during the siege. The election of *Caudebec* contains 87 parishes, of which number are those of *St. Valery*, *Cany*, *Granville*, *Ivetot*, *Bollebec*, and *l'lebonne*. The rivulet already mentioned, which falls into the *Seine* at *Caudebec*, takes its rise about three leagues from the town, and afterward dividing itself into several branches, passes through it, to the great advantage of the inhabitants, as it supplies their mills with plenty of water, and also their tan-pits. The parish church of *Caudebec*, which is dedicated to the Virgin, is very beautiful. The gallery, wherein the organ stands, is particularly observed as a piece of excellent workmanship. The *Capuchins* have a convent in the town, and the nuns of the congregation of *Notre dame* another. This place was once

famous for the manufacture of hats, in which it formerly carried on a great trade; but this branch of commerce has been greatly reduced for some years past, so that now little or nothing of that kind is exported from this place. They also trade considerably in corn and linen, and there are a great many tanners in the town. Their harbour also enables them to carry on a trade by sea. There is a good weekly market at *Caudebec* every *Saturday*, and a fair about the festival of *St. Martin*.

Before *Caudebec* was eclipsed by *Havre de Grace*, it was accounted the capital of *the Pays de Caux*, probably so called from its antient inhabitants the *Calaes*, extending in length from *Rouen* to *Havre*, and in breadth from *Caudebec* to *Picardie*. It lies high, but flat and plain, having very few hills or vallies; but the soil is cold, and the inhabitants distressed for want of good water. It produces however plenty of all sorts of grain, and the villages appear like forest, every estate being inclosed within ditches and hedges, thick set with trees, which grow very straight, and to a great height. Gentlemen's seats are, for the most part, surrounded with groves of beeches and pines, which make them appear to advantage; but after all, the country in general cannot be said to be pleasant.

After travelling seven leagues up the *Seine* from *Caudebec*, and passing through a great many villages of little importance, we arrive at

## R O U E N,

ONE of the most considerable and most antient cities of the kingdom. Its *Latin* name *Rotomagus*, or *Rotbomagus*, has given the critics an opportunity of exercising their faculties, and shewing their learning in their enquiries concerning the origin of it. The false *Berosus* says, that *Magus*, the son and successor of *Samothès*, the first king of the *Gauls*, laid the foundations of *Rouen*, and called it after his own name, which in the *Celtic* language signifies a builder. But this

cerning the origin of it. The false *Berosus* says, that *Magus*, the son and successor of *Samothès*, the first king of the *Gauls*, laid the foundations of *Rouen*, and called it after his own name, which in the *Celtic* language signifies a builder. But this

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this etymology gives no account of the first part of the name *Roto*, which is annexed to *Magus*; others therefore will have it, that *Rhomus*, the son of *Allobrox*, the seventeenth king of the *Gauls*, having rebuilt and enlarged the town, thought proper to join his name with that of the founder, and out of the two, by changing some letters, formed the word *Rbomagus*. *Camden* derives the name from *Rith*, which in the old language of the *Gauls*, signifies a ford, or passage over a river: but the celebrated *M. Huet* observes, that, had this been the case, it would have been first called *Rithomagus*, and thereafter *Rothomagus*. It is also observed, that as there is no ford at *Rouen*, this etymology cannot be supported, without asserting that there was originally a ferry there. Others pretend, that the two first syllables, *Rotbo*, are taken from the name of an idol, had in great veneration at *Rouen*, called *Rotb* or *Rotben*. A late learned abbot thought, that *Rothomagus* was derived from *Rothos* or *Rothion*, which in *Greek* signifies *Streptus aquarum*; but it is not very probable that the *Gauls* were much acquainted with that language. To conclude, others will have it derived from the first syllables of *Rottobecum*, which is the *Latin* name of the little river *Robec*; and *Magus*, or *Magum*, which in the *Celtic* language signifies a town. These last are of opinion, that the town was first called *Rotobecomagus*, i. e. the town of *Robec*, afterwards by contraction *Rotomagus*, and, last of all, *Rouen*.

Be this as it will, *Rouen* is the capital of *Normandy*, one of the principal towns of *France*, and a temporary magazine for carrying on a part of the naval commerce of that kingdom. Its situation is not very favourable with regard to pleasant prospects, or wholesome air, as it lies in a low valley, upon the bank of the *Seine*, covered on three sides by so many ridges of hills very high and rugged, and only open on the side next the river, by which means it is much ex-

posed to thick and noxious fogs. It has no other fortifications but a wall flanked by old fashioned round towers, and some irregular bastions, to defend the gates which open towards the land. The principal gates of *Rouen* are seven in number; five towards the land, and two on the side next the river: the former are the gates of *Couchoise*, *Bouvercul*, *Beauvais*, *St. Hilary* and *Martainville*. The two gates on the side next the river are those of *Bac* and *Grand Pont*, the first opposite to the bridge of boats, is a piece of fine architecture, adorned with pilasters, the arms of *France* and *Navarre*, and several ornaments of sculpture. The gate of *Grand Pont* stands opposite to the remains of the antient stone bridge. Besides these principal gates, there are eleven others along the side of the *Seine*, one whereof is called the gate of *Paris*.

They reckon in *Rouen* seven publick, or market places, one whereof is called the *Old Market*, where they sell poultry and pulse; and here also criminals are commonly executed. The *New Market*, in which all kinds of fruit are sold, is adorned with a pedestrian statue of *Lewis XV.* The veal market, so called from the veal and mutton which are sold in it, is remarkable by the death of *Jeanne d'Arc*, commonly called *The Maid of Orleans*. Here you see a large fountain with many ornaments, particularly, three large pillars disposed in the form of a triangle, supporting a platform; in the middle of which is a large statue of that famous virago, with three other pillars; over which you see some figures and ornaments, and at top of all a lanthorn. This statue of the *Maid of Orleans* was not erected till her memory came to be respected, and even had in veneration, that is, about three and twenty years after her death. The old Tower Market, so named from a tower, which formerly made a part of the castle belonging to the dukes of *Normandy*, and was demolished about the year 1204. In place of this tower there is now a square chapel, open on all sides, which bears the name of *St. Romain*.

*main*. In this place, the malefactor who obtains his pardon by a particular privilege belonging to the clergy of *Rouen*, takes up the relicts of *Romain* on ascension day, in testimony of his being indemnified, and quite delivered from punishment. The horse market, commonly called *la Rougemare*, is the largest of all, and the other two called *la Calendre*, and *la Petite Boucherie du Pont*, have nothing remarkable about them.

There are six suburbs belonging to *Rouen*, viz. that of *St. Gervais* without the *Cauchoise* gate; that of *Bouvereul*; that of *Beauvoisine*: that of *St. Hilary*; that of *Martainville*, and that of *St. Sever*; the last of which is beyond the bridge on the other side of the *Seine*. The suburb of *St. Gervais* is the greatest of them all, but that of *St. Sever* is not much less. *French* authors differ considerably in regard to the number of inhabitants of *Rouen*, as they often do in other matters. *M. de Bourdonnoye*, intendant of the generality of *Rouen*, in the memorial which he presented to the duke of *Burgundy* in the year 1697, concerning the state of that part of the *French* dominions, tells us, that in former times the inhabitants of this town were reckoned to exceed 80,000; but by wars, decay of trade, poverty, and misery, together with the desolation occasioned there, as well as in other places, by the revocation of the edict of *Nantz*, their numbers were so far reduced, that in his time they came short of 60,000 †. *M. Piganiol de la Force*, who wrote soon after the year 1740, reckons the inhabitants of the city and suburbs, at the time he wrote, upwards of 60,000 ‡. But another late author of the same nation, computes them to be above of 100,000 \*. Be this as it may, the town stands in the latitude of 49 degrees 39 minutes, and 1 degree 5 minutes to the eastward of the meridian of *London*. Its walls are reckoned two leagues

in circumference; its length from the *Cauchoise* gate on the north-west to that of *St. Hilary* towards the east, is half a league; and its breadth, from the gate of *Grand Pont*; on the south to the *Beauvoisine* gate which opens to the north-east, a large quarter of a league. Its form is that of an irregular heptagon, having at several of its sides salient and re-entering angles.

An old historian tells us, that in his time there were three fortresses in *Rouen*, one called *le Palais*, and another *le Châtel*, or *Fort St. Catherine*, and a third, *le Pont*. The old palace was founded in 1419, soon after *Henry V.* of *England* had made himself master of the town, and finished in the reign of his son *Henry VI.* about the year 1443. It is an old fashioned castle, of little or no defence, flanked with six large round towers, with a draw-bridge, and a ditch round it. There is now no garrison in it, though it has a governor. The old castle *du Pont*, is so named, because it stands at the end of the antient stone bridge, opposite to the suburbs of *St. Sever*. Its governor has only 800 livres of yearly salary: it is now used as a prison for those who are confined by order of the Governour of *Rouen*, or the Marshals of *France*. This fort was also built in the year 1419, by order of *Henry V.* of *England*. As the town is very populous, and of no great extent, the streets in general are very narrow, except the principal one. That of the *Gros Horloge*, which goes to the metropolitan church: that of the *Haranguerie*, and that of *Grand Pont*; they reckon in all 37 parishes, 32 of which are in the city; five hospitals, forty publick fountains, and three small rivers, *Aubette*, *Robec*, and *Renelle*. This last was called *Ranella*, according to *M. de Valois's* conjecture, from the great number of frogs that are in it, and is only a canal of water from the reservoir belonging to one of the fountains of the town, which was granted to the tanners of *Rouen*, by the antient dukes of *Normandy*. Though the author

† See *Etat. de France*, tom. V. p. 13.

‡ *Nouvelle Description de la France*, tom. IX. p. 252.

\* See *Geographique historique, ecclesiastique et civile*; par dom. Joseph Vaissète, printed at Paris 1755. tom. II. p. 382.



thor of the Dictionnaire Geographique was a native of *Rouen*, he seems to be mistaken, in saying that one of these rivers supplies the ditches of the town with water.

The metropolitan church is dedicated to the Virgin, and is accounted one of the finest in the kingdom. Before you enter it, you pass through a large square, fronting the great porch, in the middle of which is a fountain in the shape of a tower, which discharges its water by four orifices, one in each side. The front of the great porch is seventy feet long, including the two towers which flank it; of which that on the right of the porch is 220 feet high, and called the new Tower, or the butter Tower, because it was built with the money contributed by the people, who purchased indulgences for eating butter in time of *Lent*.

In this tower is the bell called *George d'Amboise*, from the name of the great prelate who made a present of it to this church. It was cast on the 2d of *August* 1501, by one *Jean le Machon*, and weighs 36,000 pounds. It is above 32 feet in circumference, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  in height, and more than one foot thick. The clapper weighs 1360 pounds †.

This bell was hung up in the tower, where it still continues, on the 9th of *October* 1501, and rung for the first time

† Round the bell are the following four *French*, and six *Latin* lines:

Je suis nommé George d'Amboise,

Qui bien trente six mille poise,

Et c'est qui me bien pesera;

Quarante mille y trouvera.

*Ipsa ego sum quamvis sonitu veneranda tonanti,*

*Prima est auctori gloria danda meo;*

*Namque ter et denis cum sextis millibus æris*

*Obtulit, hæc viro dona dicata Deo.*

*Scilicet Amboius, qui sancta, Georgius, arma*

*Quodæque francigenis tractat habenda viris.*

*Rotomagus tanto sociis antistite gaudet,*

*Cum sit Cardinei gloria summa chori.*

*L'an 1501, du regne de Louis XII. Roi de France,*

*Jean le Machon, demeurant à Chartres, m'a faite.*

on the 16th of *February* 1502 by 16 men: but *John de Machon* had not the satisfaction to hear it; for he died nineteen days after he had finished this extraordinary piece of workmanship. The other tower stands on the left side of the porch, and is provided with eight bells, the largest whereof weighs between 24 or 25,000 pounds. The church is 108 foot long. The nave, including the two low sides, is 83 feet broad. The tower in the form of a lanthorn, which stands in the middle of the cross, and supports the pyramid, is 150 feet high, and the pyramid itself as much. The choir is separated from the body of the church by a partition of copper. In the middle is a tomb of black marble four feet high, containing the heart of *Charles V.* there is also a statue of that prince in white marble, as large as life, holding his heart in his hand. On the right side of the altar is the tomb of *Richard*, surnamed *Coeur de Lyon*, King of *England* †; and on the left that of the brave duke of *Bedford*, the brother of *Henry V.* of *England*. The chapel of the Virgin is behind the choir, and in it are two magnificent tombs, one erected to the memory of cardinal *d'Amboise*, archbishop of *Rouen*. This tomb is of black marble, and so inserted into the wall, that it is no incumbrance to the chapel, notwithstanding it is sixteen feet broad, and twenty-one in height. It was erected in the year 1522, twelve years after that cardinal's death, by his nephew *George d'Amboise*, who was also advanced to the purple, and succeeded his uncle in the archbishoprick of *Rouen*. The two cardinals are represented by two statues of white marble on the tomb, and round it are four *Latin* verses \*,

\* *Pastor eram cleri, populi pater aurea sese*

*Lilia sudebant, quercus et ipsa mihi.*

*Mortuus en jaceo; morte extinguuntur honores,*

*At virtus, mortis nescia, morte viret.*

† This tomb only contains King *Richard's* heart, his body having, by his own order, been buried at *Fontevraud*, at his father's feet, and his bowels sent to *Peisleu*. See *Rapin's history of England*, vol. I. p. 257.

Below

Below are Faith, Charity, Prudence, Fortitude, Justice, and Temperance, all in white marble, and in little separate apartments between the pilasters. The upper part of the tomb is adorned with a great many small statues, and among others, those of the twelve apostles. On the left side of the same chapel is the tomb of *Louis de Brezé*, grand seneschal of *Normandy*, as rich and magnificent as the former.

On the left side of the cross you see a stone stair-case leading to the library, which is composed of the collections of several great men, who made donations of their books to this church. *John de Prevost*, who long kept it, was the person that enriched it most. It is observed of him, that his attachment to this library was so great, that he desired to be buried at the foot of the stair-case which leads to it. It is shut in the month of *October*, but open all the rest of the year, except on *Sundays*, *Holidays*, and *Thursdays*.

The archiepiscopal palace, which is very large and convenient, was founded by cardinal *d'Estouteville*, in the year 1461, and finished by cardinal *d'Amboise*. The parish of *St. Mac-lou* is so large, that it is said to contain 20000 communicants. The church belonging to it is a masterpiece of architecture, which surprises the greatest artists by its beauty, and the regularity of its proportions. Besides these already named, the church of *Notre-Dame de la Rond*, that of *St. Stephen*, and that of *St. Godard*, are reckoned very handsome. In the town and suburbs are forty monasteries or convents, seventeen of monks, and twenty-three of nuns. The abbey of *St. Ouen* belongs to the benedictines of the congregation of *St. Maur*, or reformed Benedictines. It was founded by *Clota-rius II.* King of *France*, and dedicated to *St. Peter*, in the year 604. His two wives, *Bertrude* and *Heltrudis*, are both buried in it. It has since gone under the name of *St. Ouen*, whose body was transported by the monks into *Gaul*, in the ninth century, when the *Normans* destroyed the monastery,  
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and set fire to the town of *Rouen*. But at the intreaty of these monks, duke *Raoul*, who embraced the christian religion, brought the body of the Saint back to *Rouen*: and *Richard I.* the son of *William Longsword*, and grandson of *Raoul*, rebuilt the monastery. The church was founded by *Richard III.* duke of *Normandy*, on a magnificent and beautiful plan; a laick of the name of *Gislebert* carried on the building, and the abbé who succeeded *Helgotus* finished it, about sixty years after its foundations were laid. It is longer than the metropolitan church, and in other respects accounted one of the neatest and most magnificent pieces of architecture in all *France*. The revenues of this abbey are said to amount to 60,000 livres a year. There are five hospitals in the town, viz. the general hospital, for those poor that are able to work; *St. Magdalen's* infirmary for the sick; the hospital of *St. Francis* and *St. Vivien*, for the relief of the travelling poor; an hospital for the diseased priests; and, lastly, an infirmary in the suburbs of *Cauchoise*. There are five colleges in the town, one belonging to the jesuits, another to the monks of *St. Clement*, and the colleges of *Flavacourt*, *Albane*, and *Darnetal*; four seminaries, one for the study of theology, another for qualifying the clergy that propose to take orders; a third for poor scholars of the lower classes; and a fourth, for the education of twelve students, under the directions of the jesuits.

The secular buildings, of greatest note, are the parliament-house, court of requests, house of the first president, the mint, the magazine for salt. The town-house has nothing remarkable. One of the greatest curiosities about *Rouen* is the bridge, built at the expence of the town in the year 1626, which is a beautiful piece of workmanship. It stands upon nineteen boats, which rise and fall with the tide. It has a particular walk for the conveniency of foot passengers. When the river is covered with ice, it is easily taken to pieces, and opened



on the side next the suburbs of *St. Sever*, with great expedition, to let the boats and barks go up and down as there is occasion. It is 270 paces in length, and leads to the suburbs of *St. Sever*, where are to be seen the Mall and the *Courfe*. The latter is one of the most beautiful in *Europe*. It is about 212 fathoms in length, and more than nineteen in breadth. The rows of trees on each side form two alleys, for the conveniency of those that walk on foot, one along the river, and the other through the fields. The grand alley in the middle between the two former, designed for coaches, is about fourteen fathoms broad. On both sides are benches, on which they who chuse may sit and rest themselves. There was formerly a stone bridge at *Rouen*, built by the order of the Princess *Matilda*, commonly called *Maude* the Empress, the mother of *Henry II.* of *England*. It consisted of sixteen arches, and was near seventy fathoms in length. But in the year 1502, three of these arches fell down, two more in 1533, and in 1564, some of those that remained opening, it became quite useless, and therefore was demolished. By what still remains of this bridge, it appears to have been very high and very narrow.

The magistracy of the town formerly consisted of a mayor and 36 officers, called peers; but this form of government was suppressed in the fourteenth century, when the affairs of the town were put into the hands of six aldermen, with a bailiff and lieutenant general at their head. This form continued till 1695, when perpetual mayors being created in all the towns of the kingdom, the city of *Rouen* purchased the mayoralty, and united it to its own body, so that by this means they have the right of chusing their own mayor, who continues three years in office, and is elected by turns out of the body of the lawyers, that of military officers, and that of merchants. The yearly revenue of the town amounts to 150,000 livres, but the expences to be defrayed by it are very considerable.

*Rouen* has the privilege of three free fairs, one at *Candlemas*, another at *Whitsuntide*, and a third on the 23d of *October*. The first and last are said to have continued originally fifteen days each. They were first granted to the town of *Caen*, by *Lewis XI.* in the year 1450, but suppressed by letters patent in 1477, and established at *Rouen* with the privileges mentioned in these letters. The third begins on the 23d of *October*, which is the festival of *St. Romain*, and lasts six days. It is pretended, that this fair was originally granted by the Dukes of *Normandy* before the year 1080; but whatever be in this, *Francis I.* confirmed them by letters patent, in the month of *February* 1521, and ordered that which begins on the 23d of *October*, to be, in all time to come, continued for six days every year. During these fairs, 40 or 45 sols of the tax imposed upon every hoghead, or muid, of strong liquors, is abated, and only half the duty laid upon goods exported to foreign countries is exacted, but the exporters are obliged to make it appear that they were purchased during the fairs. When the river *Seine* is frozen, *Candlemas* fair is put off to another time, but it rarely happens that the privilege is put off also. There are two other fairs held without the town, one at a place called *bonne Nouvelle*, the day after the feast of *Ascension*; and the other in the suburbs of *Cauchoise*, on *St. Gervais's* day; they last but one day, and have no privileges annexed to them. The bailiff or his deputy, together with the aldermen, hold courts at the town house during the fairs, and judge finally in all questions, disputes, and suits commenced at that time: and in the absence of the bailiff or his deputy, the oldest aiderman holds these courts.

The trade of the city and generality at *Rouen* is very considerable. It consists principally in woollen cloaths, linen, leather, hats, combs, cards, pepper, and a vast many other sorts of goods. The cloth trade is of great benefit to the whole.

whole province, for several thousand of manufacturers are employed in this branch, and gain a comfortable subsistence. All these cloths and stuffs are consumed in *France*, and are not only beneficial to the places where they are manufactured, but also to the whole kingdom in general, as they keep the money at home, which otherwise would be sent abroad to furnish foreign manufactures. But after all, the linens manufactured in this generality, being, for the most part, carried out of the kingdom, are of greater advantage than the woollen manufactures, because the former draw money into the country. The linens manufactured here are of several sorts, whereof the most considerable are those which are called *Fleurets blancs*, manufactured at *Pont Audemer*, *Lisieux*, and *Bernay*. They are purchased at *Bourg St. George*, and sent into *Spain* with another sort of linen cloth called *Toiles de coffre*, manufactured at *Evreux* and *Louviers*. From *Spain* they are conveyed to the *West-Indies*, where they are in great reputation under the name of *Toiles de Rouen*. The returns are made in gold and silver; and it is computed that, in time of peace, they amount to more than a million yearly.

In the suburb of *St. Sever* are three manufactures of earthen ware, so considerable, that they might supply the whole kingdom with that commodity. There you may see terrestrial and celestial globes of seventeen inches diameter, which are the admiration of the curious; some supported by *Atlas's*, others by pedestals, and on them are painted the four elements, and the four systems. Besides these manufactures, there is one of starch and another of soap, four considerable sugar houses, and a fifth not much employed. In this city, they knit stockings by the machine, and by needles, as also woollen caps. The greatest part of the poor of the general hospital are employed in knitting. The confections made at *Rouen* are in great reputation both within the kingdom and in foreign countries. In the country about *Rouen*, and all the

*Roumois*, large quantities of thread laces, are manufactured, and this makes a considerable branch of the trade of that city. It is pretended that the linen halls of the city of *Rouen*, bring in more than six millions of livres yearly, the greatest part whereof comes from the *Indies* and the *American* islands; nor is the trade carried on by the tanners less considerable. There is a kind of linen made in the *pays du Caux*, fit for shirts, handkerchiefs, and other family uses. There is another sort fit for sail cloth, and pack sheets, and a third the greatest part whereof is exported to *New France*; but the most considerable fabric of all, is that of brown linen intended to serve for lining to clothes, whereof 6 or 7000 pieces are manufactured yearly, and in this branch no less than 5 or 6000 manufacturers are constantly employed. Leather and hats also make a considerable branch of commerce here; combs, paper, cards, and mercery goods, are conveyed hence to the rest of the kingdom, and exported to the north, to *Spain*, and to *Portugal*.

There are abundance of glass-houses in this province which draw to it a great deal of money. They manufacture here, not only flat glass for windows, but also all sorts of bottles, drinking glasses, and other vessels. In short, this branch is carried to such perfection that they cast plates of mirror glass of extraordinary size, so that this is one of the most advantageous branches of trade carried on in *Normandy*. About 7 or 8 leagues to the northward of *Rouen*, viz. at *Saens*, and in the forest of *Lyons*, are five or six glass houses, in which they make bottles of coarse glass, drinking glasses, and window glass, all which are conveyed for sale to *Rouen*; where they vend the value of 300,000 livres yearly. The greatest part of the window glass manufactured here, is transported to the other towns of the kingdom, and conveyed into foreign countries. At *Neufchatel*, about ten leagues to the north of *Rouen*, there is a manufacture of crystal, which is of



of great advantage to the enamellers, who work for *Senegal*, as well as those of *Paris*. Towards the south, about *New-bourg*, there are large forges, where they manufacture such quantities of iron, as might be sufficient for the consumption of the whole kingdom; but it is not so good as that which is brought from *Sweden*.

A great many manufactures of woollen cloth, are set up at *Rouen* and in its neighbourhood; there are particularly in that town 125 looms at work upon cloths, after the fashion of those made at *Elbeuf*, three on that sort of cloth, which the *French* call *Draps de Sceau*, five on *Ratines*, and fifty on *Espagnolettes*; all these manufactures in time of peace, employ upwards of 3500 hands. Besides these there are upwards of 60 looms at work upon *Barragons*; and to say no more, there is a manufacture at *Rouen* for that kind of tapestry which the *French* call *Tapisseries de la porte de Paris*, which keeps more than 200 looms at work. There are at least 60 more employed in working a kind of cloth called *la Bergame*; but it is not so good as what they make at *Elbeuf*. The woollen manufacture at *Darnetal* near *Rouen*, keeps 40 looms at work, upon cloth after the manner of *Elbeuf*. In the same place are twelve more, employed in manufacturing *drap de Sceau*, and fifty at work upon a kind of droguet called *Pinchenat*; all these employ and procure subsistence for 3000 manufacturers. But the manufacture of woollen cloth at *Elbeuf* is the most considerable of all. It was set on foot in the year 1677, and keeps 300 looms at work, which manufacture, every year, between 700 and 1000 pieces of cloth five quarters broad, after the fashion of *England* and *Holland*, to the amount of more than 2,000,000 of livres; whereby above 8000 manufacturers find good employment and a comfortable subsistence in the town of *Elbeuf*, and its neighbourhood. There is also at *Orival*, a village not far from *Elbeuf*, 8 looms at work upon woollen cloth, and at *Elbeuf* it-

self 70 employed in those kinds of tapestry called *la Bergame* and *Point de Hongrie*, which give employment to 4 or 500 persons, all the year round. At *Louviers* are 60 looms at work upon cloth in the fashion of *Elbeuf*, whereby 1900 manufacturers are supported. They reckon also three and twenty looms at *Bouille*; and the manufacture of *Pont de l'Arche*, where they prepare fine cloth after the manner of the *English*, is in great reputation, though it consists of no more than six or seven looms: the worsted trade is carried on by spinsters brought from *Holland*. The hides of the cattle killed in the slaughter houses, and a great many which come from the *American* isles, are tanned at *Rouen* and its neighbourhood, whence they are afterwards dispersed through the kingdom, and constitute a profitable and important branch of trade.

Some learned men at *Caen*, in the year 1652, formed a society for their own improvement in the study of the *Belles Lettres*; which, before the end of that century, gained so great a reputation, that, in the year 1705, *Lewis XIV.* granted letters patent conferring on them a legal establishment, and erecting them into a regular academy. This excited the jealousy of the inhabitants of *Rouen*; and indeed it was generally thought strange, that there should be such an establishment at *Caen*, when there was nothing of the kind in the capital of the province, a town far superior to the former, in regard to the extent of its commerce, and the number and industry of its inhabitants. This consideration inspired several learned men with an ambition to contribute to the erection of an academy at *Rouen*, and among others, *M. l'Abbé le Gendre*, one of the Canons of the church of *Notre-Dame* at *Paris*, who, probably, was himself a native of *Rouen*, left in legacy to the magistrates of that town, the sum of 20000 livres to be employed in promoting so good a design. Upon this encouragement several learned men about *Rouen* formed themselves into a literary society with such success and reputation, that, after subsisting

subsisting sometime, they obtained the king's letters patent, dated at *Lisle*, in the month of *June* 1744, erecting them into an academy of *Belles Lettres, Arts and Sciences*.

By these letters, the king permits, approves and authorises, an *Academy of Belles Lettres, Arts and Sciences*, in the city of *Rouen*, and puts it under the particular protection of *Charles Francis* of *Montmorency-Luxembourg*, duke of *Luxembourg*, *Piney* and *Montmorency*, peer, and first christian baron of *France*, governor and lieutenant general of the province of *Normandy*, lieutenant general of his Majesty's armies, and knight of all his orders. The King also ordains that the members of the academy, be limited to the number of 36, 12 fellows, 12 additional members, (*adjoints*) and 12 others, who may have access to the academy, under the name and title of honorary members, agreeable to the statutes and regulations, thereto affixed under the counterseal of the chancery, &c. The said academy are also allowed to have a seal of such an impression, figure and inscription, as to them shall seem proper, for sealing their acts, or deeds published by their order. His majesty further orders, that this academy, for the present, consist of the members contained in the list annexed to these letters patent, under the counterseal of the chancery, whom his majesty has named, and hereby doth name, for this time only, leaving the members of the said academy at liberty to fill up the places, which in time to come shall fall vacant, by a due election, in conformity to the said statutes; and that the members have the same honours, privileges, and franchises, that are enjoyed by those of the academy of *Paris*, excepting only the right of *committimus*.

In the preamble to these letters, it is observed, " That the  
" king having been informed, that a society of men of let-  
" ters is already formed, in his good town of *Rouen*, with a  
" view to perfect themselves in the knowledge of the *Belles*  
" *Lettres, Arts and Sciences*; and that however extensive this  
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" intention may be, there is good ground to expect, it will  
" be accomplished by the great talents and abilities of those  
" who are engaged in so noble a pursuit, especially, as the  
" meetings of the society, already held, have convinced the  
" world of its great utility, and the publick, from the ob-  
" servations and memoirs, which have already seen the light,  
" wait with impatience for the important works they have  
" begun in natural philosophy, anatomy, chymistry, and  
" botany, in which many happy discoveries may be expect-  
" ed, from the abundance, regularity and variety, which  
" prevail in the garden of physical herbs and plants, cul-  
" tivated with equal care and success, in the said good town  
" of *Rouen*. That the ambition his Majesty has always had to  
" contribute to the progress of the *Belles Lettres, Arts and*  
" *Sciences*, and the glory and advantages, that may result from  
" them to his dominions, have determined him to give a  
" solid foundation to this establishment, and second, on this  
" occasion, the zeal of the mayor and aldermen of the said  
" town, that this rising society may have such a lasting du-  
" ration, as is due to the memory of the late *Louis le Gen-*  
" *dre*, canon and sub-chanter of the church of *Notre-dame* at  
" *Paris*, whose liberality, the said magistrates would apply  
" to no other purpose but that of the encouragement of the  
" new academy. That his Majesty has further seen, with sa-  
" tisfaction, the concern, which that good man expresses in  
" his will, of the 24th of *February* 1734, that a town, fa-  
" mous on account of the talents and particular taste of its  
" inhabitants for the sublime sciences, should be at a loss for  
" means of cultivating them to the best advantage; adding,  
" that there is ground to hope, the donation, this good man  
" has made of 1000 livres, of yearly revenue, to the said  
" magistrates at *Rouen*, for the encouragement of literature,  
" will so animate and incite the learned men of that place,  
" that the said town of *Rouen* will henceforward be as re-

C c c

" markable



"markable for its progress in learning and the sciences, as  
 "at that time, for the reputation and extent of its  
 "trade; that therefore, to put the members, whereof this  
 "academy is composed at present, or shall be composed in  
 "time to come, in condition to support themselves with ho-  
 "nour and dignity, in all time coming, the King has agreed  
 "to authorise their assemblies, and the regulations necessary  
 "to keep order and decency therein," &c. as has been al-  
 ready said.

The Militia of *Rouen* consists of twelve companies of the citizens, each of which has a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, and other inferior officers. They have also a major; and are said to have been first instituted on the 30th of *September*, in the year 1567. Two of these captains are taken from the counsellors belonging to the parliament, two from the *Maitres de Compts*, one from the court of *Aydes*, one from the board of the finances, and one from the *Presidial* court. The five remaining captains, the twelve lieutenants, and the twelve ensigns are taken out of the number of the citizens of greatest note. The town is divided into four quarters, and each of these is guarded by one of those companies. This Militia has a right to the privileges conferred by the edicts of the month of *March* 1694, and *June* 1708. Besides this Militia of the citizens, there is also another company of 50 horse, with a captain, lieutenant and cornet, and another of 150 musqueteers on foot, to guard the town. The latter is said to be of very old standing, and has several privileges and exemptions.

The town of *Rouen*, before the arrival of *Julius Cæsar* in *Gaul*, was the capital of the *Velocasses*, one of the eleven nations of *Neustria*, and was forced to submit to the *Roman* yoke, by *Sabinus*, one of that conqueror's lieutenants. *Clovis*, the fifth King of *France*, recovered it out of the hands of the *Romans*, toward the end of the fifth cen-

tury. About the year 820 the northern nations began to make incursions into *France*, and some time thereafter established themselves so effectually in *Neustria*, that the *French* were not able to drive them out. In short, they increased so much in strength and power, that they laid siege three several times to the city of *Paris*, and struck so great terror into the inhabitants of that capital, that, to deliver them from the fury of the *Normans*, was a constant petition in their public prayers.\* To put an end to these disorders, *Charles* the Simple found it necessary to yield to these *Barbarians* a part of *Neustria*, on condition that they should hold it as a fief of the crown of *France*, and no more disturb the peace of that kingdom. This agreement was concluded about the year 912; when that part of *France*, thus ceded to the *Normans*, was, from the name of its new masters, called *Normandy*, and began to be governed by Dukes of its own, who generally resided at *Rouen*.

Thus matters continued till the conquest of *England*, in 1066, by *William* Duke of *Normandy*, commonly called the Conqueror, at which period it became a part of the *English* dominions in *France*, and continued in subjection to that crown till the unfortunate reign of King *John*. The weakness of this prince, the early disgusts he gave to his own subjects, but especially the difference between him and his nephew, the Duke of *Bretagne*, who was the lineal heir of *Henry II.* of *England*, gave *Philip* surnamed *the August*, who, at that time, filled the throne of *France*, hopes, that he might find easy means to snatch the dominions of *England* in *France* out of the hands both of the uncle and nephew. It happened, conveniently for his purpose, that the young duke of *Bretagne's* mother, immediately upon the death of *Richard*, *John's* predecessor in the crown of *England*, put him under the

\* A furore *Normanorum* libera nos Domine.

protection of the King of *France*, for fear of the snares, which, during his minority, might be laid for him by his uncle, in whom she had no manner of confidence. *Philip*, with all these advantages, did not think proper to own his intentions and attack *John* directly, but to make his game still more sure, wheedled him into a disadvantageous and dishonourable treaty, whereby the latter gives up a part of his dominions in *France*, at least for a time, to secure the rest. *Philip*, on the other hand, to lull the weak prince fast asleep, and divert his attention entirely from the severe blow he was meditating, engaged to secure to him his other dominions beyond sea, and, which was a point of very great importance to *John*, absolutely renounced the interests of the Duke of *Bretagne*. The two Kings seemed to execute this treaty with great sincerity, and so fond was the *French* monarch of his brother of *England*, that, in a short time thereafter, he procured an interview with him, where they renewed the treaty, with the strongest declarations and professions of sincerity and mutual friendship; yet, at this very time, *Philip* was secretly concerting measures with the young Duke of *Bretagne*, and one of *John*'s discontented subjects, to strip him of every foot of ground he could pretend to, on that side of the *English* channel.

Soon after, when his designs were ripe for execution, he obtained another interview with *John*, wherein he spake in a quite different strain, and required him to renounce all his dominions on that side of the sea, in favour of his nephew, the Duke of *Bretagne*. *John*, it will be easily believed, was greatly surprized at this demand, and, with some warmth, refused compliance; upon this, *Philip* fell upon him on one quarter, and the duke of *Bretagne* upon another. The latter had the misfortune to fail in his first attempt, and fall into the hands of his uncle, who sent him prisoner first to *Falaise*, and thereafter to *Rouen*, where this unhappy young prince soon disappeared, and was never seen

more. There were various conjectures about the manner of his death, but the general opinion ascribed the contrivance of it to his unnatural uncle, whatever way it might be executed. This tragical affair was no disagreeable news to *Philip*, and though he was at war with *John*, he summoned him as his vassal, to appear before him, and answer for invading the dominions and contriving the death of his nephew, the Duke of *Bretagne*. *John* offered to appear, if his enemy, who was also to be his judge, would grant him a safe conduct to and from the place of trial: this was refused, and yet upon his non-appearance, *John* was pronounced guilty, and deprived of all the fiefs he possessed in *France*.

Before this sentence was pronounced, *Philip* had prepared a strong army to put it in execution, whereas poor *John* was so infatuated, that tho' he saw the clouds gathering, and the storm impending, he had no thought of providing for his defence. Accordingly *Philip*, having made himself master of several strong places in *Guienne*, marched into *Normandy*, where, finding no army in the field to oppose him, he soon overran the defenceless country, and having, with little opposition, reduced almost all the other strong places, sat down before *Rouen*, towards the end of autumn in the year 1204. The town was, at this time, in a good state of defence, having very good walls, flanked with strong and high towers, three deep ditches round it, and a strong garrison, able to defend it for a long time. Accordingly the besieged made frequent and furious sallies, but a great many batteries being raised against it, and the siege carried on with vigour, and without intermission, the garrison having had no relief sent them, and being at last distressed with fatigue and famine, agreed to submit, if they were not relieved in thirty days. This term being elapsed, and no relief appearing from *England*, they surrendered to the conqueror, on condition that the town should continue in the full enjoyment of all its



its rights and privileges; but, as a famous historian justly observes, "This precaution proved as feeble against absolute power, as parchment against iron." The town was no sooner in the hands of the *French*, than *Philip* ordered the walls to be demolished, and a fortress to be built to overawe the citizens. Thus the city of *Rouen*, and together with it all the province of *Normandy*, were united again to the crown of *France*, after having been separated from it about 300 years. It is said, that *John* was so insensible of these disgraces, that the deputies of *Rouen*, when they came to solicit supplies, found him playing at chess, and that instead of exerting himself to send them relief, he did not so much as interrupt his game, but boasted that he would recover in less than a month, all that *Philip* had taken from him in four years.

Thus matters continued with regard to *Rouen*, till the glorious reign of *Henry V.* of *England*, who having gained a compleat and most signal victory over the *French*, at *Azin-court*, in 1415, two years thereafter again invaded that kingdom at the head of an army of 25000 men only. He sailed from *England* about the end of *July*, and before the beginning of *December*, had made himself master of *Touques*, *Caen*, *Bayeux*, *Argentan*, *Chateau de l'Aigle*, *Alençon*, and several other places. Next year he continued his conquests, and, having taken *Cherbourg* by capitulation, after three months siege, in the end of *August*, or the beginning of *September* 1418, sat down before *Rouen*. This siege was very remarkable for the vigorous defence of the besieged, who held out five months and endured the greatest hardships. They applied to the Duke of *Burgundy* for succours, but to no purpose. He put however the *Pope's* legate upon trying, whether he could interrupt the siege by a negotiation; but this method likewise failing, he assembled all the forces in his power and seemed resolved to give the *English* battle. He

even carried the King as far as *Beauvais*, but all this apparatus came to nothing. The Duke of *Burgundy* sending no relief to the besieged, they applied to the *Dauphin*, who was as little able to raise the siege by force of arms; and therefore resolved also to attempt it by negotiation. Accordingly, he sent a message to the King of *England*, that he desired to treat with him upon three articles, *viz.* the means of restoring peace to *France*, the marriage sometime ago proposed, and an alliance between them two against the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Henry* did not absolutely reject these proposals, but appointed proper persons to negotiate with the *Dauphin*; this negotiation, however, by no means hindered his prosecuting the siege of *Rouen* with the greatest vigour, though his army suffered much by the sharpness of the season. Mean time the besieged were in the greatest distress, being reduced to eat horses flesh, and all kinds of animals, and at last in want even of such unwholesome provisions. In consideration of which they capitulated, on the 13th of *January*, to surrender the town to the King, on the 19th of that month, if they were not relieved before that time, and *Henry* engaged to continue the inhabitants in all their privileges upon the payment of 300,000 crowns. *Mezeray*\*, in his account of this siege, says, "The *English* blocked up the town so effectually by a circumvallation, on the land side, and chains, on the river, that, in a little time, no kind of provisions could be conveyed to the besieged. He adds, that this could not have been so easily effected, had not the citizens, too confident of their own strength, obliged the Count d'*Aumale*, and the garrison, which the *Dauphin* had sent them, to march out of the town. But that which hurt them most, continues he, was the treason of their Governor *Guy Bouteiller*, who sent the *English* advice of every thing

\* Histoire de la France, tom. 1. p. 1020.

that

“ that was transacted within the walls, the Duke of *Burgundy*, continues this author, knowing that the loss of a place of such importance would be imputed to him, sent the Princess *Katherine's* picture to *Henry* and proposed a congress at *Pont de l'Arche*, to treat of a peace; but the demands of the *English* were so exorbitant, that nothing could be concluded. Mean while, the inhabitants of *Rouen*, having consumed all their provisions, and even such horses, dogs, cats, and rats as they could find, lived upon hope more than any thing else. The Duke of *Burgundy* assembled what troops he could to their assistance, and if the inhabitants of *Dauphiny* had joined him, the siege of *Rouen* must infallibly have been raised. But hearing that the latter, instead of assisting him were plundering his lands, and had just retaken *Soissons*, he turned short, and abandoned the afflicted inhabitants of *Rouen*. In fine, after being reduced to the greatest pitch of distress, extreme necessity obliged them at last to propose a capitulation; but the *English*, irritated by their refusal of the advantageous offers that had been made them, would grant no terms but that of submitting at discretion. This being reported in the town, so provoked the inhabitants, that they unanimously determined to set fire to the town, and then sally out, armed, men, women, and children, to perish in the midst of their enemies. *Henry*, informed of this desperate resolution, by the spies he had in the place, dreaded the effects of it, and agreed to this capitulation, viz. “ That the inhabitants should pay 345,000 crowns of gold, and swear allegiance to him, and that the garrison should march out with white rods in their hands.” Thus this strong and opulent city, recovered out of the hands of the *English* by *Philip the August*, was again subjected to their empire by *Henry V.* who made his publick entry into it on the 19th of *January* 1419. The  
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*French* historian \* observes on this occasion, that one of the King's pages carried before him a fox's tail tied to the point of a lance; to signify, as some think, tho' with little probability, that he had made himself master of the town more by artful and prudent conduct, than by the strength of his arms. Be this as it may, almost all the towns of *Normandy* having by this time received *English* garrisons, most of them without opposition, the people of *Rouen*, seeing themselves abandoned by the *French*, transferred their allegiance together with their affection to the King of *England*, who left his brother the Duke of *Gloucester* governour of the town.

The city of *Rouen* continued in subjection to the *English* from this time to the year 1449. About six years before, the Duke of *Burgundy* had concluded a truce with the *English*, which gave them a considerable advantage over the *French*, who, on this, and other weighty considerations, grew heartily weary of a fatal war, that had lasted no less than thirty years without interruption, and brought their country to the very brink of ruin. *Charles VII.* himself, however elevated by his late success, was sensible, his kingdom wanted some time of repose to recover, and renew its strength; and on the other hand, *Henry VI.* of *England* was no warrior, his council, for the most part, consisted of Priests, whom the Cardinal of *Winchester* had introduced to strengthen his party, and the people were also weary of a tedious and calamitous war. Only the Duke of *Gloucester* was of opinion, that fresh and vigorous efforts should be made, to take advantage of King *Charles's* weakness, and the late truce with the Duke of *Burgundy*; but his counsels were not regarded. A truce was concluded in 1444, which from time to time was continued till 1449; but in the year 1448, *Charles* finding his affairs in a good situation, and, on the contrary, those of *England* in great disorder, on account of the weakness

\* See *Histoire de la France* par *Mezeray*, tom. I. p. 1021.



of the Prince on the throne, and the national discontent, was impatient to renew the war, and wanted only a pretext, for breaking the truce. He had not waited long, when the wished-for opportunity presented itself.

*Surienne* a native of *Aragon*, who had served the King of *England* twenty years, and had been made Knight of the Garter and governor of *Lower Normandy*, took an opportunity in the night time, to scale the walls of *Fougeres*, a town belonging to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and made himself master of the place, wherein he found a great booty. Upon this the Duke of *Bretagne* sent a herald to the Duke of *Somerset*, regent of *France*, who was then at *Rouen*, and demanded the restitution of the place with all its plunder. The regent answered, he was extremely displeased with this action, and would give the Duke of *Bretagne* all the satisfaction he could reasonably expect; but before the court of *England* had time to enquire into the circumstances of this affair, the Duke of *Bretagne's* impatience determined him to complain to the King of *France*, of a plain breach of the truce, wherein *Bretagne* was expressly included. *Charles*, considering that for some time he had wanted a pretext to renew the war, seemed to take fire at this news, as if the injury had been done to himself; and therefore sent a gentleman to the Duke of *Somerset*, and two Ambassadors to *London*, to demand satisfaction. But at the same time, to make the reparation impracticable, he insisted upon the payment of sixteen hundred thousand crowns to the Duke of *Bretagne* for the damages sustained by the loss of *Fougeres*. This sum was so exorbitant, that it was no wonder the court of *England* were not very forward to pay it, especially as it was demanded in such a preremptory manner, that they had not sufficient time allowed them for ascertaining the amount of the damage. On the other hand, the conduct of the *English* court was not a little surprizing. Instead of restoring

*Fougeres* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, they kept the place, without using any endeavours to appease that incensed Prince; nor did they make preparation for war, when a rupture appeared unavoidable. In short, from the conduct of the two courts one would think, the whole of this affair was a scheme concerted between them; and that the Queen of *England*, who ruled the King and the whole council with an absolute sway, being a Princess of the blood of *France*: and seeing herself without issue, had engaged in a plot with her own nearest relations, who were the King's bitterest enemies, to dispossess him of all he had in *France*; the least that can be said is, that if she and her favourite Minister, the Duke of *Suffolk*, had such a design, they took the most effectual measures to accomplish it. But, be this as it may, *Charles* no sooner found himself in condition to renew the war, than he caused *Pont de l'Arche* in *Normandy*, *Gerberoy* in the *Beauvoisis*, *Cognac*, and *St. Margrin* in *Guienne* to be surprized in the Duke of *Bretagne's* name. His chief aim however being to recover *Normandy*, he had prepared four armies for that purpose, and having attacked it in four different places, met with so little opposition, through the astonishing indolence and negligence, or something worse, of the *English* Ministry, that before the end of the campaign 1459 he was able to draw all his forces together, to the amount of fifty thousand men, and summon *Rouen*. He did not however propose to carry this town by a formal siege, on account of the strength and largeness of the place, the breadth of the *Seine*, and the advanced season of the year, which would hardly admit of such a step; but as measures had been taken to prepare the inhabitants and engage them in his interest, he ordered the Count de *Dunois* to march with the whole army towards the town, and try whether his presence would not encourage them to take up arms against the *English*. The Count having, in obedience to these orders, tarried three days, at the head of the whole armed,

army, within sight of the place, in very bad weather, and finding that the townsmen made no motion in his favour, returned to *Pont de l'Arche*. He had hardly got thither, when a messenger, dispatched by the *French* party in *Rouen*, waited on the King, and acquainted him, that they were in possession of two towers, and a great length of wall near *St. Hilary's* gate, which they were ready to surrender to the King's troops, if they would come a second time before the place. Upon this the Count *de Dunois* had orders to march back, and was no sooner arrived before the town, than a person was sent to inform him that his troops might advance with scaling ladders to the place which had been mentioned to him, and the townsmen who were in possession of it, would assist them in getting over the wall. The Count, the better to conceal this design, ordered a great part of his troops to move towards several places at a considerable distance from *St. Hilary's* gate, and, at the same time, alighting from his horse, marched with a body of chosen men to a post behind a rising ground not far from that part of the wall and towers which were to be delivered up by the townsmen. But it happened they had not brought a sufficient number of ladders, and scarce fifty were got upon the walls, when general *Talbot*, as he walked the rounds, with three hundred men, perceiving some uncommon motion about that place, hastened thither and charging the *French* and townsmen, who had joined them, with great fury, overthrew the ladders, and all he found upon the wall were put to the sword, except such as cast themselves into the ditch, whereof the greatest part were also slain or dangerously wounded. Upon this discouragement, the Count *de Dunois* gave over the attack; and the King, who had advanced as far as *Darnetal*, about three quarters of a league from *Rouen*, being informed of the disappointment, returned with his whole army to *Pont de l'Arche*. The ill success of this attempt was very discouraging; but as

this was a fortunate year for *Charles*, his affairs soon took a different turn. The inhabitants, a little after, raised a general insurrection, and having taken arms, seized upon several of the most important posts. This done, they acquainted the Duke of *Sommerfet*, that having resolved not to see their town plundered, which would certainly be the case if the King of *France* should take it by surprize, they had determined to prevent such an extremity by a seasonable capitulation, and any means he might use to divert them from their design would be vain and fruitless. These mutineers had taken their measure so well, and the Duke's garrison was so weak, that he did not think it advisable to have recourse to force; and therefore was obliged to give them leave to send deputies to *Charles*, who was agreeably surprized when the messenger arrived at *Pont de l'Arche* to demand a safe conduct for the Arch-bishop and other deputies to treat concerning the surrender of the town. The Arch-bishop had concerted the insurrection, just now mentioned, with the townsmen, and therefore was one of the properest persons to represent them in treating about the capitulation. The negotiation was carried on at port *St. Ouen*, between *Rouen* and *Pont de l'Arche*. To this place, the King sent the Count *de Dunois*, and several other deputies, to meet those of the town, and some Lords sent by the Duke of *Sommerfet*, to capitulate for himself and the garrison. The business was soon concluded with the deputies of the town; but the Duke of *Sommerfet's* agents returned without coming to any conclusion. The Archbishop and his attendants made their report in the town-house, and the townsmen in general agreed to accept the terms offered. But the Duke of *Sommerfet* and general *Talbot* left the room, made themselves masters of the bridge, towers, and some other posts upon the town walls, then threw a garrison into the castle, and another into the fort called the Old Palace. Both parties were continually



tinually under arms the rest of the day and night following, the townsmen barricaded the streets against the castle, the Old Palace and the posts upon the walls. Next day the *French* being introduced into the town quickly forced all the posts possessed by the *English*, except the Old Palace, where the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Sbrensbury* had shut up themselves with 800 men. As they foresaw they should soon be in want of provisions, the Duke desired to wait on King *Charles*, in order to capitulate; which being granted, he offered to retire upon honourable terms; but *Charles* insisted upon his surrendering at discretion, unless he would treat for the rest of *Normandy*: as the Duke did not think proper to submit to this, he returned to the palace, and having held out ten or twelve days longer, was at last forced to capitulate on condition of leaving all his artillery, paying 50000 crowns of gold, and delivering up to the *French* King *Caudebec*, *Arques*, *l'Islebonne*, *Tancarville*, *Montivilliers*, and *Harfleur*. The Earl of *Sbrensbury* was left an hostage for the performance of this engagement, and the *English* garrison marched out of *Rouen*, into which *Charles* made his entry on the 19th of *November*. The governour of *Harfleur* not complying with this capitulation, the Earl of *Longeville* was detached to besiege that place, which surrendered in the beginning of *January*; and tho' King *Charles* might justly have detained the Earl of *Sbrensbury*, since the capitulation of *Rouen* was not punctually observed, he was pleased, as a mark of his personal esteem for that nobleman, to set him at liberty without ransom. Thus the *English* again lost *Rouen*, after having been in possession of it thirty years.

The protestants of *France*, notwithstanding they had been cruelly persecuted during the reigns of *Francis I.* *Henry II.* and *Francis II.* were become very numerous in the time of *Charles IX.* But this, instead of rendering their condition more to-

lerable, provoked their enemies to oppress them with still more inhuman severities. So that in the year 1662 they were forced to take up arms in their own defence, and join the Prince of *Condé*, who, on the 12th of *April* that year, had surprised the city of *Orleans*, and published a manifesto against the court. Their first attempts were attended with all the success they could desire, for, in a few weeks, they had made themselves masters of a great many cities in different parts of the kingdom, and among the rest of *Rouen*. This they obtained with little opposition, which was said to be principally owing to the negligence of *Robert de le Mark-Boullion*, Governor of the province, and of his Lieutenant *N. Martel Baqueville*. A few days after, they made themselves masters of mount *St. Katherine*, which was a monastery situated upon an eminence that commanded the town, and of two gallies well rigged just returned from *Scotland*. As soon as they got possession of this place, they drove out the monks and priests, and destroyed the monuments of idolatry and superstition they found therein. Mean time *Villebon* bailiff of *Rouen*, who was of the established religion, seized *Pont de l'Arche*, and the Baron de *Cleré* retook *Caudebec*; by which means the river *Seine* was blocked up both above and below the city. The parliament in a fright retired to *Louviers*, where they issued a thundering arret, in which they declared those who had seized the town of *Rouen* guilty of high treason, and encouraged the people to knock them on the head, wherever they should find them. The Duke d'*Aumale*, being also appointed by the parliament to act as King's Lieutenant, disappointed the design of the Hugonots upon the *Pays du Caux*, and having laid siege to fort *St. Katherine*, battered it with great fury, but was not able to retake it; because the Prince of *Condé* had sent *Louis de Panoy Morvilliers* to encourage the besieged, and promise them succours.

After

After all, they did not long keep possession of this place; for on the 28th of *September* that same year, the *French* army, consisting of sixteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, commanded by the King of *Navarre*, the Duke of *Guise*, and the Constable *Montmorency*, came before it. Upon this the Queen-mother, who had brought her son with her to the army, ordered the inhabitants to be summoned to surrender; but as there were 600 horse, and 1300 excellent *French* infantry in the place, and they had assurances of succours not only from the *English*, who were expected to arrive at *Dieppe*, but also from the Prince of *Condé*, as soon as *Dandelot* should arrive with the troops from *Germany*, they determined to hold out to the last extremity; and, to say the truth, they actually made such a brave defence as might be expected from men that were animated by religion, and had worked themselves into an absolute contempt of death: the *English* also did their utmost not to disappoint the expectation of their allies in the time of their greatest need.

The next day the royalists attacked fort St. *Katherine*; but were repulsed with considerable loss. On the 30th the *Germans* in the King's service assaulted the suburbs of St. *Hilary*, and after a bloody engagement were obliged to retreat. The day following, being the first of *October*, the garrison of fort St. *Katherine* sallied out, to the great cost of the besiegers, who, among others, lost on that occasion the Lieutenant General of their foot; and the Captains *Roubray* and *de Prouanes*, from *Dieppe*, with fifty horse, got safe into *Rouen*. About this time all the useless people, who were not able to maintain themselves, were turned out of the town. The enemy continued battering *Montgomery's* fort three days without any considerable effect; however they intercepted some messengers sent to acquaint the garrison that the *English* auxiliaries were arrived; that *Dandelot* was then on his march with the *Germans*, and that the Prince

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of *Condé* would quickly join him and come to raise the siege. The inhabitants of *Rouen*, however, had information of the arrival of the *English*, by 80 *Scotch* and *English*, who got safe into the town. On the other hand, the Constable *Montmorency* and the Duke of *Guise* having got notice of the relief expected by the garrison, resolved to push on the siege, and therefore, having secret information, that the greater part of the garrison of fort St. *Katherine*, fatigued with frequent sallies and hard duty, were gone into the town to refresh themselves, assaulted it in the middle of the day, before there was any breach made in the wall, and succeeded. *Monniens*, an officer of great reputation, who was Governor of the fort, behaved on this occasion with great resolution; but not being able to attend every where, and unprovided with troops to make opposition in the different places where he was attacked, the besiegers made themselves masters of the fort, without the loss of any officer of distinction, except *Rendan*, who was wounded with the splinter of a granade, and died some days after, of a mortification occasioned by it. The besieged, besides private men, lost three excellent officers, viz. the Captains *Consolant*, *la Bouverie*, and *de Revelles*. One hundred men from the town, coming too late to the assistance of those in the fort, were driven back with great loss; but a party of the royalists, having entered the town together with them, in hopes of taking it, were shut in and put to the sword.

The taking of fort St. *Katherine* greatly advanced the siege, because the hill on which it stood commanded the town, and faced some of the streets, by which means a great many of the inhabitants were killed, and the gate of *Martinville* almost quite demolished. *Montgomery*, however, did not lose his courage, but having received a fresh supply of *English* by the river, resolved to defend himself to the last extremity.

E e e

Mean



Mean time the besiegers had also sunk a great many ships full of stones and sand quite cross the river at *Caudebec*, and having fastened them together with strong chains of iron, planted a great many cannon on the banks, that no provisions should be conveyed up the *Seine* to *Rouen*; yet all these precautions on their part did not hinder some sloops from getting up every tide. These supplies, however, not being considerable enough for the necessities of the besieged, they determined one night to force the barricade; and having effectually broke it in several places, the next tide brought them up a reinforcement of 500 men with a considerable quantity of provisions.

On the 13th of *October*, the besiegers made an assault, at ten o' clock in the morning, which, by bringing up fresh men as they found occasion, they continued till six at night, and the *Scots* and *English* in sustaining it gained great reputation; but, to speak the truth, the besieged in general behaved with great intrepidity and resolution during this whole siege, and even the women, to encourage and animate the men by their example, gave surprizing proofs of their ardour and contempt of death. On this occasion, particularly, they exposed themselves to the hottest of the fire, and braved the greatest dangers to supply the soldiers with necessaries, and assist, as far as their strength could support them, in defence of the place. Next day, the *Sieur de Veley* being sent into the town to persuade the inhabitants to surrender to the King, they promised to send their answer in the evening, but the assailants, instead of observing a truce, in the meantime, though the breach was not yet large enough, renewed the assault for six hours, with greater vigour and fury than before. At this time, they succeeded so far as to get three standards erected on the wall, and obtained possession of the rampart over *St. Hilary's* gate; yet in the end they were defeated, and obliged to retreat with the loss

of 600 men. Nor was the number of the killed and wounded on the side of the besieged supposed to be less; and, which is very uncommon, a great part of these were women. At this assault also an event so extraordinary happened, that it would be quite inexcusable not to lay it before the reader.

Among the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who chose to shut themselves up in *Rouen* upon this occasion, there was one *Francis de Civile*, a young man of great courage and a healthy robust constitution. As this gentleman stood at the head of his company, between *St. Hilary's* gate and the forks of *Bribonel*, having unluckily received a musket ball, which made its way thro' his right jaw, and passed into his neck, he fell off the wall; and the pioneers, who were a little below him, clearing the ditch and repairing the rampart, thinking him dead, first stripped him, then put him, together with another, whom they found expiring, into a pit digged for them, and covered them with a little earth. This happened about twelve at noon. At night, when the enemy retired, and those who had sustained the assault were returning home to refresh themselves, *M. de Civile's* servant, who was waiting for his master, with a horse, in the next street, asked whether the report of his master's being killed was true? The Earl of *Montgomery*, who happened to be passing by, answered that it was but too true, and that he had taken care to get him buried. The servant hearing this, begged, as the greatest favour, to be directed to the place where he was laid, that he might recover his body and convey it to his relations. *Montgomery* ordered the Lieutenant of the guard that attended him to direct the servant to his master's grave. As soon as they found the place, they digged up the two bodies, but their faces were so deformed with gore, and the features so much altered, that the servant could not know his master.

ster. Upon this, despairing of success, they laid the bodies in the grave again, and having as they thought covered them sufficiently with earth, began to move homewards, much grieved at the disappointment; but happening to look behind them, they discovered one of the hands of the dead standing out above ground, and fearing that this might allure the dogs to uncover and devour the carcases, they returned to hide the hand in the ground. While they were employed about this humane office, a triangular diamond, which *M. de Civile* commonly wore in his ring, reflected the light of the moon, and discovered to his servant, what he could not learn from his master's face, smeared as it was with gore, and disfigured with wounds. He applied his mouth to that of his master, and imagined he breathed a little: he was sure he retained some remains of natural heat, and therefore laying him upon the horse, carried him to *St. Clara's* chapel, which was at that time converted into a hospital; but the surgeons alleging, that it would be wrong to throw away time and medicines upon one, who, for any thing that appeared to the contrary, might be actually dead, when there were so many wounded men, who wanted nothing but proper care to ensure their recovery, the servant conveyed his master to his lodging, where he lay four days in a kind of *deliquium*, not only without victuals or drink, but in a sort of intermediate state between death and life. At last two physicians, *Messrs. Guoronte* and *le Gros*, being called, his teeth, closed fast together by convulsions, were, by their advice, forced asunder, and some soup poured into his mouth, his wound dressed, and proper medicines applied; in a little he opened his eyes, soon after regained his hearing, and at last his speech. But soon after the town was taken, some enemies, on account of an old quarrel with his brother, having come into his lodging in a rage, first

exercised great cruelty upon his brother, whom they found already half dead, and then ordered their servants to throw *de Civile* himself headlong out at the window of a closet, where he lay, into the paved court. He happened to pitch upon a large heap of dung, which softened his fall, and in this plight, abandoned by every body, he continued three days without meat, drink, or any other assistance, till *M. de Croisset*, one of his near relations, procured some soldiers to carry him out of town secretly in the night to a country house, where he was perfectly cured, and in time he so far recovered his health, that he was alive forty years after this misfortune\*.

This day (*October 14.*) the King of *Navarre* received a musquet ball in his left shoulder, at the head of the trench. The force of the ball having broke the bone and made a large contusion he fell to the ground, and was carried first to Count *Rhingrave's* lodgings, and then to his own at *Darnetal*.

Next day, a herald was again sent to summon the town to surrender, and the inhabitants, being assembled in the convent of the *Celestines*, to deliberate upon this subject, unanimously agreed, "That they could by no means subject themselves to the faction of the house of *Guise*, who held the King in a sort of captivity, and obliged him to adopt and authorise all their oppressive and tyrannical measures. They also resolved, that two of their number should be sent, to assure the King of their allegiance, and readiness to open their gates to him, provided that the army should be removed three leagues from the town." The day after these

\* *Thuan. Hist. sui temporis, lib. 33.*—*Pristinamque valetudinem post tot veluti mortis ita recuperavit, ut quadraginta annis ac nunc quoque cum hæc scribo, deinceps in vivis fuerit.*



deputies obtained an audience, and the King returned a gracious answer; but the Queen added, "That the King chose to be admitted into the city, attended by his court and nobility, whom he had always found faithful in the discharge of their duty, without submitting to any terms or conditions; but she would take care, that no violence should be offered to their consciences, and that they should live at full liberty and peace in their own houses: only the King insisted, that the protestant ministers, who were the authors of all the disorders that had happened, should leave the town as soon as possible, till he should think proper to give other orders." On this subject there were some disputes, but when the Queen's declaration was laid before the assembly of the citizens, to which the soldiers were admitted, they unanimously determined "to expose themselves to the greatest extremities, rather than give up the liberties granted them by the King's edicts, or submit to the Guisian faction." Those who brought this answer to the King were received with threats and reproaches; but the assault was put off till the morrow, and then turned out to the disadvantage of the besiegers; upon this the besieged were again called to a consultation: and *M. de Bose Mandreville*, President of the court of *Aides*, a gentleman of great authority in the town, was sent to the King twice that day; but as he could obtain no abatement of the terms, the inhabitants prepared themselves for a vigorous defence, and resolved to treat no more. This resolution however was not long observed; for the very next day, 400 men, sent from *Dieppe* to the assistance of the besieged, under the conduct of two Captains *Coudray* and *Moulandrine*, being intercepted by *Darville*, near the wood of *Pavilly*, and cut in pieces; by the persuasion of the *seigneur de Durescu*, *Mandreville* and *Bauquemare* being sent again to court, returned with all the articles of capitulation signed, excepting only what regarded religion. Mean

time the royalists having renewed the assault for two hours, a severe storm of rain obliged them to retreat, but, on the other hand, the besieged suffered some disadvantage by a mine sprung under the wall, and the enemy found means to divert the streams which conveyed water into the city, whereby their mills were rendered useless, and their ponds dried up. On the morrow *Mandreville* and *Bauquemare* gave the assembly of the citizens an account of their negotiation, and were sent back to the Queen with a petition; the substance whereof was, "That the Prince of *Condé* should be sent for, to treat not only about the surrender of the city, which they were willing to deliver up, but also to settle the terms of a general peace over all the kingdom." But the two deputies, after being severely reprimanded by the Constable *Montmorency*, returned without concluding any thing; and during the four following days, the besiegers were constantly employed in assaulting the breaches without success, or sustaining the sallies of the besieged, who seem to have had the advantage in these encounters; because, in that time, they filled up the ditch the assailants had made to draw off their water, and repaired the pigeon-house fort, against which more than 2000 cannon shot had been discharged. On the 24th of *October*, the besiegers having carried their attack almost to *St. Hilary* gate, assaulted the breach they had made there with more than ordinary vigour, and sprung three mines, but with very little effect. The next day, the besieged, when they had greatest occasion for exerting their utmost vigour, as this was the last struggle, whether worn out by the fatigues already undergone, or discouraged by the dismal prospect before them, and quite destitute of hope, did not sustain the assault with such resolution and spirit, as they had discovered on former occasions; their enemies however did not gain an easy or unbloody victory; the inhabitants struggled hard till twelve o'clock, when Captain *St. Colombe*, a native of *Bearn*,

*Bearn*, and an excellent officer, first entered the town by the breach, but received a wound in the head, of which he soon after died. Next to him *la Chastre Nancé*, Colonel of a regiment, who had behaved admirably well, all the time of the siege, entered at another place, but was dangerously wounded in the thigh. After these all the rest got in, without resistance, and began to pillage the town. Those who consider a town taken by assault as one of the most shocking sights, may imagine what a spectacle *Rouen* afforded, at this time, the riches it possessed, and the vast number of its people only served to raise the avarice and cruelty of the soldiers to a higher pitch, and the prosperity it enjoyed before made its present misery the more intolerable. But these evils, after all, were not unforeseen. The inhabitants laid their account with the worst, and were determined to submit to the greatest sufferings, rather than offer violence to their consciences, or yield their necks to a yoke of bondage, which they judged intolerable.

*Montgomery* seeing the town lost, threw himself and his family with some *English* and *Scotch* into a galley, he kept ready for all events, and got safe to *Havre*, having past the barricade at *Cau-debec*, by the strength of oars and the force of the ebbing tide. In this siege 4000 men fell on each side, and the wretched inhabitants, who to avoid, as long as they could, the fury of the enraged soldiers, fled in confusion to the sides of the river; were either killed, striped naked, or carried into captivity with their wives and children\*. The soldiers were allowed the plunder of the town for twenty four hours; but they continued to pillage it, by their own authority, for several days, and, even for almost four months, the people of *Amiens*, *Paris*, *Beauvais*, and other towns were employed in carrying † off a prodigious booty, which they bought of the soldiers at a very

\* Plebs, quæ primam militis furorem verita, per utramque ripam vagabatur, aut causa aut spoliata aut in miseram captivitatem cum pueris et uxoribus abducta est Thuan. hist. sui temporis. lib. XXIII.

† See Mezeray's history, vol. II. p. 855.

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cheap rate. Many of the prisoners were hanged, as was pretended, in detestation of the alliance they had contracted with the *English*, the antient enemies of the *French* crown. *James de Bose Mandreville*, president of the court of *Aides*, and five or six Captains, were beheaded; *Marlorat* a protestant minister and three counsellors, belonging to the town, were hanged. The Parliament having returned from *Louviers* three days after the taking of the town, tried and condemned them, but the two Counsellors *Bigot* and *Pericart* discovered great party rage in the prosecution of *St. Anthou*, the first President, who was put to death tho' a Roman-catholick because he had, said they, connived at the Hugonots, and retired to his own house, while the troubles continued. And a few days after, *Bois Roger* was assassinated, at the instigation of the same counsellors, because he could not approve of their violent prosecutions. But this severity was fatal to *Baptist Sapin*, Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, *John Troye*, abbot of *Gastine*, and *Odet de Selve*, who fell into the hands of the garrison of *Orleans*, in their way to *Spain*, whither the Queen had sent them. For the Prince of *Condé*, in resentment of what was done at *Rouen*, caused *Sapin* and the Abbot to be hanged, on pretence, "That they had assisted, and been partakers in the conspiracies of those, who kept the King's person in captivity, and persecuted those, who professed the Gospel." *Odet de Selve*, tho' the principal person in the embassy, was exchanged for another prisoner, because he had a brother in the Prince's service; but the great fright which seized him, upon this occasion, was the cause of his death a few days after. This action was much censured by the opposite party, and even some of the Prince's own friends are said to have been dissatisfied with it, as unbecoming his natural goodness, and contrary to the respect due to the persons of ambassadors; but on the other hand, it must be owned, that the cruelties exercised by the opposite party were so provoking,

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that



that if they did not justify, they at least excused, in a great measure, such reprisals.

Mean time the King of *Navarre's* wound grew worse, the surgeons not being able to extract the ball, had let it close, rather than heal: nevertheless as soon as he knew the town was taken, he would enter it by the breach; and having ordered a part of the wall of his lodging to be pulled down for that purpose, he was carried to *Rouen* in his bed by a party of *Swiss*. He had with him two physicians, *Vincent Lauré* and *Raphael Tailevis Mezierre*. The former entertained him with pretty stories, and let him indulge himself in mirth and gayety more than was proper: so that he took pleasure in seeing dancing and gaming in his chamber; and a young lady belonging to the Queen, called *du Rouet*, used to visit him, to the great prejudice of his health. Thus his own intemperance brought upon him a fever, which encreasing in violence every hour, made him leave his gay thoughts and vain expectations of the kingdom of *Sardinia* with which he entertained all those that came to see him. Having made his will, he desired to be conveyed by the river to his house at *St. Maur des Fosses*, where, he imagined, the goodness of the air might contribute to his recovery. But, about two hours after he was carried into the boat, he was seized with a cold fit, after a profuse sweat, in such manner, that he was obliged to stop at *Andely*, where he breathed his last on the 17th of *November*, five and thirty days after he received the mortal wound: "leaving it doubtful, says *Mezeray*, in what religion he died; because he actually received the sacraments, according to the use of the church of *Rome*, but presently afterwards expressed his sorrow for it, and declared that if he lived he would adhere to the *Ausbourg* confession." But to return to *Rouen*.

We have already observed that, in the year 1589, *Henry* came before *Rouen* at the head of his army, with a design

to besiege it; but the Duke *de Mayenne*, having advanced with an army much superior to relieve it, the King was obliged to retreat for that time, and laid no formal siege to it till the year 1591; when, the *Marechal de Biron* having invested it, the King came before it on the first of *December*, and sent an herald to the Mayor and Aldermen, to summon them to receive their rightful Sovereign, and surrender their town to him. This summons was attended with a letter, in which he assured them of his paternal affection, and represented in the most engaging, but at the same time the strongest expressions, "That he did not make war against the established religion, but to get possession of his kingdom, whereof his enemies, with great injustice, endeavoured to spoil him; that the uninterrupted series of victories he had gained, was an evident proof of the justice of his cause, and that heaven was engaged on his side. That the Duke *de Mayenne* could not come to their relief, without hazarding a battle, in which he was not like to be more fortunate than he had been at that of *Ivry*. He concluded, that if they could not be prevailed upon to return to their duty, by gentler methods, he intended to use the power, which God had given him, to oblige them to it, and, to his great regret, must suffer their city to be pillaged." This letter being read at the Town-house, the Magistrates answered, that they were as little moved by his arguments and promises, as they were awed by his threats; that they knew very well, what treatment *Eslampes*, *Louviers*, and *Vendome* had met with, and could form a judgment of the lion from his paw: that they had better grounds to expect the favour of heaven, in defending the true religion, than he, in opposing it: and in short, that whatever might happen, they were resolved to lose their lives rather than submit to an heretical Prince." This resolution was confirmed a few days after

after by a general procession, performed with great devotion and many ceremonies. All the clergy, and the religious orders, assisted at it: four hundred citizens walked bare footed; fifteen hundred children in white, with wax tapers in their hands; and before them was carried a standard with a crucifix painted in the middle, to shew that they intended to fight under the banner of *Jesus Christ*. In this manner they proceeded to the church of *Notre-Dame*, and from thence to that of *St. Ouen*, where, after high mass was celebrated by the Bishop of *Bayeux*, *John Dadré* delivered a long sermon, wherein, having taken for his text the words of the Apostle, "Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers," he took great pains to prove, "That it was prohibited by the law of God, to submit to an heretical Prince, not of the true religion;" and concluded a discourse, full of fiery zeal, by requiring his audience to lift up their hands, and swear solemnly before God, "That they would die rather than take *Henry de Bourbon* for their King." They were not afraid of famine, as those of *Paris* had been: there were in the town 4000 bushels of wheat, 1500 of rye, and other sorts of grain: in short, provisions enough to serve 50000 men for four months; besides what private families had concealed, notwithstanding the general search, which had been made from house to house, and what might be brought up by water, as the river was open a whole month, for barks to come and go, from *Havre* and *Harfleur*, at pleasure. They were as little afraid of the strength of the enemy, considering the great numbers of men in the town, and the ability of their Governour, who understood perfectly well how to train them for battle, and employ them in repairing and improving the fortifications. The King, with the Marshal *de Biron*, the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, the Chancellor, and the greatest part of the nobility, who served as

volunteers, had their quarters at *Darnetal*, a large village, about half a league from *Rouen*, and within the reach of the cannon of *St. Catherine*, which however could not do it much hurt, as it lay in the bottom of a valley, surrounded with hills on every side. The regiment of *Swiss* guards were in the front, the Duke, or Marshal *de Bouillon* (for both these titles were given him) had his quarters on the right, with the *German* horse and foot, extending, along the neighbouring villages, as far as the high road to *Dieppe*. The *English* were posted at the eminence called the *Mont aux Malades*, and *Halot*, and a little higher up toward *Croisset*, where was also stationed the Duke of *Montpensier*, who arrived about a month after with his troops. A part of the *French* horse and foot encamped towards *St. Hilary's* gate, the rest round *St. Katherine's* fort; and the Count *de Soissons* and *Rolet*, on the other side of the water, above the suburbs of *St. Sever*. The King at the same time ordered two attacks to be opened; the one directed to the *Cauchoise* gate, and the other against fort *St. Katherine*. These were scarce begun, when a great number of the besieged, sallying out of the town, obliged the royalists to abandon their first attack, leaving 200 of their men upon the spot, among whom was the Viscount *de Baqueville*, who died of his wounds; and had it not been for the Marshal *de Biron*, who made haste to support them with two large squadrons of horse, and a thousand *German* foot, the loss would have been much more considerable. The besiegers continued the attack against the fort; but with as little success as the former. The frequent sallies of the besieged, the snows, the rain, the frost, and other inclemencies of the season; greatly retarded the works, which took up the whole month of *December*; while the besieged, being constantly in good spirits, well lodged and well fed, lost not a moment



moment of time, and kept their ground with great obstinacy, working day and night on the fortifications, in the sight of the assailants, and without interruption.

The Duke of *Parma* had sent to offer them assistance, even before the Duke of *Mayenne* had applied for it, that the inhabitants might be obliged to the King of *Spain* only; but in fact, he was in no great haste, and made use of several pretexts for delaying his promise. It was thought he had secret orders from *Spain* to promise every thing, but grant nothing, till the Duke of *Mayenne's* affairs were reduced to such a situation, that he should be obliged to accept of his assistance upon any conditions he might think proper. Besides, he had been so chagrined, in his last expedition to *France*, and so disgusted with the jealousy and suspicions of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the commanders of the League, that he was unwilling to involve himself, a second time, in such difficulties. There was also a particular consideration, which disposed him to avoid all sort of communication with the Duke of *Mayenne*; I mean the jealousy, which the court of *Spain* entertained, of some secret treaty between those two Dukes, to assist one another in seizing the Sovereignty of the countries belonging to their several governments. In fact, it was known, that they had agreed upon a marriage in their families, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, having communicated this secret to *Rosne*, the latter had the imprudence to let the Duke of *Parma* understand, that he knew what they were about, and the Duke of *Parma* afterwards complained, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had not kept his secret, and, on that account, entirely broke off the treaty; either because he thought not proper to have to do with a man of so little conduct, or that he was afraid the *Spaniards* would discover his views, and find means to cut him off, as they had already attempted. For it was firmly believed,

by those who were best acquainted with the intrigues of that court, that an illness, which had a little before afflicted the Duke of *Parma*, proceeded from a dose, given him by a *Spanish* Lord; and that the Duke having intercepted a letter written soon after by that nobleman to *Spain*, in which he found these words, "I have given him as much as might have done for a horse," invited him to dinner, and having given him a poisoned cup, whispered these words into his ear, to let him know, that he was apprized of what he had been about, and had returned the favour: which was, in some measure, confirmed by the sudden death of that Lord, and the hatred the Duke ever after expressed to his memory. Whatever be in this, the state of the Low Countries, at that time, gave the Duke a plausible excuse for not leaving them. For while he was in *France* the year before, the troops of the United Provinces pillaged *Brabant*, as far as the gates of *Brussels*; the *English* garrison of *Ostend* ravaged a part of the Earldom of *Flanders*; the inhabitants of *Venlo* on the *Meuse*, drove out their garrison, composed of *Spanish* and *German* troops; Prince *Maurice* took *Steinberg*, and several other strong places; and this year he had made himself master of the cities of *Zutphen*, *Deventer*, *Hulst*, *Nimeghen*, and others, and obliged the Duke of *Parma* to raise the siege of *Knodsenburgh*; so that the latter, perceiving all his conquests torn from him, by the good fortune and valour of this young Prince, in the space of six or seven months, had reason to fear that in his absence, he would make an irreparable breach in his government, and divest him of all the honour he had acquired. At last, after he had been long solicited by the Duke of *Mayenne*, express orders arrived from the court of *Spain* not suffering him to delay longer; he marched from *Brussels*, about the end of *November*, with ten thousand foot, three thousand horse, and two thousand waggons; which, during his march,

he disposed in such a manner, that he could use them as a strong fence or rampart quite round his camp. Upon his arrival at *Landrecy*, the young Duke of *Guise* came to meet him, with consent of the Duke de *Mayenne*; but the Duke of *Parma*, to recommend himself the more effectually to the King of *Spain*, refused to enter the kingdom unless the League would put him in possession of some strong place, for the security of the artillery, and the sick of his army. The Duke de *Mayenne* could not think of laying himself open, in order to accommodate a foreigner, and knew well, that to give the Duke of *Parma* any footing in *France* was to come under his yoke, and receive a master, whom he could not get rid of without great difficulty. But present necessity made him overlook future difficulties and troubles; so that after an interview with the Duke of *Parma*, he agreed to give him *Fere* upon the *Oyse*, with leave to put into it a garrison of 400 men, to guard his artillery; but with the express condition, that this garrison should be under the direction of the *French* Governor, and evacuate the place as soon as the Duke of *Parma* should remove his cannon.

During this interview, and several others that followed, the two Dukes, with great art and cunning, endeavoured to impose upon each other. At last the Duke de *Mayenne*, having discovered the designs of *Spain*, by some intercepted letters of the Duke of *Parma*, in which *France* was compared to a tree, that must be pulled up by the roots, and not by the branches; was disposed to seek his safety by making up matters with *Henry*, rather than by treating with those who wanted to dispossess him of his power, and fortify themselves by his ruin. But this treaty having also come to nothing, the King thought of negotiating with *Villars* concerning the reddition of *Rouen*, and the Duke de *Mayenne* with the Cardinal de *Bourbon* about making him

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King. Not that the Duke had any goodwill to the Cardinal; but he pretended to make a party in his name, to stir up the jealousy of the *Spaniards*, and oblige them to hasten to the relief of *Rouen*.

It is not certain, whether the Duke of *Parma* acted, on this occasion, from a regard to his own honour, or in obedience to positive orders from *Spain*; but whatever was his motive, he marched with the Duke de *Mayenne*, and the whole combined army, for *Peronne*, and from that to *Abbeville*, without determining by what route he was to approach *Rouen*. The King, having notice of this march, broke off his negotiations, and set out with fifteen hundred *Cuirassiers*, and an equal number of *Argoulets* to meet them. They had no intelligence of his approach, till he attacked the quarters of the Duke of *Guise*, who was in the van-guard, and took his baggage. This done, he returned to seize the defiles through which the enemy must pass, and by occupying, sometimes one post, sometimes another, as he found proper, stopt their progress, and gained time for the Dukes of *Longueville* and *Tremoville*, and the Marshals d' *Aumont*, and *Bouillon* who were in other Provinces, to join him and give the enemy battle, if they should attempt to force their way forward. In this manner he harrassed them for three weeks, while they were waiting for troops and provisions from different places: afterwards, when he understood they were posted at *Poix*, he determined to wait for them at the rivulet of *Aumale*. He had no troops with him but the *French* cavalry; having before sent his *German* horse to convey the waggons through a defile near *Neufchâtel*, that they might not embarrass him if he should be obliged to retreat; nor did he apprehend the partisans of the League would venture to attack him; tho' their whole army was, by this time, assembled. But having viewed them himself,

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and



and seen the van marching towards him, he judged that his post was not tenable, because by passing their troops above and below, they might find means to surround him; he therefore, in great haste, sent notice to the Duke of *Nevers* to cross with his troops below *Aumale*, and sent back his baggage to *Mortimer*, which he appointed to be the general place of rendezvous. Mean time, as his troops could not quit their post so quickly, but the enemy must be upon them, he, to gain time, selected an hundred and fifty troopers and fifty horse-carabineers, with whom he advanced almost half a league toward the enemy; and having waited till they came within pistol shot, discharged his fire upon a large body of four hundred light horse, in the front, which was several times repeated, retreating, turning and firing at every five hundred paces. Then to get his baggage out of the village, he placed, at the end of it, a detachment of 150 Musqueteers, to dispute the passage, for some time, with the Carabineers of the enemy. The whole army was, at the distance of a quarter of a league, drawn up in battle array, according to the order which the Duke of *Parma* used to observe in marching when he expected to be harassed by irruptions of cavalry. His infantry were divided into three bodies, whereof the two first marched in front, and the third followed; but the two first were placed at such a distance, that the third could easily come into the centre. There were also some companies of horse-carabineers, who marched before; behind, a large body of *Gens d'Armes* guarded the rear; the artillery was placed on the flanks, secured on each side by a long row of waggons; and beyond these the light horse, mixed with some Carabineers, patrolled on the wings. The whole, including the *French* troops commanded by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and those of *Lorraine*, which the Count de *Chaligny* had brought up, consisted of six thousand horse, and fifteen thou-

sand foot. The Duke of *Guise* commanded the van-guard; the Dukes of *Parma*, *Mayenne*, and *Montmarcian* the main battle; the Count de *Chaligny* the rear, *Bassompierre* the *Swiss*; and *la Motte*, Governour of *Gravelines*, the artillery. In this excellent order the Duke of *Parma*, who conducted every thing with prudence, marched his army, not dreaming that the King would venture his person, in a post so dangerous, with so few troops: but when he found that he was certainly there, he ordered all his Carabineers, supported by his light horse, to fall upon him. The King, seeing his Musqueteers so oppressed with numbers, that they could no longer keep their ground, charged the enemy twice, at the head of his small party of horse, with great bravery and vigour, while in the mean time, the greatest part of his baggage was got out of the village: but, the main body of the Duke's cavalry coming upon him, almost all the troops that were with him were killed or wounded, and himself ran a great risque of being slain or made prisoner, for he was within a little of being surrounded; and that he did escape, some think was owing to the *French* troops, who were in the van of the Duke's army, and envying the *Spaniards* so great an honour, attacked more faintly than they ought, that he might have time to disengage himself. However, as he had no coat of mail, he received a musket shot in the small of his back, which must have been mortal, if the ball had had greater force, but, as it happened, it only went through his shirt, and ruffled the skin a little. In short his valour and his good fortune contributed equally to extricate him out of his dangerous situation; and the night coming on, during which the Duke would not venture to pass the river, in a country so full of woods and hills, he found means to secure his own person and his troops, to the great admiration of all that were skilled in the art of war, and even of the Duke of

*Parma*

*Parma* himself; who, after all, commended his courage, on this occasion, more than his prudence; for being asked what he thought of this retreat, answered "That indeed it was a glorious one; but for his own part, he never put himself into a post, from which he might be obliged to retreat." The Marshal *de Biron*, being informed of the danger to which *Henry* exposed himself, took the liberty to say, "That it was not proper for a King to act the part of a Carabineer." His other officers also requested, "that, for the future, he would not expose his person to such imminent danger as the safety of *France* entirely depended on it." The Queen of *England* wrote to him, at this time, in very friendly and obliging terms; entreating, "That he would take greater care of his own safety; and if his valour, and the necessity of his affairs, obliged him to expose himself more than a King ought to do, she hoped he would, at least, confine himself to the duty of a great general."

The check which the two Dukes received on this occasion, gave them ground to apprehend, it would not be a very easy matter to succour *Rouen*. The more they thought of the opposition they must meet with in the execution of this design, the less they judged it possible: yet they saw it would never be easier than at that time; as the King's troops, which had lost a third part of their number by the severity of the season, would soon be strongly reinforced by the arrival of several bodies from other parts of the kingdom, while their own army must in a little time be greatly diminished; so that, instead of being able to force the King's army, they would not be in a condition to make head against it. For neither the climate nor season was favourable to them; the troops of *Lorraine* disbanded themselves soon after their general, the Count *de Chaligny*, was made prisoner by the royalists, at the battle of *Aumale*; the Pope's troops, and their general, the Duke *de Montmarcian*, were discon-

tented and turbulent. There were also jealousies between the principal officers of the *French* troops, particularly the Duke *de Mayenne* and the Duke *de Guise*, and between the *French* and *Spaniards*, who were ready to cut one another's throats. With all these discouragements, though the two Dukes were well assured of the fidelity of *M. Villars*, they had great reason to suspect the constancy of the inhabitants: they had even certain evidence that conspiracies had been formed among them, and one particularly of a very dangerous nature.

While the generals of the League were indulging these melancholy apprehensions, the garrison made a vigorous and successful sally, which greatly revived the courage of the inhabitants, and spread a great damp over the camp of the besiegers. It would take up too much time to give the particulars: it will be sufficient to observe in general, that *M. de Villars*, having got exact information of the situation of the King's army; and where the posts were most weakly guarded, or might be most easily surprized; sallied out, on the 26th of *February*, about seven in the morning, with upwards of 3000 foot, and a select body of horse. With this force, he attacked, put to the rout, or killed, all that came in his way. One party went directly to the artillery, carried away five large pieces of cannon to the ditch of the Old Fort, nailed up two more, and set fire to all the powder they could find. For full two hours they continued masters of the field upon that side of the town, burnt the tents and huts, overset the Gabeons, epaulments, and batteries, filled up the trenches, seized the baggage, spoiled the mines, and killed the miners, broke all the implements belonging to the artillery, and in a word destroyed all the works the besiegers had been carrying on for two months. The alarm was carried to *Darnetal* by those who fled from the trenches; the Marshal *de Biron* got on horseback, with the nobility and gentry,



gentry, ordering the *Swiss* and *German* foot to follow him. *Villars* advanced, with four squadrons of horse, to make head against him, and attacking him several times, maintained a kind of running fight, to give his infantry time to ruin compleatly the works of the besiegers, and retire to the town. Mean time the Marshal's *Swiss* came up with those of the garrison of *Rouen*, who were at the trenches, and drove them in confusion to the ditch of fort St. *Katherine*. *Villars*'s loss was inconsiderable, not exceeding thirty or forty men; whereas the besiegers left 500 men on the field, and among them several officers of distinction, besides 100 who were made prisoners. Among the wounded was the Marshal *de Biron* himself, who received a musket ball in his thigh. *M. de Villars*, immediately after the action, sent an express to the Duke *de Mayenne*, magnifying the advantages he had obtained over the enemy, and, among other things, acquainted him, that thenceforth he should want no other assistance but some money to pay his garrison. But the Duke of *Parma*, considering the universal terror that this successful sally had spread over the camp of the besiegers, and moreover, that the King was absent with the greatest part of the nobility, and the Marshal *de Biron* confined to his bed by the wound he had received, proposed to take advantage of the present opportunity, and fall upon the enemy during their consternation, not doubting but, by this means, he should obtain a certain and complete victory: However specious this project might appear, the Duke *de Mayenne*, apprehending, that, as matters then stood, a victory over the King might be attended with great prejudice to his own affairs, absolutely declared against it; the Duke of *Parma* was obliged to submit, much against his inclination: and a reinforcement of eight hundred men being first thrown into *Rouen*, the army crossed the *Somme* at *Pontdormy*. Mean time the King returning to his army, renewed the siege

with great vigour, labouring day and night to recover the loss he had lately sustained; in which he was greatly encouraged by a large and seasonable supply of artillery, ammunition, and troops, sent him from *Holland*, under the command of the Count *de Nassau*. With this advantage he renewed his batteries, which now began to play with great effect, barricaded the *Seine* so effectually, both above and below the town, that no provisions of any kind could be brought to the besieged; and, as if fortune had entirely deserted his enemies, the walls of the town fell down, in two places. On the other hand, the best of the troops in garrison were gradually carried off by frequent skirmishes and sallies; distempers destroyed many more; long confinement tempted many to make their escape; they were like to be soon in want of all sorts of provisions; and forage was already so scarce that they were obliged to send all their horses out of town, excepting only 300; a number by far too small for the defence of so large a place. Besides, the lower sort of the inhabitants having nothing left to buy bread, the ardour and forwardness they had hitherto expressed not only abated, but were soon changed into murmurings and dismal apprehensions; and the very persons, who, after the great sally, had made bonfires, solemn processions, and vows to the Virgin of *Loretto*, that they would celebrate the festival of their deliverance, finding no benefit from these superstitions, began to wish for an accommodation. So that *Villars*, knowing how soon revolutions in the inclination of the people, and in matters of war, are brought about, when they have once taken the first turn, instantly claimed that relief which he had formerly said he should have no occasion for: and on the 14th of *April* sent notice to the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, that if he had it not by the 22d of the month at farthest, he would be obliged to capitulate. As this advice laid them under an absolute necessity of marching to his relief,

relief, the state of the King's army gave them a favourable opportunity for it, and such as they had been expecting for six months past. For besides that long fatigue, and the severity of the season had greatly distressed his infantry, he expected the siege would last a considerable time; and as he doubted not but the two Dukes, would fall upon some place of strength, and thereby endeavour to make a diversion, he had dismissed almost all his nobility and gentry with orders to return to him as soon as they should be called for, and sent detachments of his cavalry into several provinces, with different views. The Dukes, having notice of this, assembled their troops in one day, to the number of 12,000 foot and 5000 horse, and, leaving their baggage in the neighbouring villages, repassed the *Somme* at the fort of *Blanquetaque* between *Crotoy* and *St. Valery*; and marched more than thirty Leagues in four days although they had four rivers to pass: so that, on the 20th of *April*, they were within three Leagues of *Rouen*, and from that marched in order of battle to a valley near *Darnetal* within one League of that town. The soldiers were exhorted to behave well by the Cardinal de *Plaisance*, the Pope's legate, who having come on purpose from *Rheims* to assist in this expedition, went throughout the army and gave his blessing to every particular corps belonging to it.

The King was surpris'd to find them so quickly near him, though he had been informed of their march the very day they passed the *Somme*, and in consequence of it had sent notice to the nobility of the neighbouring provinces to come and join him as soon as possible; so that the next day the Duke de *Humieres*, arrived at the camp with 200 horse, the Duke de *Montpensier* with twice that number, *St. Denys*, *Meillot*, *Sourdis* and *Souvray*, with all that they could get together. The King himself had gone to *Dieppe* to visit de  
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*Chates* the Governour, who was at the point of death, and provide for the security of the place, on which the party of the League had formed some designs, to be executed immediately upon the death of the governour which was looked upon as unavoidable. Mean time having notice of the approach of the two Dukes, by an express from the Marshal de *Biron*, he came post from *Dieppe* to his own camp, and to give them a proper reception, ordered the troops which he had on the other side of the water to join him, and assembled his whole army at *Darnetal*, intending to offer them battle: but having reviewed his troops, and finding that he hardly had 5000 left of all his cavalry, that of those 3000 were *Germans* in whom he had no great confidence, that their horses were so lame that they had little or no strength, and his infantry were still in a worse condition, he saw himself obliged to raise the siege unless he should venture to transgress all the rules of war, and draw upon himself a double disgrace by the certain loss of a battle, together with that of the town. Having therefore ordered his sloop of war to sail up the *Seine*, and sent his baggage to *Pont de l'Arche*, he retired to the village of *Bans*, about a League above *Darnetal*, over against the valley where the two Dukes had posted their army. There he kept his troops under arms for twenty hours, as if he intended to draw them to a battle. The boldest of the enemies were for marching directly to him; but such were the jealousies that subsisted among the general officers that they could not agree upon any immediate resolution. Towards the evening, the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Guise*, and *Aumale* together with the Pope's legate, made their entry into the city, to receive the first compliments upon this happy success, where having expressed their joy by the *Te Deum*, which the legate thundered out in the high Church, and commended in the most obliging terms, the conduct of the governour, officers,  
H h h and



and inhabitants, they returned that very night to their quarters, where resuming the consideration of the measures they ought to take in this critical situation of their affairs, in a consultation which they had after supper, the Duke of *Parma*, the *Spaniards*, and the Duke of *Guise*, were of opinion that they ought to attack the King, and maintained, that they must gain an infallible victory, if they fell upon him in his retreat, the rather, as they alledged, that being so near them, he could not get away, by any means, without losing, at least, the rear of his army. But the Duke of *Mayenne* and all the *French*, whose judgment ought to be of great weight in this affair; because they knew the country, were of a contrary opinion, and represented, "That to attack him in this manner would be to accommodate themselves to his intentions, and to do the very thing he wished, because having all the bridges and strong places up the river, and consequently being at liberty to pass sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other, as he thought proper, they could not force him to a battle. He would desire no better than to draw them from place to place, and amuse them with marches and countermarches till all his troops should be arrived; and then he would oblige them to retreat in their turn, and either reduce them to some difficulty, or by means of the strong places which he possessed in the neighbourhood cut off their provisions, which he could easily do, as they were masters of no town in that country, and had only provisions for four days. That in the mean time the river being blocked up by the *Dutch* ships, and the town of *Caudebec*; *Rouen* would still continue besieged, and in want of provisions, so that, by this means, they would deliver up to their enemies, at once their army, and that town, which they came to relieve; that it was therefore most proper to begin with laying the river open, and supplying *Rouen* with provisions, which could not be done

"without gaining possession of *Caudebec*, where the King had a magazine of corn, which being once taken would leave them at liberty to bring as much provisions as they would from *Havre de Grace*, and other places on the coast." The Duke of *Parma* could not see the force of these reasons, and when they told him, that in six days time, the King would come of his own accord to offer him battle, he answered, "That he did not doubt of it, because they gave him time to take his measures: but if his advice had been followed the King would have been so briskly pursued that he could never recover himself." This dispute between the generals rose at last to high words on both sides, but after all, the Duke of *Parma* was obliged to fall in with the advice of the *French* Generals, and the army next day came before *Caudebec*, where the Duke of *Parma* reconnoitering the place received a musquet ball in his arm, which gave him great pain for some time, however, in a few days, the place was taken, and the King having received a considerable reinforcement was soon able to reduce the army of the two Dukes to great straits.

It has been thought strange, that *Henry* at the head of so fine an army should not be able in six months time to make himself master of the town of *Rouen*. Those who are best acquainted with the affairs of that Prince attribute this miscarriage to the Marshal de *Biron*, who insisted upon beginning the siege with the attack of the castle, commonly called *St. Katherine's* fort, which was the strongest place, instead of attempting the town first, since this being once taken, the other must of course surrender. This was represented to the King but the Marshal de *Biron's* authority, and that dependance to which he had accustomed the other general officers, secured all their votes in favour of his opinion. Probably the Marshal, flattering himself that  
nothing

nothing could be able to resist so strong an army, took those measures which he thought most honourable, and most likely to bring the siege soon to an end; and the King, who resolved not to spare himself, seemed to be of the same opinion by following his advice. It was however whispered in the army, that the Marshal having asked of the King the government of *Rouen* which he could not obtain, because it had been promised to another at the solicitation of the Duke *de Montpensier*; endeavoured secretly to thwart an enterprise, from which he was not like to reap advantage, and, through envy, gave such advice as he knew would render all efforts upon the place ineffectual. This furnish might possibly be raised by the Marshal's enemies, but whatever was the matter, it was not long before the King perceived that he had engaged in a very difficult attempt; and that nothing but patience and vigorous measures could crown his labours with success. Besides this, the Duke *de Sully* assures us that, a great part of his army, were as much averse to his success in this attempt as the enemies themselves. The Roman-Catholics had joined him at first, in hopes that he could be brought over to their persuasion, but the King not being very forward to oblige them in this, they were as much afraid of his success as some of the partizans of the league. With this view they closed with the Marshal *de Biron's* opinion and obliged the King to begin the siege at a place which rendered the taking of the city almost impossible, suffered him to sustain all the danger and fatigue, obeyed by halves, and with regret, made a number of difficulties, and publicly declared, that nothing was to be expected from them, while he continued to possess a religion different from their own. They said openly, "That Heaven would never favour *Henry's* party while he continued a heretick, that they exposed themselves to the divine vengeance by associating with that reprobate body. Their furious zeal went even so far, that they

formed a design to take up the bodies of the Hugonots, who had been interred indiscriminately with those of their religion, and leave their carcases a prey to the crows. Two considerations only hindered the execution of this design, however contrary to nature as well as religion, the difficulty of distinguishing the bodies, and fear lest the Protestants, who made two thirds of the army, should think themselves engaged in honour to revenge upon the living Roman-Catholics, an inhuman outrage, committed on the remains of the dead\*. To say no more, it was probably owing in a great measure to the Roman Catholics in the royal army, that every thing that was done in the camp of the besiegers was known presently in the town, and that the attempt upon *Rouen* was rendered unsuccessful, as that upon *Paris* had been two years before†.

We shall conclude the account of this siege, with an instance or two more of *Henry's* heroic valour, which equally excited the admiration of his friends and enemies. *Villars* not contented with defending himself within, had sallied out of the castle, caused a deep trench to be cut upon the declivity of the hill over against the fort, with which the end of it communicated, and placed in it a guard of six or seven hundred men; as this new work extended far into the country, and not only disturbed the besiegers in their attacks upon the castle, but also, by means of it, their rear was exposed to the enemy, while they had the garrison in front, the King resolved to seize it and render it useless to the besieged. For this purpose, one night when it was his turn to lie in the trench, he ordered the 300 gentlemen, who always attended him in the field, to be completely armed, and to have, besides their usual arms, halberts in their hands, and pistols at their girdles; he also added to these 400 musqueteers. Thus prepared he attacked the trench, at mid-

\* Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, Book 4th, p. 161.

† See Mezeray's account of the siege of Paris, and of Rouen.

night



night in several places at once, and the action continued for half an hour with great obstinacy on both sides. During this time the King with his escorte were several times repulsed; but at last carried the trench, and cleared it of more than fifty dead or dying enemies, whom his attendants threw from the top of the hill; and having ordered Gabions and casks filled with earth to be properly disposed for covering it, from the fire of the fort, to which it was exposed, committed it to the care of the *English*.

*Villars* did not expect to see his outworks carried in so short a time. When he was told of it, and that the enterprize was conducted by the King himself, "By heavens, said he, this Prince deserves a thousand crowns for his valour. I am sorry that, by a better religion, he does not inspire us with as strong an inclination to gain him new ones as to detain from him his own; but it shall never be said, that I have failed to attempt in my own person, what a great King has performed in his." In fact, he put himself at the head of four hundred men, armed, as he had been informed the King's were, and taking eight hundred musqueteers selected out of his whole number, he attacked the *English*, and dislodged them. The King, piqued at *Villars*'s vanity, and resolving not to let go his hold, prepared for a second attempt. The *English* apprehending reproaches, which they certainly did not deserve, intreated the King to admit an hundred *English* gentlemen into his attendance, and suffer all the foot, that were to be employed on this occasion, to be of that nation. They also begged leave to sustain the first effort of the enemy, and behaved so well, that the trench was regained: upon this success, the defence of it was again committed to them, and the enemy, after this experience of their bravery, made no farther attempts to wrest it out of their hands. Soon after this obstinate struggle, when the Duke of *Sully* took occasion to expostulate with *Henry*, for

exposing his person, and the fortune of *France* to so many, and so great dangers, he answered, "I can not do otherwise, my friend, and since it is for my glory and my crown that I fight, my life and every thing else ought to be of no consideration with me \*."

Some time after, *Villars* having sallied out of the town at the head of an hundred horse, overthrew the guard, and was like to have occasioned much greater confusion. But the King, armed only with a cuirass, ran to the place followed by the Baron *de Biron*, an *English* officer, *Grillon*, and some others that were about him; these three gentlemen gained immortal glory, upon this occasion. *Grillon* had his arm broke by a musket shot. As for the King having precipitated himself into a danger, somewhat like that which is related of *Alexander* the Great in the city of the *Oxydracæ*, he extricated himself out of it with equal presence of mind and intrepidity. The author †, from whom we have taken this account, adds, That if the story of *Alexander*, to which he refers, has all the appearance of a fable, *Henry*'s action had two whole armies to be witness of it.

Having thus finished all we intend, concerning the history of *Rouen*, we shall not enlarge on what we have further to offer concerning it.

The country round *Rouen* is so pleasant that it would deserve a particular description. There are fine walks on all sides of the town, pleasant islands on the river *Seine*, and beautiful houses, quite round the city. Of these last we shall only take notice of one, about which there is something particularly curious. A little way from the Abbey of *St. George* at *Rouen*, we meet with a pleasant country house, called the *Genetay*. The great court, which is before it, merits parti-

\* Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, Book IV. p. 180.

† Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, Book IV. p. 182.

ticular attention, because it is, in fact, one of the greatest ornaments of the place. Its length is a little greater than its breadth; it is terminated at the further end by the front of the building, and on the other sides surrounded with semi-circular walls. This form produces an echo, which is attended with some peculiar circumstances; if a person sings in it, he hears only his own voice, and no echo at all: on the contrary, those who stand by hear nothing but the repetition of the echo, and that attended with surprising variations: for it sometimes seems to approach, at other times to remove to a distance: one hears the repetition of one voice only, another imagines he hears several voices at once; one hears the echo on his right hand, another on his left; and to say no more, according to different positions of the person who sings, and those who are within the reach of his voice, every one hears the echo in a different manner. It was generally thought by those who had seen this curious house, and heard the echo, that these various effects were occasioned by subterraneous caves; but Father *Quésnet*, sub-prior of the abbey of *St. George*, having examined the matter with great care, discovered that the true cause of these various appearances is the form of the place, and wrote a dissertation on the subject, an extract of which is published in the *Memoires de l'Academie de Sciences* for the year 1692. We are also told in the *Melanges d'Histoire et de Litterature*\*, that *M. de Lilly*, President of the board of Finances at *Rouen*, who possessed this house from his youth to his death, which happened in the 80th year of his age, brought this invention

\* Tom. 1st, p. 219.

from *Italy*, and would never explain it: "When I marry," said he to his friends, you shall know my secret: I will tell it to my wife, and she will tell it to every body."

We have as yet taken no notice of the Parliament of *Rouen*, nor indeed are we furnished with sufficient materials for a particular and accurate account of it; it will be sufficient to observe in general that it owes its first institution to the Dukes of *Normandy*, and was originally called the exchequer. The critics are divided concerning the etymology of this name, but passing this as a matter of very little consequence, the ecclesiasticks and the nobility had a seat in this court, and a decisive voice in all the affairs that came before it. It seems to have been the grand council of the country, and of the same nature with those generally established in Gothick governments. But the Kings of *France*, as soon as it was reunited to that monarchy, deputed such judges as they pleased to hold the exchequer, and these only had a decisive voice in the affairs that came before it. Since that time the nobility that have a seat in this court, have no voice; but are only called to give it a kind of solemnity, the exchequer also, since it came under the power of the *French Kings*, has together with its nature lost its ancient name, being now called the parliament of *Rouen*.

*Rouen* is famous for being the native place of several learned men, particularly of *Peter Barden* of the *French academy*, *Samuel Bochart*, the famous *Peter Corneille*, *Thomas Corneille* his brother, *Emeric Bigot*, *Nicolas le Tourneux*, *Noel Alexander*, and *M. de Fontenelle*, who have done honour to their native city by their superior genius and great learning.



## REFERENCES

To the P L A N of R O U E N.

## PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

- A The King's Magazine of Salt.
- B The Old Tower.
- C The Archbishop's Palace.
- D The Palace, where the Parliament assemble, and the Jail.
- E The Fish Market and Shambles.
- F The Magazine of Salt.
- G The Calf Market.
- H The Horse Market.
- I The Riding Academy.
- K Jail.
- L The Bailiwick and County Courts.
- M The Court of Aids.
- N The Leather Markets.
- O Arquebusers \* Garden.
- P Gros Horloge (great Clock.)

## RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS.

- 1 St. *Rock* Hospital.
- 2 St. *Louis* Hospital.
- 3 The *Hotel Dieu*.
- 4 *Notre Dame* Church.
- 15 St. *Maclou's* burying Ground.
- 25 *Boutteville* Hospital.
- 9 Protestant burying Ground.
- 10 The Archbishop's Seminary.
- 11 St. *Nicaise*.
- \* Antient Musqueteers.

- 12 *Joyeuse* Seminary.
- 5 St. *Owen's* Priory.
- 6 St. *Owen's* Abby.
- 14 St. *Vincent's* Hospital.
- 13 St. *Vincent's* burying Ground.
- 16 St. *Mark*.
- 17 St. *Maclou*.
- 7 St. *Amand's* Priory and Abby.
- 18 St. *Laurence*.
- 19 St. *Patrick*.
- 20 St. *Godard*.
- 21 St. *Vandrilie* Hospital.
- 22 St. *Martin*.
- 23 St. *Peter*.
- 24 St. *Croix*.
- 26 St. *Digor*.
- 27 St. *Mary la Petite*.
- 28 St. *Peter le Portier*.
- 29 St. *Anthony's* Priory.
- 30 St. *John*.
- 8 Hospital for Women.
- 31 St. *Lo* Priory.
- 32 St. *Nicholas*.
- 33 St. *Stephen*.
- 34 St. *Peter du Chatel*.
- 35 St. *Martin's* Parish.
- 36 St. *Vincent*.
- 37 St. *George*.
- 38 St. *Michael*.

- 39 St. *Claude*.  
 40 St. *Andrew*.  
 41 St. *Eloy*.

CONVENTS.  
 MONKS.

- a The Trinitarians.  
 b The Capuchin Fryars.  
 c The Celestines.  
 d The Jesuits.  
 e The Minims.  
 f The Jesuits Noviciate.  
 g The Oratory.  
 h The Feuillans.  
 i The Dominican Fryars.  
 k The White Fryars.  
 l Augustin Fryars.

m The Cordeliers.

N U N S.

- n Of the Visitation.  
 o English Nuns.  
 p Annunciades.  
 q The Penitents.  
 r Bon Pasteur.  
 f The Clarists.  
 t The Franciscans.  
 u The Ursulines.  
 v Nuns of St. *Joseph*.  
 w Nuns of St. *Louis*.  
 x The Carmelites.  
 y The Benedictines.  
 z Sisters of Providence.  
 & Sisters of the Sacrament.

About twelve leagues below *Rouen*, on the west side of the *Seine*, we meet with the town of

Q U I L L E B E U F,

IN Latin *Quillebovium*, *Guellebotum*, and *Guellebodium*, a little town about seven leagues from *Honfleur*, and a little more from *Havre de Grace*. It is situated in the *Roumois*, a country of triangular form, lying between the river *Seine* and the *Rille*, fertile in corn and fruits; and abounding with cattle especially sheep. The learned *M. Huet* derived its name from *Bu*, which in old *Saxon* signifies village, and *Wael*, a fountain, so that, according to him, *Quillebeuf* signifies the Vil-

lage of fountains. It has but one street, which lies between a large hill and the river *Seine*, and one parish church, dedicated to the Virgin. Instead of a harbour it has only a stone quay, which is kept in repair by the engineers of *Honfleur*. There are commonly at *Quillebeuf* eighty pilots for conducting ships in and out of the harbour, and seldom fewer than 66, thirteen whereof are sworn pilots, to direct the vessels that go up and down the *Seine*, and examine such  
 as



as want to be admitted pilots; but no body can be received into that number that is not a native of this place. *Quillebeuf* was formerly a fortified town, but *Lewis XIII.* caused the walls and fortifications of it to be razed.

The inhabitants; are said not to exceed 1400; the men live by fishing, and the women by working lace.

About seven leagues below *Quillebeuf*, near the mouth of the river *Seine*, stands the town and port of

## H O N F L E U R,

**I**N Latin *Honestum*, *Honflutum*, and *Hanflutum*, a little town in *Upper Normandy*, situated in the north latitude 49 degrees 26 minutes, and longitude of 00 degrees 16 minutes to the eastward of the meridian of *London*. Some pretend that *Honfleur* is a town of great antiquity, and carry its original as far back as the times of *Julius Caesar*. It is also said to have been a frontier town, before *Francis I.* built *Havre de Grace*, and that in those times it was well fortified. It had two fine gates, called the gate of *Rouen* and that of *Caen*, the first whereof was defended by two bastions, and the latter by one: but the gate of *Rouen* was demolished about the year 1684, to enlarge the basin of the harbour, and make the town-ditch serve as a reservoir of water: so that now *Honfleur* has no gate on the side next the harbour but that of *Caen* with its bastion; and two towers, the one round and the other square. The whole town is defended by eight batteries, five large, and three small ones, the round tower serving as a magazine of gun-powder. There are no remarkable buildings at *Honfleur*, but these two towers, at the gate of *Caen* with its bastion. Over this gate is the house of the King's lieutenant: the Governor's house, and three magazines, stand between the two towers along the side of

the *Seine*. The three magazines were built by the King's order in the year 1672, to serve instead of a grainery of salt, whereof they can contain 7000 bushels. The town of *Honfleur*, with the suburbs of *St. Katherine* and *St. Leonard*, which are now considered as a part of the town, are supposed to contain about 1353 families, and 14000 inhabitants, two thirds whereof are women. There are here five public places or squares, the largest whereof is the place of arms or parade. It lies opposite to the Governor's house, the town-house, and a part of the basin. The place of the harbour, or the square of the great fountain, where the fish market is held. The square of *St. Katherine* serves as a fruit market; the great square of *St. Leonard* near the bridge, and the square of *St. Leonard's* church, serve as a poultry market. There are here six public fountains, besides private ones, of which number three or four yield a great quantity of water; the most beautiful is that in the fish market. There are in the town four parishes, the parishes of *Notre Dame*, *St. Leonard*, *St. Stephen*, and *St. Katherine*; but they have only two curates, so that each of these is obliged to attend two churches. The parishes of *Notre Dame* and *St. Stephen* are in the town, those of *St. Katherine* and *St. Leonard* in the

suburbs. There is here also a convent of Capuchins, and two of Nuns. The hospital for the poor, and that for the sick of *Honfleur*, were reunited in the year 1687 by an act of council, which limits the number of Governors to twelve, besides those who are such by virtue of their offices. Of this latter sort are the Bishop of *Lisieux*, the two curates of the town, the governor, the King's lieutenant, the Mayor and Aldermen, and one or two more. The twelve Governors have no privilege but exemption from watch and ward during the two years they continue in office. They are chosen, out of the number of the richest citizens, and six of them go out of office every year. The hospital has but a very small revenue; it is principally supported by the alms of the people; and the poor in it contribute to their own maintenance by making lace, and other such works as are suited to their strength and education.

There is no public school at *Honfleur*; the Nuns of *Notre Dame* teach the girls gratis; and some private persons instruct the boys at a certain rate per month. There is also another school for girls, kept by one of the sisters of *Providence* belonging to *Lisieux* with the consent of the Bishop, and under the direction of the curate of *St. Leonards*. This sister teaches girls to work lace gratis; she is provided with a house by the town, but has no salary. A little way from *Honfleur* on the side of the *Seine* is the chapel of *Notre Dame de Grace*, attended by the Capuchins of the convent of *Honfleur*, to which there is so great a resort, that the alms of those who perform their devotions there contribute much to the subsistence of the convent. The government of the town is in the hands of a Mayor, four Aldermen, and as many counsellors. The Mayor continues in that station two or three years, and the Aldermen four, so that one of the latter goes out of office every year.

N° XXVIII.

The yearly revenue of *Honfleur* amounted formerly to 8 or 10000 livres, but about sixty years ago a great part of the grants it enjoyed were taken away, and its other farms diminishing considerably, the whole is now reduced to 2300 livres, or little more. The town had formerly great privileges, which are now lost, by the negligence and inattention of the magistrates. It was exempted from the salt duty and King's tax by *Lewis XI.* and these privileges were confirmed to it by all the subsequent Kings till the reign of *Henry IV.* when a tax of 1050 livres was laid upon it; and this burden, since that time, has been so much augmented, that the tariff, now imposed, instead of the King's tax, rises to 45000 livres, besides the capitation, and other impositions amounting to 20000 more. The tariff was imposed on *Honfleur* in the year 1684, and is laid, in general, upon all sorts of goods and commodities brought into the town, or consumed in it. The King's officers and magistrates are exempted from it, and yet it is said this exemption reaches no further than to the commodities which are brought them from their own estates. As to the salt duty, they have no exemption but for such a quantity as is necessary for salting their fish.

*Honfleur* was originally exempted from serving in the Militia; but by the regulation made in the year 1729 with regard to that service, it is obliged to raise two men; which gives ground to apprehend, that in time it will be forced to furnish a greater number. In the regulations made in the year 1716, with respect to guarding the coasts, those parishes which are subject to this kind of service are exempted from serving in the Militia; and in that made with regard to the Militia in 1726, the same exemption is confirmed: but tho' this is precisely the case of *Honfleur*, it is nevertheless obliged to furnish the small contingent we have mentioned

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to the land service. It is a seaport town, and there are in it more than 1000 sailors, or workmen liable to marine service: it has, besides, a city Militia composed of the citizens and freemen subject to watch and guard the coasts under the direction of the King's Lieutenant Governor. This Militia is divided into five companies, each of which has a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ensign, and other subaltern officers. They arm themselves as soon as they are called, and in time of war, or whenever they are employed, receive orders and the word from the Governor of the town, or the King's Lieutenant; and in their absence from the Viscount or principal officer in the place. When any officer dies the governor takes care to provide a successor.

There is at *Honfleur* a small stream, called the river of *Morelle*, which falls into the reservoir of water, and, together with the supplies brought from the sea by means of sluices, serves to clean the basin, and the old and new harbour. The harbour of *Honfleur* lies almost north and south, the water rises in the mouth of it eighteen *French* feet at high water, and eight when it is low, but in the basin it is said to rise from twenty to twenty two feet, at high tide, and from nine to ten feet at low water. The basin has a sluice to detain the sea water brought up by the tides, that the ships in it may always be afloat. It can hold 30 or 35 vessels at a time. The old harbour is very little, and serves only for careening ships. In the year 1728, there were more than 100 vessels at *Honfleur*, in the old basin, and that which belongs to the new harbour; but this latter is exposed to danger, as it is not yet compleated; if ever it be brought to the pitch of perfection, which was at first intended, it will accommodate a great number. The harbour is very accessible. The same winds that bring ships into it serve also to bring them out and carry them to *Rouen*; which is no

small advantage to the commerce of that place. The smallness of this harbour, in comparison of the number of ships that arrive here, to trade and carry salt to and from the granery, gave occasion for beginning the new harbour at *Honfleur*; but it has been neglected for some time past although a good deal of money had been laid out upon it before. Meantime *Honfleur* produces a prodigious revenue to the state; for in the worst years it is said to yield 200000 livres, exclusive of the aids, the farm of tobacco, and some other branches. In short, if the new harbour were compleated it would be an infinite advantage to trade, and a sure refuge to all the ships that came into the river *Seine*. There are here two large sluices, and five of a middle size, for clearing the basin, and the harbours; but there is no road, and therefore ships are obliged to anchor before the harbour; which is attended with inconveniences on accounts of the banks of sand, that are frequently lodged here by the violent settings of the tide in stormy weather. The harbour was some time ago much incumbered with soil and rubbish; but of late it has been cleaned, to so good purpose, that a ship drawing sixteen feet of water may go out or in without the least danger. Over against the village of *Villerville*, about a musquet shot from land, is a muscle bank, called the causey of *Villerville*, about half a quarter of a league in length, from north to south, and nearly two hundred fathoms in breadth. In very high tides it is almost dry at low water, and in ordinary tides, half of the bank is out of the water, so that in both cases the muscles may be gathered by the hand. There is also another bank, called the *Ratier*, between the parish of *Hennequeville* and *Havre de Grace*, about a league and a half from land, and three from *Villerville*. It is a large league in length from north east to south west, a quarter of a league in breadth, and produces great plenty of muscles.

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The fishermen from *Fiquefleur* to *Trouville*, come with their boats to fish for them. They carry also to the banks a great many women to assist in gathering them, and sell them at *Havre*, *Caudebec*, *Rouen*, *Honfleur*, *Pont l'Eveque*, *Lisieux*, and other places. On the sands of *Villerville* they find a great many sandeels at low water. You may sometimes see there near 200 women and children employed in gathering them. The

pilots of *Havre* come on purpose to buy these sand eels. They pay every person they employ in gathering them four or five sols each tide; and it is certain that, by the sale of them, *Villerville* gains every year 600 livres.

To the westward of *Honfleur* we meet with nothing of consequence till, having travelled about twelve leagues, we arrive at

## C A E N,

IN Latin *Cadomus*, about three leagues from the sea, at the confluence of the rivers *Orne* and *Odon*. It was antiently called *Catbim*, *Catbem*, *Catheim*, and *Cathom*, which are all different pronunciations of the same word, signifying, according to *M. Bochart*, the residence of war; and to *M. Huet*, the mansion of Cadets. *Catbim* and *Catbem*, which were originally words of the same import, seem to have been first corrupted into *Caben*, and this by an easy alteration became *Caen*. This seems to be the most reasonable account of this name; the vain conjectures of its being called *Cadomus* quasi *Cadmi-domus*, according to some, or *Cai-domus*, according to others, being hardly worth mentioning. The antient Historians or Geographers take no notice of *Caen*, or of any town near the spot on which it stands; which proves sufficiently that it had no being in the time of the *Romans*. How soon it was built after they left *Gaul* is not easy to determine.

The town is situated in a valley between two large and beautiful meadows, the one called the Great, the other *St. Giles's*, or my Lady's meadow, and both watered by the river *Orne*. On one side the convent of the Jesuits, the Abbey of *St. Stephen*, and several towers and spires of different parish

churches, and on the other a long suburb with several villages contiguous to it, form charming prospects, terminated by the view of a beautiful country house, and a wood, at a considerable distance.

The town is built in the form of a horse-shoe, in the lat. of 49 degrees 12 minutes north, and 18 minutes to the west of the meridian of *London*; at the distance of seven leagues from *Falaise*, and 13 from *St. Lo*. It has six gates, viz. the gate of *Milet* or *Vaucelle*; the new gate; the gate *Bayeux*; the *Shepherds gate*; the gate of *St. Julian*; and that of *St. Stephen*. There are in it four public squares; the royal place, which is the largest of all, and has a pedestrian statue of *Lewis XIV.* erected in it; the place of *St. Sauveur*, that of *St. Peter*, and the wood market. Without the town are four large suburbs, the most considerable whereof is called *le Bourg-l'Abbé* and lies on the north-west side, having two roads issuing from it, the one leading to *Bayeux*, and the other to *St. Lo*. The suburb of *Vaucelle* has three roads issuing from it, one to *Rouen*, another to *Falaise*, and a third to a place called *Allemagne*, which lies about a league from *Caen*. The suburb of *St. Julian* has but one road issuing from it, which leads to *De-*



*livrande*; and from the suburb of *St. Giles*, there is only one road leading to *Honfleur*. In the town and suburbs, taken together, there are about 10000 houses, almost all built of hewn stone, and the inhabitants are reckoned by one author \* to be 36, another † makes them about 40, and a third ‡ near 50,000. The streets are reasonably broad, and the two longest are those of *St. Peter* and *St. John*.

The town is enclosed in walls flanked with one and twenty towers, some whereof are round and others square: the most part of them have platforms for cannon. The walls are 50 feet high, eight or ten thick, with parapets from four to five or six foot high in some places, and two foot in thickness, having loop-holes for muskets, and embrasures for cannon. A part of the walls is surrounded by the river *Odon*, and a branch of the *Orne*, which serve to secure the approaches on one side; the other has a dry ditch without a revêtement. The precise time when these fortifications were built cannot be ascertained, but it appears to have been before 1344; because, that year, King *John* made a present to the Cordeliers to indemnify them for a part of their garden, which had been inclosed within the town wall. Near the wall is a castle, which commands the town, and is at the same time its principal defence. It is enclosed in walls flanked with square and round towers, together with ramparts, and dry ditches cut out of the rock, as also two works from their form called *bonnets à prêtres*, instead of halfmoons for securing the gate. There is a set of barracks on the same level with the street, containing eighteen small apartments, each of which can only hold one bed; four apartments over the gate *de Secours*, which may contain fifteen or sixteen beds; and another under the porter's lodge, which can hold six more. All these are intended to accommodate the garrison. The Governor, the King's Lieutenant,

\* *Geographie universelle de la France.*

† *Vaillète Geographie historique, &c.*

‡ *Piganiol de la Force, Nouvelle description de la France, &c.*

the Mayor, and the Captain of the gate, have each a house in the castle; and near to that of the Mayor is a large building which is employed as an arsenal.

In the middle of the castle is a large square tower called the *Donjon*, enclosed within walls and flanked with a round tower at each of its angles. The ditch belonging to it, like that of the castle, is about forty feet broad, and very deep. The parade of the castle is so large, that, in it, 6 or 7000 men may be drawn up in order of battle. This castle seems to have been built by *William Duke of Normandy*, who was afterwards King of *England*; for *Robert Abbé* of mount *St. Michael*, the continuator of *Sigebert*, tells us that *Henry I. King of England* heightened the walls of the castle of *Caen*, which his Father *William the Conqueror* had built; and that he added to it a high tower, which probably was the *Donjon* just now mentioned. This work was at first covered with tiles; but *Francis de Silli*, Governor and high bailiff of *Caen*, laid a platform over it, and made the embrasures which are still remaining. The castle and *Donjon* were repaired in the reign of *Lewis XII.* and afterwards in that of *Francis the first*. The governor of the castle has 12000 livres of salary, and under him are the King's Lieutenant, a Major and Aid-Major who is captain of the gate, a commissary of artillery, and a store-keeper; as also a commissary of war, an engineer, and a company of invalids with the officers belonging to them. There are in *Caen* thirteen parish churches, six whereof are in the town, and seven in the suburbs; the most considerable of these is that of *St. Peter*. The Abbey of *St. Stephen* stands in the suburb of *Bourg-l'Abbé*, it has 90000 livres of yearly rent, and that of the *Trinity* between sixty and seventy. There are here no less than seven convents of Monks, viz. the Friars of *St. Augustin*, the Carmelites, the Croisiers of *St. Augustin*, the Dominicans, the Cordeliers, Capuchins, and Jesuits.

And five convents of Nuns, viz. the Carmelites, Ursulines, Nuns of the Visitation, Benedictines, and the sisters of *Notre Dame de la Charité*. The revenues of most of these convents of Monks and Nuns are very considerable. There are three hospitals in *Caen*, viz. the *Hotel Dieu*, the hospital general, and that of the *pauvres enfermés*. The *Hotel Dieu* was founded by one *Milet* a soldier, in the year 1323; the hospital general only in the year 1655: it has 12000 livres of yearly rent payable monthly, besides a duty of twenty sols upon every tun of cyder, and proportionably for wine, which produces yearly 15 or 16,000 livres. That of the *pauvres enfermés*, was founded on the 15th of *March* 1630, and confirmed by letters patent of *Lewis XIII.* in 1640. The *Gobeliniere* is another hospital founded in the year 1609, for contagious distempers. The university of *Caen* is one of the most antient in the kingdom: those who desire a particular account of it may consult the *Nouvelle description de la France*\*, &c.

There is but one free fair at *Caen*, which was established by letters patent granted by *Henry IV.* in the month of *May* 1594. It begins on *Monday* after *Low Sunday* and lasts fifteen days: the bailif of *Caen*, or his lieutenant, the King's officers belonging to the bailiwick, and the Aldermen, are the conservators of the privileges, and judges of the controversies that happen during the fair. The generality of *Caen* extends in the form of *St. Andrew's* cross, from *Tilleul* to *la Hogue*, near thirty leagues distant; and from *Dives* to *Pontorson*, almost thirty two. It contains the nine elections of *Caen*, *Bayeux*, *Carentan*, *Valogne*, *Coutances*, *Auranches*, *Vire*, *Saint Lo*, and *Mortain*. About half a league from the town there is an infirmary said to have been founded by *Henry II.* King of

*England*, and Duke of *Normandy*, in the year 1161. The inhabitants of *Caen* however pretend that it was a donation made by their ancestors, and on this account the Mayor and Aldermen chuse administrators for this charity every three years. In this infirmary there is a chapel called *St. Mary de Beaulieu*, which, according to the custom of leprous houses, is reckoned the parish church of the sick, because the infected of all the parishes of the town were admitted into it, excepting the parishes of *St. Nicholas*, *St. Ouen de Venois*, and *St. Germain de la Blanche Herbe*, the sick whereof, by a special privilege, were admitted into another chapel called *le Nombril Dieu*.

The magistracy of the town consists of a Mayor, six Aldermen, the King's procurator, a receiver, and secretary. The Mayor, and the King's procurator continue in office during life. The assembly for the election of magistrates, consists of six deputies from the parishes of *St. Peter*, six from that of *St. John*, and four from each of the other parishes. The city Militia consists of nine companies, whereof each has a Captain and Lieutenant, and over the whole a Colonel and Major, who are commissioned by brevet from the King. This Militia was erected by a declaration in the month of *March* 1694; every Captain has a salary of 1200 livres, and each Lieutenant of 700. These officers purchase their places, and enjoy them for life. Besides this Militia, there is a city watch composed of fifty Musqueteers who are all tradesmen, and the Captain has a salary of 300 livres from the town. At public rejoicings the Governor, the Mayor, and the Aldermen, light the bonfires, and have the precedence on all solemn occasions.

In the parish of *Allemagne*, about half a league from *Caen*, there are some beautiful quarries which yield a kind of white marble; there are also two quarries of slate, one at *Harcourt*, and another at *Curfy*; the former about four leagues,

\* Vol. 9. p. 342 & seqq.



and the latter three from *Caen*: both yield excellent slates. There are very good forges at *Auroux* and *Balleroy*, about eight leagues from *Caen*, where iron is made into bars and sent to *Cherbourg*. At *Barbery* and other neighbouring places about three leagues from *Caen*, are good tile and brick kilns, and a large beautiful forest, commonly called the forest of *Cinglays*.

The commerce carried on in the town of *Caen*, is said to amount yearly to 4,500,000 livres, exclusive of the haratnees, which are manufactured there, and a great quantity of cyder. The mouth of the river *Orne*, called the bay of *Caen*, is about three leagues and a half from the town by land, and five and a half by water. This bay lies north west, and south east, and to enter it, the ships commonly anchor in the road of *Caen*, which lies under the parish of *Colleville* towards the south west, and about half a league from land: it is called *la Fosse de Colleville*. The water in it is from eight to ten fathom deep; it lies south east, and north west; and ships anchoring here are secured from all winds that blow from east to south, and from south to west; the most dangerous are those from the north west, north, and north east; but no anchors can drive in this road, the bottom is so good and the ground so firm.

The trade which the inhabitants of *Caen* carry on by sea is not very extensive. Of all the sea ports within the kingdom, they deal most largely with *Rouen*, to which they send paper, iron, and some other commodities, and receive in return spices and small wares. They send the same commodities to *Havre*, and bring from thence several sorts of merchandize which are either the produce of the country or imported from abroad. Their most considerable foreign trade is carried on with *Holland*, by means of the towns of *Rotterdam* and *Amsterdam*. They send thither paper, vinegar made of cyder, geneva, honey, eggs for refineries, fresh and

dry pears, dry prunes from the country of *Maine*, raisins from *Provence*, &c. in return for which they bring home oak planks, Campechy, Indian, and Japan woods and other materials for dying; allum, galls, German vitriol, sulphur, several kinds of oil, copperas, whalebone, tea, flax, lintseed, gum arabick, steel, tin, iron, tobacco pipes, furs, earthenware, white thread for making lace, cod fish, salt salmon, cheese, dutch linen, small wares, &c.

*Caen* became subject to the King of *England* together with the rest of *Normandy*. It was retaken by *Philip the August* in the year 1204, and continued undisturbed under the dominion of *France* till 1346, when *Edward III.* of *England*, having invaded *France*, overrun *Normandy*, and after taking and pillaging *Barfleur*, *Cherbourg*, *Montbourg*, and *St. Lo*, came within a few leagues of *Caen*, intending to lay siege to it. This town was not, at that time, inclosed within walls; it had on one side ramparts, and the river *Orne*; on the other a strong castle, in which *Robert de Blagny* had shut up himself with a garrison of 300 *Genoese*; but in some places it was quite open. As on this account it was the more liable to be surprised, the Earl of *Eu*, then Constable of *France*, had drawn together the Militia of the country, and *Philip* had called the Earl of *Tancarville* out of *Guienne*, to assist in the defence of it. The Constable, finding himself at the head of a numerous army, did not think proper to shut himself up in the town till the enemy should come to attack him; but, having drawn up his army in the best order he could, led them out to meet the *English*, and, having given them battle, was totally defeated at the first attack, and had the mortification to see himself and *Tancarville* prisoners in the hands of the *English*. Nor was this all; the *English*, vigorously pursuing the fugitives, entered the town together with them, and plundered it. *Mezeray* gives a different account of this battle and of the fate of the town. He tells

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us, that the Constable, far from intending to march out of the town to meet the enemy, had, on the contrary, determined to satisfy himself with defending the bridge, and the gates of the town; but the townsmen and the rest of his army, trusting to their numbers, and elated with hopes of victory, could not be contained, and therefore, fearing that they would mutiny, if he should oppose their inclinations, he led them out to the field, where they could not stand the first attack of the *English* archers, but threw down their arms and fled to the town. The *English*, pursuing them, not only made a prodigious slaughter at the gates, but having forded the river, entered into the town at several other places, and put to the sword all that they met with. Meantime the Constable and the Earl of *Tancarville*, who were defending the bridge, had no notion that the river could be forded, till they saw the *English* behind them cutting the citizens to pieces. They then apprehended that further resistance could answer no end, and therefore surrendered to Sir *Thomas Holland*, an *English* Knight, that happened to be in sight. The *French* historian adds, that the *English* continuing their cruel executions after the principal men of the town had surrendered, those of the citizens that survived, being driven to despair, resolved to sell their lives as dear as they could, and therefore vigorously renewed the battle with stones and every offensive weapon that fell in their way, so that in a little time five hundred of the *English* were slain; that *Edward*, provoked at the loss of so many good soldiers, ordered fire to be set to the four corners of the town; but *Geoffry de Harcourt*, one of his Generals and greatest favourites, pitying his poor countrymen, diverted the effects of the King's anger by the following remonstrance. "See ye not, Sir, said he, that the resolution of this people is merely owing to despair. The number of those that make opposition now is not con-

"siderable; there are many more, hid in barns and cellars: what will be the consequence if you oblige them likewise to come out? What efforts will not men make to rescue themselves from fire and sword? They will not be able, after all, to save their own lives, I acknowledge; but they will endeavour to force their way through our army, rather than suffer themselves to be burnt alive. The points of our swords will not seem to them so frightful as the devouring flames: they will fall upon us, in their rage and despair, and kill a great many of our best men, so that in taking vengeance for the few lives you lost at first, you will afterwards reflect, with concern, that you have lost three times more. Such a severe revenge will be very prejudicial to your affairs, it will be much better to save your troops, you have ten days march yet to *Calais*, and nobody knows how often you may be attacked in that time. If you thus expose your soldiers, what resource shall we find in an enemy's country? Provinces, Sir, are gained by force of arms and by clemency: you have got the advantage in battle, the town is already taken, complete your conquest by shewing compassion. The money and riches of the citizens are yours: nothing but clemency can force their arms out of their hands. They fight now for their lives only: these can be of no use to us: consider that your soldiers who have behaved so well deserved to be spared."

*Edward* appeased by this remonstrance, ordered it to be proclaimed in every part of the town that those who submitted should have their lives saved; upon which the citizens laid down their arms; but he adds, that a great many murders and rapes were afterwards committed, which *Edward* and his officers could not prevent\*. No doubt, *Mezeray* had this account

\* Hist. de la France, tom. I. p. 786, 787.



of the battle and surprize of *Caen* from *Froissard* and other *French* authors: but is it probable, that after the *English* were possessed of all the parts of the town, and had made such havock in the streets, a number of undisciplined fugitives, without arms, (for these, according to our author, they had thrown away in the field) could resume their courage, and destroy 500 *English*, with arms in their hands and flushed with victory? Another *French* author, who is by no means favourable to the *English*, owns that the slain on their side were not much above fifty\*. The truth is, *Mezeray* himself does not believe this story, for he gives another account of this affair, as absurd and rather more inconsistent with the truth of history than the former, from an old Chronicle, as he says, which makes the *Frenchmen*, by the assistance and encouragement of their wives, fight bravely in the field, till, after an obstinate resistance, they were at last driven into the town by the *English* archers. Upon this we are told, that the Constable and Earl of *Tancarville*, came out of the castle, no body knows with what view, were made prisoners and sent into *England*, where they were so well used, that there is reason to think they betrayed their country. So that this author's readers are left at liberty to believe either that the *French* made amends, by the obstinacy and fury wherewith they fought in the town, for their miscarriage in the field, or that they behaved well every where, and only had the misfortune to be betrayed by their leaders. But to proceed: *Caen* was again taken by assault by the *English*, under the command of the brave King *Henry V.* and continued in their hands near thirty years. In the year 1448, *Charles VII.* of *France* having taken advantage of the weak and unhappy reign of *Henry VI.* of *England*, renewed

the war against him; and having taken almost all *Normandy* except *Caen* and *Chebourg*, laid siege to the former and invested it on all sides. The Constable lodged himself in the Abbey of *St. Stephen*, the Count *de Dunois* in the suburbs of *Vaucelles*, and immediately laid a bridge over the river in the meadow below the town, by means whereof the Counts of *Eu* and *Nevers* passed the *Orne*, and posted themselves in the suburbs of *Vaugueux*, and the ladies Abbey, otherwise called the Abbey of the Trinity. Soon after, the King arrived, and lodged in the Abbey of *Ardennes*, about half a league from the town. This siege was the most regular, the best disposed, and the most considerable in respect of expence, works, and machines, of any that were formed in the conquest of *Normandy*. There were batteries raised in five and twenty places, a great number of mines were sprung, and the trenches were carried on as far as the ditch. The very first day the Count *de Dunois* carried by main force the bulwark, on the side of the river *Orne*, which stood quite close to the wall; and the Constable on his side, by springing mines, blew up a part of the wall, and the tower on the side next *St. Stephen's*: so that the *English* seeing themselves thus laid open, demanded a capitulation. There were in the town 4000 good troops, and the Duke of *Somerfet* was in the castle with 300 men, who might have held it out a long time, and given much trouble to the besiegers, being well provided, and lodged in a place which was then, and continued for a long time to be, one of the best fortifications of all *France*. This was the reason why *Charles* granted them a cessation of arms from the day after the feast of *St. John* to the first of *August*, on condition, "That if they were not relieved in that time, by  
" an army able to fight that of *France*, they should surrender  
" the town and castle, and be conveyed to *England*, in ships  
" which the King of *France* should be obliged to provide for  
" them."

\* Daniel's Hist. of France, vol. II. p. 140.

"them." The time being past and no relief appearing, the town bailiff carried the keys to the Constable, who presently delivered them up to the Count *de Donois*, on whom the government of the town had been conferred by the King. On the sixth of *August*, *Charles* made his entry into the town, and was received by the magistrates with great pomp, every one of them, upon the occasion, endeavouring to excel the other in magnificence.

The Prince of *Condé*, having on the 12th of *April* 1592, surprized *Orleans*, sent *M. Ste. Marie aux Agneaux*, in the beginning of *May*, to the Protestants of *Caen*, to persuade them to take arms, and assist them in seizing the town. They were the more easily prevailed upon to come into his measures, as they apprehended oppression and ill usage from *M. Hugneville*, whom *Damville* had left governour of the castle. Having therefore made themselves masters of the town, they abolished the mass with the other superstitions of popery, and set apart all the treasure and valuable furniture belonging to the churches as a fund for carrying on the war against their enemies\*. But this state of their affairs did not long continue; for *Rouen* being taken by the King's troops in *October* following, they began to dread the consequences of their late revolt, and, by the advice of the Duke of *Bouillon*, sent one of the most considerable men among them to court, to offer restitution of the town and castle, on condition, that they should be suffered to continue in the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion. This being granted with some restrictions, the King's letters patent on the subject were published in the town with great joy, and the castle delivered up to the Duke of *Bouillon*. Next year, however, new disturbances arose. The Admiral *de Chatillon*, being in *Normandy*, a supply of two regiments of foot, fourteen

pieces of cannon and 140,000 crowns were sent him from *England*. With this reinforcement he was pressed to march to the relief of *Orleans*, at this time besieged by the Duke of *Guise*, but at the earnest entreaty of the Protestants of *Caen*, who by the assistance of two troops of his horse had again made themselves masters of that town, he thought proper to complete their conquest by the reduction of the castle. This fort was then accounted a place of such strength, that the attempt to force it, with so few troops, and in so little time as the Admiral had to spare, was thought an instance of folly and temerity; but whether he depended upon the inability of those who commanded in the place, or grounded his hopes of success upon any other circumstance, he sat down before it, and succeeded, even beyond his expectation. *Bailleul-Renouard*, a little before advanced to the honour of knighthood, had been sometime in the place, and the Marquis *d'Elbeuf* lately sent post from the court to keep the town in subjection. The latter had been accounted a man of great resolution: but the *French* historian observes, that great corpulency and a quartan ague, which afflicted him a whole month before, had on this occasion considerably sunk his spirits\*. Be this as it may, as soon as the besiegers cannon made a little hole in the wall, the two commanders retired to the *Donjon*, and capitulated next day, which exposed them to the contempt and raillery even of the women. Sometime after the Queen, happening to be at *Caen*, said, That a few women with their distaves might have defended the place. This gave the ladies that attended her a handle for taking freedoms with the characters of the two Governours: and because the Marquis loved good eating and drinking, it was said among other jests, that if he had been

\* Thuan. hist. sui temporis, lib. XXIX.

\* Mezeray's hist. de la France. tom. II. p. 895.



attacked with wine glasses, and slices of bacon hams, he would have made a very good defence.

After the death of *Henry III.* the inhabitants of *Caen* declared in favour of the King of *Navarre*, and continued closely attached to his interest, till he obtained peaceable possession of the crown of *France*. But during the wars, which were carried on for some considerable time by the party of the league against that prince, the former contrived a scheme, in the year 1593, for seizing the town of *Caen*, which they had very near carried into execution. The town, as has been already observed, is divided into two parts by a branch of the river *Orne*; the one on the side next the castle, the other on that next the isle of *St. John*, having a communication with one another by a bridge, which on account of its nearness to the principal church of the place, is called the bridge of *St. Peter*. At this bridge there is a gate on the side next the isle of *St. John*, and over it is the town-house, built upon a large arch. In the absence of *M. de la Veronne*, Governor of the castle, who had gone to wait on the King, together with the best part of his garrison, a Captain belonging to the league, named *la Motte-Corbiniere*, formed a design to surprise the town, by means of a correspondence he had with some of the inhabitants. His intention was, to get, by the help of his friends, into the division next the isle of *St. John*, then to shut the gate of the bridge, to secure himself against the garrison of the castle; this done, to seize the Town-house, and then, having got all his friends together, to make himself master of the other part of the town, and in consequence thereof of the castle. With this view he gets into that next the isle of *St. John*, with seventy or eighty troopers. At the noise they made, his friends run to him from all quarters in such numbers, that it seemed impossible to resist them, and *Caen* had been infallibly lost, had not the prudence and resolution of *Oliver-Reverend de Bougy*,

a gentleman of that country, who happened to be in the place, effectually prevented the execution of the plot. Immediately upon the alarm he runs into the street, sends notice to his friends, and rouses the inhabitants; but in the meantime foreseeing that his enemies would shut the gate of the bridge, he sends one of his people to nail quickly a piece of wood, between the joints: so that while the conspirators attempted to shut the gate they found themselves disappointed, and the more they hastened the less they were capable of discovering the impediment, till he arrived himself, with fifteen or twenty more, whom he had animated by his example. Upon his approach, the conspirators were surprised and put into confusion; and as they could not get the gate shut, one of *Bougy's* attendants, called *Riviere-Reuouf*, pushed thro' the open part of it, with great resolution, shot *la Motte Corbiniere* in the head with a pistol, and by his death, disappointed the project, and dispersed the conspirators. The Magistrates were extremely sensible of the greatness of the danger when it was over; and the King afterwards gave *Bougy* this testimony, "That as he had experienced his fidelity on former occasions, so upon this he was sensible, he had saved all the *Lower Normandy*."

Having thus finished the history of *Caen*, we shall conclude with observing, that the inhabitants of this town and its generality, are noted for good sense, and great application. Some of them in all ages have, by uncommon genius, profound learning, or signal valour, distinguished themselves in the church, in the army, and at the bar. It will be particularly remembered to the honour of *Caen*, that it has been the native place of *Nicholas Oresme*, *John Bertand* Bishop of *Seez*, *Francis Malberbe*, *John Francis Sarrafin*, *Francis de Metel*, *Sieur de Boisrobert*, *Peter Patris*, *Tanaquil le Fevre*, *Giles André de la Roque*, *John Renaud*, *Sieur de Segrais*, *Daniel*

*Huet* Bishop of *Avranches*, and *Peter Varignon*: names, which have met with great applause in the world. Those, who desire a more particular account of them, may consult *M. Huet's* book entituled *les Origines de la Ville de Caen*.

After travelling about six leagues and a half, westward from *Caen*, through a great many villages of little consequence, we arrive at

## B A Y E U X,

**I**N Latin *Civitas Baiocassium, Civitas Baiocafum, Civitas Baiocas, Baiocas*. It stands about a league and a half from the sea, on the bank of the little river *Aure*, in the north latitude of 49 degrees 18 minutes, and 00 degrees 38 minutes to the westward of the meridian of *London*. The inhabitants are laborious, and fit for trade, and considering the distance of their town from the sea is so very small, it might easily be made a place of great commerce. When *M. de Chamillard* was Intendant of this generality he took notice of the activity and industry of the inhabitants, and put them upon setting up manufactures of cloth. They succeeded so well, that in a little time their serges were not inferior to any made in *France*, and by some were compared to those of *England*; but envy soon destroyed the promising prospect. The merchants, oppressed with extravagant taxes, were obliged not only to give up their trade, but even to leave the town, and seek for new habitations.

The town, including the suburbs, consists of seventeen parishes; but the number of persons liable to pay the King's tax does not exceed seventeen hundred. There are here seven Convents, three of Monks, and four of Nuns: the mission of *St. Lazare* have here a seminary lately built. The

Cathedral church is dedicated to the Virgin, and thought to be one of the grandest and best built in the whole province. Its porch, and three steeples, whereof that which is in the middle serves as a sun-dial to the whole town, are much esteemed by the curious. They have in the *Vestry* a reliet, which they call the *Chasuble* of *St. Regnbert*: it is kept in a small coffer of ivory, of an antique figure, with a silver lock, of a round form; on it there is an inscription in the language of the Arabs, and wrote in old Arabian characters. The late *M. Petit de la Croix* was the first that understood the letters, and gave the following translation of the inscription, "Whatever honours we pay to God, we cannot pay him so much respect as he deserves; but we honour him by his holy name." Connoisseurs are persuaded, that this inscription was wrote by a Mahometan; but it is not easy to guess, how the reliet of *St. Regnbert* and this little box with the Mahometan inscription could meet together in a place, where one would so little expect to find the latter. Father *Tournemine* has given some conjectures on this subject, which are no less ingenious than learned. He thinks, that *Charles Martyr* having defeated the *Saracens* near *Tours*, and pillaged their



their camp, this casket being probably a part of the plunder, was some time after presented by *Charles the Bald* to Queen *Ermantude* his consort, who afterwards gave it to the Cathedral church of *Bayeux*, as a receptacle for the reliëts of *St. Regnôbert* in testimony of her gratitude for his curing her husband of a dangerous distemper.

On the 12th of *November 1729*, at the public meeting of the Academy of Inscriptions and *Belles Lettres*, *M. Lancelot* presented the description of an old piece of tapestry preserved in the Cathedral of *Bayeux*, which is said to have been made by the grandmother of *William the Conqueror* and the Princesses her daughters. This piece of tapestry is 132 feet in length, about 2 ells in height. *Notre Dame de la Dêviorande* near *Bayeux*, is a place famous for the concourse of vast numbers of people who come from distant places to pay their devotions to the Virgin. The church is neat and well ornamented, one of the Canons of the Chapter of the Cathedral always attends it, receives the offerings that are made, and puts every thing in order. The origin of this chapel is not well known, only it is conjectured from its name, that it was built at first by the *English*.

The town of *Bayeux*, together with the rest of *Normandy* was wrested out of the hands of the *English* by *Philip the August*, in the unfortunate reign of King *John* of *England*. It was again recovered by *Henry V.* in the year 1419, and continued in the hands of the *English* till 1450, when *Charles VII.* of *France* having defeated the *English* at the battle of *Fourmigny*, and seized the towns, of *Vire*, *Avranches*, and *Tomblaine*, sat down before *Bayeux*, and having made a breach in the walls, obliged the inhabitants to submit to capitulation, whereby the town was saved from plunder, and the *English* garrison had their lives spared, but were obliged to march out of town without their arms and baggage. In the year 1562, soon after the surprize of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Condé* sent *M. Briquerville* de

*Colombieres* to assist the Protestants at *Bayeux*. They soon made themselves masters of the town and castle, and having abolished the mass, broke down the altars and statues they found in the churches, and seized all the treasure and furniture belonging to them. But after the taking of *Rouen*, which happened that very year, they found themselves obliged to restore the town and castle to the King, on condition, that they should be protected in the private exercise of their religion in their own houses. Next year *Bayeux* was besieged by the Admiral de *Chastillon* at the head of a Protestant army, and reduced to the necessity of capitulating: but while the inhabitants were treating about the sum which they were to pay the Conqueror to save them from being pillaged, Captain *Julio Ravilio Ruso*, who had been made Governor of the town and castle by the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, having disappeared, the soldiers of the garrison opened the gates to the besiegers, who plundered the town, and put a great many of the inhabitants to the sword, especially the Ecclesiastics, whom they considered as irreconcilable to their religion, and the authors of the severe persecution that had been carried on against them. *Seigneur Ruso* had sometime before made proper dispositions, not to defend the place, but to save himself: for this end he had got ready a hiding place, in the house of one of the Canons, who was his friend, betwixt two walls so artfully joined together that they seemed to be but one. To this place he retired with a great quantity of salt provisions, a good stock of wine, and a pretty girl whom he had carried away by force from her parents at *Caen*, to make his confinement the more agreeable. But having been discovered by one of his own servants, he was carried prisoner to *Caen*; and on account of several crimes he had been guilty of there, condemned to the gallows, and executed.

After

After the death of *Henry III.* the town of *Bayeux* declared for the party of the league, and continued in that attachment till the year 1590, when *Henry IV.* having entered *Normandy*, and reduced *Falaise*, and *Domfront*, the inhabitants surrendered their town to him, before he came before it with his army.

*Bayeux* was once the capital of the Intendance, and a large flourishing city, but dwindled away and decayed as *Caen* encreased in riches, power, and greatness. By a moderate computation, from the number of parish churches in the town and suburbs, the inhabitants of the former; sometime ago, must at least have amounted to 25 or 30000, whereas in the year 1697, there were not in the whole place above 1700 persons liable to pay the King's tax\*; and about 30 years since, the whole people of the town taken together were computed at 7530†; nor do we find that they have encreased since. *Bayeux* however continues to be the capital of an election, which, about the beginning of this century, contained 16564 inhabitants who paid *Taille* or King's tax to the amount of

142,740 livres, besides other impositions, which have been greatly augmented since that time. Though this election might derive great advantages from its nearness to the sea, which affords conveniencies for vending the produce of the country, and for fishing; it receives little benefit thereby. This is principally owing to the poverty of the inhabitants, on account whereof, they are not able to fit out vessels large enough for herring, mackrel, or cod-fishing; besides this, the sea-faring people have generally retired to *Granville* and *St. Malo*, where they have greater encouragement, and cannot be easily persuaded to return. Again, those who have attempted to engage in trade, either by the interest of their jealous neighbours, or the oppression of the farmers of the revenue, have been so loaded with taxes, that they have been obliged to desist; and, to say no more, the harbours of this election are entirely spoiled.

About four leagues to the westward of *Bayeux* lies the borrough of

## F O U R M I G N I,

*Forignium*, a country town in the province of *Normandy*, and diocess of *Bayeux*, subject to the parliament of *Rouen*, and intendance of *Caen*, containing about 560 inhabitants. This place derives the greatest part of its fame from the battle fought near it, in the year 1450, between

\* *Etat de la France*, tom. V. p. 82.

† *Dictionnaire universelle de la France in voce Bayeux.*

the *English* under the command of *Sir Thomas Kiriell*, and the *French* conducted by the Constable *Richemont*, which ended to the disadvantage of the former.

*Charles VII.* of *France* having conquered the greatest part of *Normandy*, with very little opposition, the Queen of *England*, who, together with her favourite, the Duke of *Suffolk*, took advantage of the weakness and inactivity of the King, to get the management of affairs into their own



hands, apprehending that the discontents of the nation were chiefly owing to the ill success of their affairs in *France*, sent 1500 men to the Duke of *Somerset*, who commanded the *English* troops in *Normandy*, under the command of Sir *Thomas Kiriell*. He landed with this small reinforcement at *Cherburgh*, intending to march to *Caen*, where the Duke of *Somerset* then was; but as he apprehended danger by the way, he was joined on his march by several detachments of the *English* garrisons in those parts. The *French* Constable *Richemont*, hearing of *Kiriell's* design, speedily drew together a body of 7000 men, and waited for him at *Fourmigni*, through which he was to pass. The two armies having engaged on the 18th of *April*, the *English*, tho' inferior in number, defended themselves with great resolution; but at length, notwithstanding their obstinate resistance, they were put to the rout, and their General taken prisoner. The Maid of *Orleans* had prophesied that the *English* should be entirely driven out of the kingdom of *France* by a defeat much greater than those of *Orleans* and *Patay*; and as this was the only battle they fought after the death of *Joan of Arc*, it seems to prove evidently that she had no just pretence to inspiration; for the *English* at most did not exceed 3000 men, according to the computation of their enemies, and lost but 1500. The *French*, however, to keep up the credit of their prophets, magnify this victory as something very extra-

ordinary. With this view, some of them raise the number of the *English* army to 7000; but then they reckon the reinforcement sent into *France* under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Kiriell* to 3000, where as they were in truth but 1500; and no doubt are equally accurate in computing the number of the small detachments that joined them after their landing. With the same sincerity they diminish their own army to three thousand, and will have it that 4000 *English* fell in the battle. *Mezeray* is the most extravagant of them all; for he says they were all slain except *Matagon*, and 300 more who got safe to *Caen*, and *Vire*.

He adds, "This victory was justly ascribed to the divine favour, we had but 3000 men, and our enemies twice as many; notwithstanding this disparity, 4773 of the latter were found dead on the field of battle, and 1400 taken prisoners, whereas we lost but five or six. This being reported at *Paris*, continues he, the Archbishop ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, and a procession of 1200 children, from seven to twelve years of age, to walk from *St. Innocent's* church to that of *Notre Dame* with wax candles in their hands. \*"

About three leagues from *Fourmigni*, and seven to the west of *Bayeux*, stands the borough of

\* *Histoire de la France*, tom. II. p. 58.

**I**N the north latitude of 49 degrees 19 minutes, and 1 degree 00 minutes to the west of the meridian of *London*; situated at the bottom of the bay of *Ifigni*, or the Grand Vay, between the river *Aure*, on the east, and that of *Vire*, or *St. Tremont*, which forms the little Vay, on the west. The river *Aure* separates this village from the parish of *Osmanville*, with which it communicates by a wooden bridge, called the *grand Pont*. The situation of *Ifigni* is very pleasant on account of the fine prospect of the sea, extending as far as *la Hogue* to the northward, and a view of beautiful fields towards the east. The castle is one of the principal ornaments of the place, on account of the beauty of its gardens, groves, and delightful avenues, one of which is no less than 1000 yards long, with beautiful rows of trees on each side, and a most agreeable prospect of the bay at high water. This castle was formerly fortified with a half moon, and two ditches, which might be filled by the rising tide, and emptied again at low water. The greatest part of its fortifications, however, were destroyed to make way for a new building, adjoining to the castle, erected about the end of the last century. Nothing now remains but the two ditches on the side next the sea, and there are now no more than four little pieces of cannon about the whole fort.

*Ifigni* is the only place in the election of *Bayeux* considerable for trade; and by that means is of great use to all the places in its neighbourhood. The principal branches it

deals in are butter, cyder, green peas, great and small beans, yellow wax, honey, feathers for beds, hogs lard, and salt provisions. Butter is brought to *Ifigni* not only from the neighbouring parishes, but also from the following places which lie at some distance, viz. from *Carentan* on *Monday*, *Cærifion* *Wednesday*, *Trevieres* on *Friday*, *Montbourgh*, *Burgquais*, and *Maifi* on *Saturday*; on the other days of the week, from *Valogne*, *Cherburgh*, *St. Lo*, *Faifi*, *Forigni*, *Mortain*, *Acranches*, and other places. There is more butter sold at *Ifigni* on *Saturday* than any other days of the week. From the feast of *St. Martin* to that of *Ascension*, this commodity is carried fresh to *Paris* by horses; from the feast of *Ascension* to that of *St. Martin* again it is salted at *Ifigni*, in stone pots or firkins of wood, and laid up in ware-houses for the account of the merchants of *Paris*, *Rouen* and *St. Valery* on the *Somme*, to whom it is sent, from time to time, as they want it, by their factors residing at *Ifigni*. In common years, the butter salted at this place amounts to 90 or 100,000 pots, and brings in about 1,500,000 livres.

Cyder is brought from *St. Crement* and other places in the neighbourhood of *Ifigni*, but the best sort comes from *Blagny*: hogs lard is brought from *Montebourgh*, *Trevieres*, *Maifi* and other places; honey and cyder from *Bocage*, and feathers for beds from the *Contentin*. Cattle and sheep are also sold at *Ifigni*, and from thence sent to *Newbourgh*, and *Beaumont*, to be conveyed to *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Havre*, and other places.

*Ifigni*



*Ifigni* is also famous for salt pits; but to give an account of them would require more time than we can spare at present, nor would it be of any consequence to our main purpose; those who want satisfaction on this head may consult the *French* authors, particularly *M. Piganiol de la Force*, who has given a full view of every thing that can well be desired concerning them, and the whole process observed in preparing the materials and making salt, together with the discouragements the proprietors meet with from the farmers of the King's revenue\*.

There is only one parish church at *Ifigni*, which is sufficient for the inhabitants, who are said not to exceed 750. The church is dedicated to *St. George*, and has nothing very remarkable about it, only it is pretty large, and there are three chapels in the town besides it. The Bishop of *Bayeux* is superior of the borough of *Ifigni*, and by himself or his farmers exacts six different taxes of the inhabitants; one of those that use the wooden bridge already mentioned, which separates *Ifigni* from *Osmanville*; another of those that pass the bridge of *Douet*: a duty of four deniers is paid to him for every bushel of corn which is brought into the town or carried out of it, together with two deniers for measuring it; the fourth is a tax of 16 deniers 100 wt. of goods sold by weight; but on this subject there are some disputes: The fifth is a tax of four deniers every tide for the anchorage of every hoy, bark or boat which lies at the quay, and if they continue a longer time five sols each; the sixth is upon all the butter, sent by water from *Ifigni*: concerning this tax there have been likewise disputes, which we do not pretend here to explain. The King also levies seven sorts of taxes out of this borough, which, taken together, may amount to

54000 livres; out of which the charges of collecting them being taken, there will remain near 50000 livres neat.

There is a free fair at *Ifigni*, commonly called the fair of *St. Martin*, which lasts from the 11th to the 14th of *November*, and while it lasts all sorts of goods are sold indifferently, only the Bishop's farmers pretend to exact double duty during the holding of the fair. There is also a free fair at *Ifigni* every *Tuesday*; and besides this, there is one held every day, excepting *Sundays* and *Holydays*, from Rogation tide to the feast of *All Saints*, in which a great deal of butter is sold and weighed by the King's weights, for which, according to antient custom, the seller pays 16 deniers for every hundred weight. The passage of the *grand Vay* is within the parish of *St. Clement*, about three quarters of a league from *Ifigni*. Travelers may pass it on horseback, during the last hour of the ebb, and first of the flood. It is two leagues over, and two men mounted on great horses guide the passengers. Those who are not well mounted, get behind the guides, and lead their own horses by their bridles. Every passenger pays eight sols. The passage of the *Petit Vay*, or little ford, is a quarter of a league over; this may be passed at high water in boats, and at low water on horseback. The freight is four sols in the boat, and two on horseback. There are two boats that wait for this purpose on each side of the river. The country round the *Ifigni* abounds with meadows which afford good pasture, and cultivated ground abounding with apple trees. There is here excellent hay in great plenty, especially since the year 1731, when eight gates with sluices were built under the bridges of the *Aure*, viz. four under the *Douet*, and four under the little bridge. These sluices are so contrived that the tide shuts them in time of flood, and the river opens them during the ebb; so that by means of them, and the caseway joining the two bridges, the sea cannot overflow the meadows as it formerly did;

\* See Nouvelle Description de la France, tom. IX. p. 402, &c.

did; for before the construction of the sluices, these meadows were nothing but continued morafs; the people were frequently obliged to mow the grafs in the water, and carry it to other places to dry, so that the hay they produced was always very bad, and often quite spoiled. The pasture grounds here are exceeding good; they serve to fatten a great many cattle, and maintain large numbers of cows which produce the greatest part of the butter sold at *Ifigni*. These pastures are farmed at 100 livres the acre, consisting of four rods, each containing 40 perches, and every perch 40 square feet \*, *Paris* measure. The cyder made about *Ifigni* is thought to be the most pleasant and wholesome of any.

The road lies at the distance of three leagues from the harbour. Ships anchor there in eight or nine fathom water, at high tide, and five at ground ebb. The bottom is white sand, and holds well. The bay of *Ifigni* or *Grand Vay* lies almost north and south, and ships which draw not above nine foot of water may come in with any northerly wind. Tho' the river which forms the harbour is not very large, the trade carried on in it is considerable: near 100 vessels resort to it every year, and some of them are from 90 to 100 tons burthen. The harbour lies at the bottom of the bay, which is full of sand banks, that are dry every tide for more than three leagues into the sea, whereby the entrance into it is rendered difficult and dangerous in stormy weather, especially when the wind is at east, north east, north, or north west: at such times, none but those who are exceeding well acquainted with the bay can venture to come in.

Yet it is pretended that to make the access to the harbour easy, and to give shelter to vessels tossed with tempests on that coast, which for want of such a place of refuge are

often wrecked, nothing more is necessary but to place a buoy on the point of the bank which advances farthest into the sea, called the *Rouelles*, and another on the point of that called the *Pointe à Folins*, a good way within the bay; for these two shelves once past, a vessel is out of all danger, even though she should touch upon some banks that lie nearer the harbour, because they often change their position, and she will be got off again. The masters of vessels, who often use this harbour, have sent several memorials to court, in hopes of obtaining this convenience: they have also found people, who would engage to take care of these buoys at a very easy rate: but it does not appear that any thing has been yet done in this matter.

*Ifigni* lies on the border of the *Coutantin*, *Cotantin*, or *Cotentin*, a part whereof forms a peninsula which advances a good way into the sea, and is bounded on the north and east by the British channel, on the west by *Bessin*, and on the south by the *Avranchin*. It was known to the ancients by the name of *Castra Constantia*, and has taken its modern name from the town of *Coutances* which is its capital. The climate is temperate, but somewhat cold and moist. The country is rough, abounding with hills and valleys. It is also very woody except near the sea coast. The water is every where wholesome, and in great plenty, insomuch that every house has a fountain of its own; by means whereof a great many streams are produced, which uniting, form the five principal rivers of *Sienne*, *Airon*, *Soul*, *Tar*, and *Day*. These all abound with fish, and supply a great many water mills. Near *Carentan* are large meadows, and good pastures where great numbers of cattle and cows are furnished with provision, and the country abounds with milk, and excellent butter. The inhabitants also breed horses, much esteemed for their strength and swiftness. The forest of *Garcy*, is almost the

O o o

only

\* Nouvelle description de la France, tom. IX. p. 427.



only place in that country, which does not abound with cattle. The warrens of *Montmartin*, *Greene*, and some other places next the sea, swarm with rabbits, which are carried to *Rouen*, and even to *Paris*. The country also

abounds with tame fowls, and fat capons. The inhabitants are naturally lively, cunning, prudent, and laborious. The first town of the *Cotentin* that falls within our plan is that of

## C A R E N T A N,

*Carentonium*, *Carentonus Vicus*, a little town very near the sea, in the province of *Normandy* and diocese of *Coutances*, subject to the parliament of *Rouen*, and the Intendance of *Caen*, which is the capital of an election, and contains about 2300 inhabitants. It is situated near the grand Vay, about six or seven leagues from *Bayeux*, and about two, or two and an half from *Isigni*. The castle of *Carentan* is said to have been built in the time of *Julius Caesar* by one of his Captains called *Caras*. The Governor of the town also commands the castle, and the bridge of the *Ouve*. Its nearness to the sea procures it some trade, because barks can easily come up with the tide. The principal branches it deals in are butter, and fat and lean cattle, with which it is abundantly supplied by the meadows and excellent pastures in its neighbourhood. It has but one parish church, and two curates that supply it by turns.

The air of this town is very unwholesome on account of great quantities of standing water near it. The river *Taute*, which passes by the end of one of the suburbs, on the side next *St. Lo* and *Isigni*, unites with that of the *Ouve*, about three quarters of a league below *Carentan*, and both together empty themselves into the sea. Several experiments have

been lately made upon those two rivers, with a view to drain the marshes, at the expence of the adjacent parishes. A bridge has been built over the *Ouve*, consisting of four arches, in each of which is a flood-gate with a sluice to keep the sea from going up, and spoiling the meadows and fields which lie above the bridge. The place where it is erected is called the *Barquette*, whence it has the name of the bridge of *Barquette*. But this work has not produced all the effect which was expected from it; notwithstanding the great expence laid out upon it, it was found that the piles, upon which it stood, had not been drove deep enough into the ground, and therefore they were obliged to demolish it, and substitute a stone wall in the room of the piles. Though in this new work all the old materials were employed again, yet the rebuilding of it, in the year 1737, cost 46000 livres. A work of this kind was erected in the year 1739, at *Carentan*, at the bridge of *St. Hilary* over the river *Taute*. There had been a bridge built before, in the high way which leads from *Carentan* to *St. Lo* and *Isigni*, consisting of three arches, on each of which a sluice with flood gates was then erected. There are now three bridges on the river *Ouve*, the first called *St. Magdalen's* bridge, about a quarter of a league

league from *Carentan*. The second over a branch of the rivers *Ouve*, and *Seve*, which at their meeting form several little islands, called the *Pont Grout*; and a third, larger than any of these, called the bridge of the *Ouve*, and secured by a hornwork of earth, faced with green turf. Some intrenchments were also made here in the year 1692, to secure the communication between the *Contentin* and the rest of *Normandy* by means of these bridges, and the

two Vays already mentioned in our account of *Isigni*. The town of *Carentan* has no fortifications, but a few ruinous towers, and an old castle; its greatest security arises from the marshes that are about it; which would give great trouble to an enemy that should think of invading the *Contentin* on that side. After leaving *Carentan*, we meet with no place of consequence on the coast, till having travelled seven leagues, we arrive at

## LA HOGUE OR LA HOUGUE,

**I**N Latin *Hoga*, *Hogas*, and *caput Hogigæ*, in the north latitude of 49 degrees 34 minutes, and 1 degree 10 minutes to the westward of the meridian of *London*. It is not a town, nor can it be well called a village, but a harbour, and a fort standing upon a little promontory jutting out into the sea, between *Barfleur* and *Isigni*. This fort is built only of earth covered with green turf, but it is surrounded with rocks which render it inaccessible especially towards the east. It has a communication with the village of *St. Vaast*, by a dike or water wall, faced with stone to preserve it from the violence of the sea. Near this dike is the gate of the fort, secured by a *tenaille*, with a ditch and covered-way. At the south end of the fort is a battery to defend the road and the entrance into the harbour, fortified with seventeen pieces of canon, and a mortar. This battery is enclosed within a wall, with a gate on the side next the fort. Within the fort of *la Hague* are several rocks, on one of which is built the tower of *la Hague*, three stories high, containing a powder magazine, and room enough to accommodate one

hundred men. It is vaulted above, with a platform on the top, and a parapet with embrasures for four pieces of cannon. Within the gate of the fort is a guard house on the right hand, a row of barracks on the left, and opposite to the gate a large cistern enclosed within a strong wall. The garrison consists only of a company of invalids under the command of the King's Lieutenant.

The village of *St. Vaast* is about a quarter of a league to the northward of *la Hague*: it is ill built, and inhabited by fishermen, to the number of near 2000. Between this village and the point of *Reville*, which lies about a league further to the north, is a large bay on which there is a little harbour among the rocks where the fishing boats lie in great safety. In this bay lies also the isle of *Tatbiou*, about 1280 yards from the church of *St. Vaast*, and upwards of 2000 from the point of *Reville*, which lies north-north-east from it. This island is dry every tide, and has a communication with the continent by a way called the *Rumb*, which is also dry at low water. The whole island has a rampart of earth round



round it, and is of an oval form. On this rampart are formed several bastions and curtains with three redoubts; one on the east-north-east, another on the north, and a third on the west-south-west, points of the island. There is also a redoubt at the point of *Reville*, which together with those on the island, command the little harbour of *St. Vaast*. At the south end of this island is a tower enclosed within a wall and a ditch, in which there is a guard house, a place for lodging the officers, and a chapel; the whole guarded by a detachment of the company of invalids belonging to the fort of *la Hogue*. To the south east of this tower, at the distance of 200 yards, is the *Islet* battery faced with stone, where-with it has a communication at all times, except the two last hours of the flood, and two first of the ebb, when the tides are very high. In this battery are seven pieces of cannon and one mortar, to command the road and support the batteries of *la Hogue* and *St. Vaast*. The island of *Fatbiou* is covered with rocks, which render it inaccessible on the south-south-east. They extend about 1500 yards, and together with those which surround *la Hogue*, and the church of *St. Vaast*, form a bay, which it has been proposed to convert into a royal harbour: it might have, at ground ebb, three, four, or five fathoms of water, and, on one side, a jetty, adjoining to the rocks of *la Dent*, on the other, one reaching to the extremity of those of *St. Vaast*, and ships might come out and in, with any wind. About a league from *la Hogue*, and three quarters of that distance from the rocks of *Gavandel*, is a bank of sand covered with 14 foot of water when the sea is lowest, and called the bank of *Bec*. It runs east-south-east, and reaches as far as the little islands of *St. Marcou*, about three leagues from *la Hogue*, and a league and a half from the nearest shore. It has been proposed to build a risbank at the end of this bank next to the *Islet* battery, which it is thought would be sufficient to defend the whole road; and

ships might anchor along the bank, from one end to the other, in six or seven fathom water. The coast to the south of *la Hogue*, lies south-south-east, and north-north-west. The shore, on which the village of *Morsalines* stands, about half a league from *St. Vaast*, forms with *la Hogue* a large bay, called the bay of *la Hogue*. The harbour lies near the fort of *la Hogue*: vessels that meet with contrary winds in the Channel, find in it a safe refuge, where they can wait for fair weather, and favourable winds to pursue their voyages; the water here rises 16 foot in common tides, and it is high water, at full and change of the moon, three quarters after eight o'clock. The bottom is clay; ships may go out or come in, with any wind, and lie secure against those which blow from any point between west-south-west, and north, and between north and south-south-west; nor is the sea ever rough, the harbour being covered with islands about the distance of a league, on the south and south west. It has been also proposed to build jetties, and continue them beyond low water mark, to secure the harbour against all winds whatever. There would be also, in that case, a good depth of water at the point of the jetties at all times. The harbour would then bear to be made seven or eight foot deeper, which would give it 24 feet of water when the tide is at the highest; and a reservoir of water might be formed, by turning into it the course of the *Saire*, that now falls into the bay of *St. Vaast*. By means of such a reservoir, this harbour might not only be kept clean, but also considerably deepened, and made capable of receiving the largest ships. To the north east of the harbour is a little rock called *la Manquette*, on which it is proposed to erect a battery, which would correspond with that at the point of the jetty, being little more than 800 yards from it, so that by these two, the largest ships might be secured from insults.

Of

Of all the roads in the channel, that of *la Hogue* is said to be the best. Ships anchor there in 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 fathom water, according to their different distances from the shore, when the tide is at the lowest. The ground is sand and potters earth, so that the anchors cannot give way. There is absolute security in it from winds at north, north west, west, south west, south, and south south east. The sea is never so stormy as that ships are driven from their anchors if their cables are good. In short this road is so safe that vessels on this coast would have nothing to fear, if a lighthouse were erected on the isle of *Tatbiou*, and another upon the point of *Barfleur*.

The shore from the grand Vay, to *la Hogue*, is sandy, and a descent might be easily made there, though the strand is flat, and the distance between the high and low water marks almost 1300 yards: to guard against such inconveniencies twelve redoubts of earth, covered with green turf, are disposed at proper distances on this part of the coast, having each a guard of soldiers, and a magazine: there are also bridges erected with sluices under the arches, for raising inundations, in the marshy grounds, if there should be occasion. The river *Sinope* (formed near *Montague*, about two leagues from *la Hogue*, by the union of several lesser streams) after supplying about 28 water mills, continues its course to *Quineville*, which lies south-south-east from *la Hogue*, at the distance of a league and a half, where it forms a little harbour, in which the water rises about eight foot, when the tide is at the height. At this harbour there is a bridge with sluices, to stop the water, and overflow the marshy grounds, to disappoint an enemy that should land here with a design to surprize the city of *Carentan*; and the *French* pretend, that with the assistance of such an inundation as might be formed in these marshy grounds, five or six battalions, might be able to guard  
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that pass against an army of 30000 men. The village of *Per-nelle* lies about a league to the north west of *St. Vaast*. The church stands upon a very high hill, whence there is a full view of the whole coast, and a large prospect into the sea: here signals are made in time of war, when vessels are discovered near the coast. The country about *la Hogue* is one of the finest in all the *Cotentin*, it produces wool, corn, pease, beans, black corn, hemp, flax, and butter; there is hardly a foot of barren ground to be found in it. Here are also six small woods, viz. those of *Bouteron*, *Bernevas*, *Lerabé Bos-quenel*, *Montaigu*, and *Montebourg*, but they afford little timber fit for ship building. The country also abounds with fruit, especially apples and pears, in consequence of which there is here great plenty of cyder and perry. Along the coast are the villages of *St. Mary Dumont*, *Montebourg*, *Que-tebou*, and *Barfleur*. At *Montebourg*, about three leagues from *la Hogue* there is a considerable fair for horses on the 17th day of *September*. There is also in this village a market on *Saturday* for cattle, corn, and butter, brought thither from a great many places of the *Cotentin*, and from thence carried to *Isigni*, and from *Isigni* to *Paris*.

The inhabitants of *la Hogue* and of its neighbourhood collect large quantities of a kind of weed, called *Varech*, or *Vraicq*, which the sea detaches from the rocks and throws upon the shore. The fishermen dry it in the summer time, and reserve it for fuel in winter, instead of wood, which is here very scarce; but they save the ashes and send them to *Rouen* and other places. The trade which *la Hogue* carries on by sea is something more considerable, there being few *French* ships, that go into, or out of the channel, which stop not either at the harbour or road of *la Hogue*. The trade of *St. Vaast* is of small consequence; it is carried on by two ships, a sloop, and two and twenty fishing boats. The two ships are from



45 to 70 tons burthen, and are employed in fishing for green cod, on the coast of *Newfoundland*: they carry their fish to *Dieppe*, or *Havre*, and *Honfleur*, where they sell them, and return to put up at *St. Vaast*. The sloop goes commonly in ballast to *Rochelle*, where she takes in a loading of salt, wine, or brandy for *Dunkirk*, *Calais*, *St. Valery on the Somme*, *Honfleur*, *Rouen*, and *Caen*; but brings nothing home to *St. Vaast*. The fishing boats go to *Granville* and *Cancale*, to fish for oysters: they perform their first fishing in the month of *April*, and the second in *September* or *October*. They bring their oysters home, and pack them in the harbour or bay of *St. Vaast*, then take them as they have occasion, put them on board their boats again, and sell them at *Dieppe*, *Havre*, *Honfleur*, *Rouen*, and *Paris*. When it happens that the boats arrive at *Rouen* with oysters in the shell, and the owners are disposed to carry them to *Paris*, they are allowed to carry thither only a third part of their cargo: that is to say, if three boats arrive at *Rouen* loaded with oysters, only one of them can go to *Paris*, and if only one boat arrives, the owner is obliged to leave two thirds of his loading, and proceed to *Paris* with the remainder only. *La Hogue* and *St. Vaast* deal with *England* only in lobsters. A brigantine from that country is constantly employed, from the month of *May* to *Michaelmas*, in bringing lobsters from *St. Vaast*, to *Southampton*, whence they are carried by land to *London*. When this vessel arrives at *la Hogue* she commonly lies in the road, till the fishing boats bring the lobsters on board her, but sometimes she sails along the coast and sends her boat aboard the fishing smacks to purchase them. They are sold either by the dozen, or by measure. Every lobster ought to be nine inches long from the head to the joint next the tail, and when it falls short of this measure, the purchaser gets two instead of one. They some-

times sell so high as 7 livres and 10 sols per dozen, that is, when they are very scarce: they come much cheaper, when they are to be had in great plenty. In the year 1730, they sold at two livres ten sols; and it is said, that, some years, the lobsters sent to *England* produce 24000 livres.

Not long ago an oyster bank was found out about two leagues from *la Hogue*, between the little islands of *St. Marcou* and the village of *Ravenoville*. There are also near *la Hogue* rock oysters which the fishermen gather by hand at low water. They were formerly very plenty; but now they are almost quite destroyed, because the people were allowed to gather them in the months of *May*, *June*, *July*, *August*; which is their spawning time. There is also another bank extending from the point of *la Hogue* to the isle of *Tatbiou*, where they fish for them with the drag during the flood, and gather them by hand at low water.

In the year 1682, *la Hogue* became famous by a memorable sea battle, between the combined fleets of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, commanded by Admiral *Ruffel*, and that of *France*, under the conduct of *M. Tourville*, wherein the former obtained a compleat victory. In the two preceding years, the state of affairs in *Great Britain* had been much mended by the entire reduction of *Ireland*; but on the other hand, the *English* fleet, in the year 1690, had been beat by that of *France*, off *Beachy-head*; and in *Flanders*, the success of the allies was not such as could have been wished. *Lewis XIV.* elated with the advantages he had gained, thought of nothing but invading *Great Britain*, and dethroning *William III.* to make way for the establishment of the abdicated King. With this view he had given the latter 30,000 men, with an absolute promise of as many more, if he should find them necessary for re-establishing his affairs. *James*, having received so large a supply, doubted not but this *French* army, toge-

together with the strong party he had at home, would be abundantly sufficient to re-place him on the throne, and therefore led the *French* auxiliaries to the coast of *Normandy* with design to embark for *England*. He also issued a declaration inviting all his subjects to return to his obedience, and promising a general pardon for what was past, but with so many exceptions of persons of known worth, and great interest, as sufficiently shewed the strength of his hopes, and that he could have nothing in view, but an absolute conquest. The King of *England* had embarked for *Holland* on the 5th of *March*, and, till his return, had left the management of affairs at home in the hands of the Queen, who acted with such steadiness, vigilance, and success, that the great expectations of the abdicated Prince were, in a short time, entirely blasted. As soon as she found the storm gathering, she gave orders for hastening out the fleet, putting the Militia into a good posture, and stopping some troops, that were intended for *Flanders*, to form a camp at *Portsmouth*. Accordingly the fleet put to sea, under the command of Admiral *Ruffel*, and being joined with the *Dutch*, stood over to the *French* coast, in quest of the enemy. The Admiral did not sail from *St. Helens*, till the 18th of *May*, and by three o' clock next morning he was apprised by the signal of his scouts, that the enemies were in sight. As he wanted nothing so much as an opportunity to fight them, he instantly began to make dispositions for it; and the *French*, on the other hand, shewing the same forwardness, it was not long before they came to blows. The odds with regard to number and strength was so much on the side of *Ruffel*, that it was thought strange, that *Tourville* should venture a battle under such disadvantages, especially as he had the wind in his favour, and could easily have avoided it; and perhaps this temerity, more than any thing else, contributed to the suspicion that some of the *English* commanders had suffered themselves to be corrupted by the

enemy. It is certain *M. Tourville*, on this occasion, differed widely from the usual politicks of *France*; but to explain this part of his conduct, it is said, he had no intelligence of the strength of the *English*: that he had missed the *Barcolongo's* sent from *Cherbourg* and *la Hogue* to advertise him of their junction: that, the weather being hazy to an uncommon degree, he did not discover the enemies, till they were within a league and a half of him, and was not able to count their number till in a manner close on board: and, to conclude, that he apprehended a sudden tack would have struck such terror into his men, as, in case of a forced engagement, would have proved more fatal than the superiority of the enemy. Be this as it may, the two fleets met off *Cape Barfleur*, about eleven o' clock, and an obstinate battle ensued, wherein both sides behaved with great bravery and resolution. It is not our design to give the particulars of this action: the *French* defended themselves with vigour against the center of the *English* fleet commanded by Admiral *Ruffel*, till four o' clock, but having suffered extremely, before five they began to draw off, and endeavoured to escape by towing off their disabled ships. For that purpose they took the advantage of a calm, when the *English* could not pursue; but about six a fresh gale springing up, the blue squadron and some of the red renewed the fight, and continued it till late at night, when the *French* having lost four ships, which, according to most *English* Historians, were blown up, and their whole fleet being much shattered, they stood off for *Conquest* road. The night was foggy and calm, but the weather clearing up about eight in the morning, the *Dutch* discovered the enemy, and the whole fleet followed the chase with all the sail they could make, till a calm falling, both fleets anchored till the tide was spent: at eleven they weighed and stood to the west till four next morning, when the tide again obliged them to anchor. That day, the *French* endeavoured

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to make into *Race Blanchard*, or the *Race of Alderney*, in hopes by the benefit of the tides, and the violence of the currents, to get safe through, and leave their pursuers in despair of overtaking them.

The *English* still continued the pursuit, and plied to the westward. Mean time the Admirals fore-top-mast came by the board; by which means both the *Dutch* and a part of our blue squadron, had got a great way to the windward of them; but, instead of following the *French* thro' the dangerous *Race* before mentioned, they bore away for the *Casquets*. In consequence of this, a great part of the *French* ships were four leagues ahead of them by five o'clock next morning; but the rest, among whom was *Tourville* himself, not being able to recover the *Race* before the ebb was over, had no other expedient left than to come to anchor; which failed also; for the ground being bad, and the current irresistible, their anchors gave way, and they were driven up the channel. And now it appeared that the accident which had retarded Admiral *Ruffel* in the chase, was of the most fortunate kind, for by that means he found himself in the only situation proper to intercept the said ships, thus separated from the rest, of which he did not fail to make the proper use. For no sooner did he perceive them driven so far to the eastward that they were within his reach, than he made the signal to his squadron to cut and give chase. This was done, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, about eleven he saw three of their great ships (which were so enclosed with enemies both to the eastward and westward, that they found it possible to escape and fruitless to resist) stand into the shore in the bay of *Cherbourg*, where one of them ran aground, and was presently obliged to cut away all her masts. Upon this, having ordered Vice Admiral *Delaval*, with a sufficient force to destroy them, he himself, with Rear Admiral *Shovel*, and Vice Admiral *Rooke* of the blue, pursued the rest, which,

by this time, being to the eastward of cape *Barfleur*, hawled in for *la Hogue*. According to the *English* account, these were at first eighteen; only five of them found means to slip away in the night to the eastward, but the *French* say they were but ten, who were joined in the road by two of *M. Nesmond's* division, that had put in there the night before.

*Delaval* found the three ships first mentioned, not only drawn close in to the shore, but covered with certain rocks, as also the cannon of a neighbouring fort, and judging it unsafe to attack them, till he had informed himself of the road, resolved to attend the soundings in person. Accordingly, having ordered all the great ships to continue without, he hoisted his flag, for the encouragement of the seamen, on board the *St. Albans*, and together with the *Ruby*, two fireships, and his boats, stood in, and continued sounding, not only within gun shot of the enemies, but so near that he was extremely galled by their fire, and at last obliged to retire. He then cast anchor, and summoned all the Captains of his squadron on board him; by whom it was resolved, to make the attack next morning with all the third and fourth rates, and two fireships. But the attempt failed of success; for tho' the *French* pilots had carried all those great ships over the shallows, the *English* could not follow them. As a last expedient, the Admiral gave orders to three fireships to bear down upon them, and, for his own province, undertook with all his boats and tenders to cover the enterprize, and take up the men in case they should miscarry. No service could be more desperate than this, and yet none was ever more bravely or chearfully performed. The enemy plied all their guns without intermission, and had the utmost assistance the fort could give, but through all obstacles, the fireships continued their course, and not a man on board them forsook his post, till he had performed his duty, though beset with so great a variety of horrors.

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One of them, commanded by Captain *Greenway*, fastened on the *Conquerant* a ship of 84 guns, and in a moment set her in flames. Captain *Heath* made the like attempt on the *Soleil Royal*, the pride of *France*, and the finest ship in *Europe*, but was himself set on fire during his approach, by the shot of that almost inaccessible ship. Captain *Fowles* however, unterrified by that dreadful event, rushed into the same danger, and had not only the good fortune to escape, but the honour of carrying vengeance with him, and burning one of the proudest piles that ever braved the ocean. The *Admirable* of 90 guns still remained, but was ashore, and not to be reduced by these means; such small ships, therefore, as could run up close enough, were ordered to ply her with all their guns, and at last, the Admiral himself boarded her with his boats, and having cleared her of her hands, many of whom were wounded, set her also on fire. Having thus compleated the service in which he was employed, he proceeded to the eastward to join Admiral *Ruffel*.

By this time that Admiral had come to anchor at *la Hogue*, where lay the rest of the ships under *M. de Tourville*, which were haled so close to the shore, that none of the *English* ships could come within reach of them. The first day nothing was attempted; but the next, Vice Admiral *Rook*, with several men of war, frigates, and fire-ships, together with all the boats, were ordered to attack them. The men of war, however, had no share in the service for the reason already assigned, and the frigates could only cover the approaches of the boats, which bore the brunt of all. Of the *French* ships, six lay on the side next the *Islet* fort, and six behind fort *la Hogue*. Platforms were erected on shore, and planted with cannon to protect them on one hand, and as many shallows as could be got were filled with officers, and the best of their

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men, to defend them on the other. The abdicated King of *England*, with the Marshal *de Bellefonde*, *M. de Tourville*, *M. Bonrepos*, and in general, all the troops wherewith the coast was covered, were spectators of the action that ensued, which, according to the usual manner of *English* seamen, shewed more of vivacity and intrepidity, than of disposition and conduct. The nearest way to the enemy was the best, that boat's crew was the happiest that was foremost; the air was rent with shouts of alacrity; no sooner had they reached the ships, than they attacked them in swarms; the *French* sloops were routed at the first onset, and there was scarce an interval between the appearance of the *English* sailors rising from their boats below and their being masters on the decks of the great ships above, which was immediately proclaimed by turning the guns against the platforms. All opposition thus disarmed, they burnt the ships at leisure, and with a general shout of triumph returned to the fleet.

The division of the enemy under the *Islet* fort was the first that suffered; the remainder under fort *la Hogue*, were reserved for the next day; when the same enterprising spirit was again exerted with the same success. Twelve capital ships from 84 to 60 guns each, according to the confession of the *French*, thirteen according to Admiral *Ruffel's* account, were thus destroyed to the very keel, together with several transports and store ships, or, as the *French* say, merchant-vessels, that lay nearest them. It is also said that the Admiral had thoughts of sending in his boats the third time, to destroy between 2 and 300 transports, that lay in a creek within shore under the cover of several batteries, and the small arms, of the army; but the *French* make no mention of any such transport fleet, and it is certain no attempt of this kind was made. Thus ended the memorable battle of *la Hogue*, which greatly humbled the pride of *France*, as it quite dispirited the

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unfortunate *James*, and put an end to all his great designs.

We have already given general hints of some proposals of improving the fort of *la Hague*, and making it a royal harbour; but that the reader may have a clearer view of these projects, and a juster notion of the plan hereto annexed, it will be proper, before we conclude this article, to give a more full explanation of them. By the first project it was proposed that the harbour should be made between *la Hague* and the isle of *Tatbiou*, where there is always from 4 to 6 fathom water when the tide is at the lowest. With this view it was intended to enclose a sufficient space of sea, within two dikes, almost semicircular, the one opposite to the rocks of *St. Vaast*, and the other to fort *la Dent*, leaving a convenient entrance toward the south with a little fort on each side of it. By this disposition the harbour would extend upwards of 1300 yards from east to west, and above 1000 from north to south. It was also proposed, that on the north of the harbour, opposite to the village of *St. Vaast*, there should be a large basin formed, and that on the spot where the village stands, and a part of the isle of *Tatbiou*, a fortified town should be erected, in the direction of the dotted lines marked in the plan. Tho' this project appears very grand, it was soon given up, on account of the great expence which was necessary to the execution of it, together with a just apprehension, that the tide being, by this scheme, more confined than before, would not have strength enough to clean the harbour, which, by that means, might in time be quite filled up with mud and rubbish.

The first plan being thus laid aside, after mature deliberation, another was proposed, which did not appear liable to these difficulties. The design of it was, to take advantage

of the bay formed by the point of *la Hague*, and the shore of *Morsalines*, by making a strong wall or dike, on the east, parallel to the promontory adjacent to *St. Vaast*, and another on the west side enclosing a space large enough to contain a basin and a harbour, separated from one another by a cross wall, with a sluice in the middle, so that the basin might contain a sufficient quantity of water to clear and deepen the harbour. It was also proposed that the entrance of the harbour should be formed by two jetties, both marked in the plan, and carried as far as the low water mark, the one on the west side, and the other so directed, as to end at the little rock of *Manquet*, and, by that means, be no obstruction to the direct and free course of the tide into the harbour, for the convenience of the ships that might enter it. By this scheme the vessels would have the advantage of being afloat at low water, as the harbour might be made one and twenty foot deep, and there would be no difficulty in the execution of it, nor any bad consequence to be apprehended from the formation of sand banks, or any other accidental inconveniencies. Should this plan take place, the anchorage of the road being so secure as it is, the vessels in it would run no risk in stormy weather, and still less from an enemy, especially as it is supposed to be defended by the forts, and two risbanks, the one built on the rock of *Gavendal*, and the other at the end of the bank *du Bec*. This project, is not near so liable to objections as the former, but, whether on account of the great expence with which it must be attended, or for other reasons not yet made publick, the court of *France* has not hitherto attempted to put it in execution.

About two leagues to the north of *la Hague* stands, the town of

## B A R F L E U R,

*Barflorium*, by *Sigebert* called *Barbeflurium*, and by another antient author *Barbeflot*. It was, formerly, a very fine city, and one of the best harbours of *Normandy*. In the year 1035 *William* the Conqueror assembled at *Barfleur*, a fleet of 50 or 60 ships; and while the Dukes of *Normandy* were in possession of the crown of *England*, all their embarkations were made at this place. This town was ruined in

the year 1346 by *Edward* III of *England*; which we have already taken notice of in our account of *Crecy*, and shall say nothing further of it here. Since that time, it has dwindled into a contemptible village, with scarce 600 inhabitants, and its harbour, once very famous, is now so filled up that it is become of little or no use: we therefore leave it and proceed to

## C H E R B O U R G,

*CÆSARIS Burgus*, a sea-port town at the extremity of the *Cotentin*, said by *Froissard* to have been built by *Julius Cæsar*; but it does not appear, that ever that Conqueror was in the *Cotentin*, and if he had, it was not his way to build towns in *Gaul*, but to destroy those he found already built. It is situated on the north coast of the peninsula of the *Cotentin*, at the bottom of a large bay in the form of a crescent, between the capes of *la Hogue* and *Barfleur*, being about five leagues distant from the one and six from the other. It has the sea on the north; a large plain a full league in length, on the east; on the south, several pleasant ridges of arable ground, and a large hill, called the *Roule*, on the top of which is a large wood, called the forest of *Brix* and

*Tourlaville*; and on the west, another plain extending about half a league from the place.

The town stands in the latitude of 49 degrees 38 minutes north, and 1 degree 33 minutes to the westward of the meridian of *London*, about nine leagues from *la Hogue*, four from *Valogne*, sixteen from *Coutances*, and twenty from *Granville* by land; eighteen from the isle of *Wight* and *Portsmouth*, seven from *Origny*, sixteen from *Guernsey*, and eighteen from *Jersey* by sea. It is of a form nearly oval, and has a large suburb round the harbour, and along the foot of a part of the ridges already mentioned in the way to the hill of *Roule*. There was formerly a fine castle at *Cherbourg*, near the harbour; which together with the town was



very well fortified. In the year 1687, *Lewis XIV.* intended to fortify it in the modern manner, enlarge its circumference, and improve the harbour, by the addition of a good basin, according to plans which had been drawn by the Marshal *de Vauban*. He had not only begun these improvements, but had carried the new walls to a considerable height in the year 1688: but in 1689, for some reasons of state, the old and new fortifications were entirely demolished; so that nothing now remains either of the antient or new works, but two old towers which have escaped destruction, one whereof is employed as a powder magazine.

It is pretended that the town, but especially the castle are very old; that when the latter was demolished, a great many antient gold medals were found, which had been engraved before the art of sculpture was known in *Gaul*, and that the impression on one side was a human face, on the other a horse, but very ill performed. At the same time, were found several medals of *Julius Cæsar*, *Nero*, *Nerva*, and other Roman Emperors; and under one of the rocks of the hill of *Roule*, a great number of medals with this Greek inscription, *Νικομηδης Επιφ Βασιλευς*. *Nicomedes King of Epirus*.

It is also said, that *Cherbourg* was a considerable town, and very populous, about the end of the tenth century; that at that time it had a hospital, founded by the inhabitants, who as founders still continue patrons of the priory belonging to it; and in the year 1653, *William Duke of Normandy* commonly called the Conqueror, made a donation to it of a fund for the maintenance of several pensioners, as he did also to the hospitals of *Rouen*, *Caen* and *Bayeux*; in order to obtain a dispensation for the marriage which he had contracted with *Matilda*, daughter to the Earl of *Flanders*, and his own cousin-German. Several proofs of those donations are produced by *French* authors, which we

have not time to mention. At the end of the harbour of *Cherbourg*, are still to be seen the ruins of an old stone bridge, consisting of seven arches, by which the suburbs had a communication with the plain on the east side of the town, in the way to the valley of *Saire*. Before the fortifications of *Cherbourg* were demolished, there was but one entrance into the town, secured by three gates, each of which had a draw-bridge, but no vestiges of them are now remaining. The streets are narrow, and ill laid out, the houses are all of stone, covered with such slate as the country affords, which is very coarse; the buildings, however, are durable and neat, though not regular. They reckon about 1200 families, or 6000 inhabitants in the city and suburbs taken together\*. There are two large market places, one called *la Place du Calvaire*, of a square form, in which is erected a large cross; the other is near the harbour, and in it is the guard-house for the city Militia. There is a fountain in the town, which throws up water by two pipes; and three in the suburbs; that in the town is the most considerable; the water is conveyed to it, by a subterraneous canal, from a spring at the distance of a quarter of a league from the town; but the water it affords is by no means good. The best is that of the fountain *Desclojets*, one of the three that belong to the suburbs.

There is but one church, one hospital for the poor and the sick in the whole city and suburbs; which affords a strong presumption that the town is not now, nor was formerly, so populous as some authors pretend. The church is dedicated to the Trinity, and the hospital is said to have been found-

\* This is asserted by the author of the *Nouvelle Description de la France*, tom. IX. p. 441. but his calculations are generally something of the largest; others make them little more than half that number. See dict. univer. de la France.

ed in the year 1000, for the reception of all sorts of poor and afflicted; the sick are provided with medicines and provisions, and the poor of both sexes that are able to work, are employed in spinning wool. There are here also seven schools for boys, and four for girls. The Abbey *du Vœu* at *Cherbourg* founded in the year 1145 by *Maud* the Empress, the Mother of *Henry II.* of *England*, has several great privileges, and a yearly revenue of 12000 livres. There are also here two hermitages, one at the top of the hill of *Roule*, the other at the foot of it, on the side next the town. Each of them has a chapel, a dwelling house, and two gardens.

The Militia of *Cherbourg* consists of four companies of citizens commanded by a Major, an aid-Major, four Captains, four Lieutenants, and as many Ensigns. They have always had the same number of officers, but since the year 1684 the Major, the Captains and Lieutenants, have been obliged to purchase their places, and consequently these offices are become hereditary. The Ensigns are named by the Governor of the town, or the commandant of the town and castle. The city Militia constantly keep guard in the town; and in time of war, garrison fort *Gallet*, where often a fourth part and even sometimes the half of their number, are on duty at once, especially if an enemy be in sight. The reason why this fort is particularly the care of the citizens, is that ships which arrive at *Cherbourg* commonly put themselves under the protection of it, till the tide rises high enough to carry them into the harbour.

There are two small rivers which empty themselves into the harbour of *Cherbourg*, the *Yvette*, which is the largest, takes its rise in the parish of *Briquebosq*, three leagues from *Cherbourg*, and the *Trotebec*, which rises above the glass-house in the parish of *Brix*, about two leagues and a quarter from the town, having passed through the plain of *Tourlaville*,

N° XXXI.

joins the *Yvette*, and together with it enters the harbour of *Cherbourg*. This harbour lies on the east and south sides of the town; the water rises in it at spring tides about 15 feet, and 6 or 7 at other times; but at low water, nothing remains but the water of the river. Since the beginning of this century, the inhabitants began to build two jetties of loose stones, without mortar, and made small additions to them every year for some time thereafter, but these not being raised high enough, the sea covered them at high water by which means ships were in danger of running against them. Two vessels in particular, had this misfortune in the month of *January* 1731, and one of them was entirely lost. These inconveniencies probably gave rise to the great improvements which have lately been made in that harbour, whereof we shall have very soon occasion to take more particular notice.

In the parish of *Yvetot*, about four leagues from the town several forts are built along the bay, viz. the redoubt of *Tourlaville*, fort *Onglet*, fort *Gallet*, fort *Equerdreville*, and fort *Chotseuil*, to defend the road, in time of war, from the *English* privateers, especially those of *Guernsey* and *Jersey* who are continually cruising before *Cherbourg*. The redoubt of *Tourlaville* lies east-south-east from *Cherbourg*, and the others toward the west-south-west. Fort *Gallet* is the most considerable, and fort *Chotseuil* stands at the greatest distance from the town. The isle of *Peleé* lies north east from the town, about 800 yards in length from north-north-west, to south-south-east, and about 600 in breadth from east-north-east, to west-south-west. It secures the road from north easterly winds, but at the time of spring tides is itself covered with water.

West-north-west from the town, and west from fort *Gallet* there is another little harbour, called *la Fosse du Gallet* in which the water, at spring tides, rises from 18 to 20 feet, secured from north, and north west winds by the point of *Equerdreville*

R r r

and



and the isle of *Hommet*, which lies about the distance of a musquet shot from it. On the north east it is covered, by two rocks which serve as a kind of jetty to it. This harbour might easily be enlarged by means of a piece of ground adjoining, called the king's meadow, so as to contain an hundred vessels at once.

The great road lies to the north of the town; being about a league and a half in length from east to west, and having a bottom of fine sand, the water rises in it in spring tides from twelve to thirteen fathoms, in ordinary tides from ten to eleven and at low water from eight to eight and an half. The best anchorage is to the north of the harbour, where vessels are secured against all winds from east-south-east, to west-south-west, and northerly winds, which otherwise would be most dangerous, only serve to carry them into the harbour.

*Cherbourg* was long a frontier town, and the old fortifications, which were demolished in 1689, were in former times the best in *Normandy*. This appears by the brave defence it made when it was besieged by *Henry V.* of *England* in 1419. That heroic Prince, at the head of the army which conquered the greatest part of *France* could not reduce this little town in less than three months. Again, in the year 1450, after the reduction of the rest of *Normandy*, the Constable of *France*, at the head of an army elated with success, invested *Cherbourg*, and carried on the siege with uncommon vigour. The *English*, on the other hand, who were in the town, laboured under the greatest discouragements, they expected no relief from their own country, and were very sensible that they must in the end submit to the conqueror, yet animated by their own natural courage and the strength of the fortress, they held out a full month, after the enemy began to batter their walls, and at last ob-

tained an honourable capitulation. This being the last place the *English* held in *France*, the natives of that kingdom were not a little elevated with the acquisition, and the *French* King, to perpetuate the memory of this deliverance from the *English* yoke, appointed a solemn procession to be celebrated every year at *Cherbourg* on the 14th of *August*, the day on which the *English* evacuated the place.

Another event relating to *Cherbourg*, is commemorated by the inhabitants with the same solemnity. During the wars which were carried on between *Henry IV.* of *France*, and the Partizans of the league, the latter had formed a design to surprise *Cherbourg*. This project was to have been executed on *Palm Sunday*, while the citizens were employed about a solemn procession; but the latter, by good luck, being informed by an old woman, that she had observed a great number of armed men; marching without noise through a neighbouring forrest, immediately put themselves in arms and leaving the procession secured the gates of the town. Mean time the partisans of the league approaching the place with great confidence of success, not only had the mortification to find the gates shut against them; but the inhabitants falling out upon them, put the greatest part of them to the sword, and having cut off the head of their commander, exposed it to public view upon the town gate\*. Whatever motives *Lewis XIV.* had, for demolishing the fortifications of *Cherbourg* in the year 1689, it was never the intention of the court of *France*, that the harbour of that place should be neglected, or that a town of such importance should continue always in an open defenceless state. The late Cardinal *Fleury*, always watchful to promote the interest and grandeur of *France*, resolved to improve this harbour to the ut-

\* Nouvelle Description de la France, tom. IX. p. 446.

most, and put the town into a proper state of defence; for this end he employed the famous *M. de Caux*, principal engineer to the present King of *France*, to draw the proper plans, which produced the project represented, in one of the plates hereto annexed, a part whereof has been already put in execution. Two jetties of stone have been built at the mouth of the harbour, extending in length to the low water mark, and so strong that the best tools could scarce enter them. A large basin has been constructed on the south end of the harbour capable of containing 400 vessels and frigates of 50 guns, and a large sluice between the basin and the harbour, for clearing and deepening the channel. It was about 40 *French* feet in breadth, and 162 in length, it stood upon a bottom of sand two or three feet deep, under which was a bed of marle, and seven or eight feet deeper, a bank of solid rock of unknown thickness. To lay the foundation so as not to be incommoded by the sea, the whole space was first of all encompassed with a battardeau, 30 foot thick, faced on the outside with stone supported by rows of hurdles at the distance of two feet from one another, and the whole laid upon a bed of heath-broom especially on the side next the sea, to prevent its washing away the sand. On the side next the harbour there was a small sluice made by way of precaution to let out the water to be raised by the machines when the tide was out: lastly, an excavation was made to the depth of 16 feet, wide enough, to leave the workmen at liberty to go round about the foundation. It was not without many obstructions that this depth was gained, for innumerable springs broke in upon the works, so that twelve \* chain pumps, in inclined positions were constantly employed, and those scarce sufficient to clear away the water, though they raised at least 180 cubic Toises every hour. When the batterdeau was surrounded by the full

\* Moulins inclinés.

tide, they were forced to have recourse to five other \* chain pumps in a vertical position, 16 feet high, and six or seven inches in diameter. To assist the former, and supply their place when they were out of order. These were so useful that soon after the number of inclined chain pumps were reduced to four.

The excavations were begun by portions about three fathom wide, and when they came to a sufficient depth, the piles were driven down to support the vertical chain pumps. As the column of water to be raised was 14 or 15 feet high, winches were applied of a proportionable strength, which could be easily moved by twelve men, who were relieved at the end of two hours by other twelve, that the work might not be interrupted, and when one portion was thus hollowed along the whole breadth of the sluice, they begun another, which was managed in the same manner, so that the whole extent of the sluice, was drained and hollowed in six months †.

The mason work employed several years: the stones, used in it, especially for the floor and faces of the side walls, were four feet in length, and a foot and an half in breadth, and they were not only firmly connected together by iron cramps fastened with melted lead, but also inserted into one another, in the manner represented in fig. 4th and 5th of plate XXIV; so that if the force of the current should have separated the mortar or cement from the joints, no single stone could be, in the least moved out of its place without the destruction of the whole, care was also taken, that the cement, employed for uniting the parts of this noble structure, should be proportioned to the other materials and the excellency of the workmanship. The ordinary fort was prepared in the following manner. Equal parts of the hardest tile shards, fragments of free stone, and scoriæ from iron founderies,

\* Moulins a chapelets verticaux.

† See Belidor's *Architecture hydraulique*, tom. I. p. 198.

were



were powdered and sifted, and when cleared and dried, were mixed together. Of these a kind of bason was formed, in which they slakened about half the quantity of quick lime, and let it lye some hours, after which they mixed all well together, and placed it on a stone or wooden platform, to be beaten once a day with batts armed with iron, till the cement was reduced to a soft paste. For filling up the joints of the free stone facing of the sluice, they used another kind of cement made of equal parts of test-powder or pieces of crucibles, sandever, and smiths forge scales, all reduced to a powder, to which about half the quantity of flake lime was added. This composition was mixed with the same precaution as the former, and a quantity of large red snails without shells, beat up into a paste with it.

From the plan of the sluice of *Cherbourg* hereto annexed, it appears that those who projected this fabric have satisfied themselves with one pair of gates, near the end, next the bason, commonly called ebb gates, and neglected flood gates as useless; but this exposed the inhabitants to great inconveniencies, as they could not, by this means, lay the bason dry to careen and refit the ships that were in it; and we are told that they were very sensible of this inconvenience when it was too late to remove it. It likewise appears from the plan, that the channel between the jetties lies directly north and south, whereas the current of the tides run north west or south east, by which means ships were apt to run against the jetties in their way to the harbour, which would not have happened, if there had been flood gates; because these being shut, the force of the tide would have been considerably lessened, and vessels easily conducted to the quays. A third inconvenience was, that the wickets made in the gates of the sluice, were only four foot broad and seven foot high, covered with vannes, opened and shut

with ropes, by the help of several pulleys and a capstane, which was also a disadvantage, because the quantity of water supplied by these wickets had not so much force as might have been wished, for clearing the harbour and the channel between the jetties; whereas, if instead of these wickets, a turning door had been made in each gate, the action of the water reserved in the bason would have been much more considerable,

This great sluice with the bason and jetties seem to have been compleated before the year 1750, but there are a good many other sluices in the plan; particularly two large ones on the south side of the bason, to collect the waters of the *Yvette*, in a large reservoir without the town, and let them loose at low water to clear and deepen the bason. Several small sluices for circulating the waters of the river in the ditches of the town; and two larger ones at the end of the quays, within 500 yards of the low water mark, whose action could not fail to deepen the mouth of the harbour, a good way beyond the head of the jetties, so as to render it capable of admitting ships of very great burthen. In this expectation, some steps were actually taken toward lengthening the jetties and carrying them a good way beyond the low water mark. Tho' none of these last mentioned sluices have been executed, yet there is little ground to doubt, that if the whole plan had been compleated, and all the intended works finished, they would have answered the most sanguine expectations of the *French* court, and been of the greatest service to merchants ships, and frigates of 40 and 50 guns; but it being impossible for capital ships to enter this harbour, improved to the utmost, another plan was concerted for sheltering the road, in such a manner, that a fleet of ships of the first rate might lie in it secure from all winds as well as from the attacks of an enemy.

In order to form an idea of this, it must be remembered that the road of *Cherbourg* faces the harbour, having its principal entrance like that of the latter towards the north; that it is a league and a half in length from east to west, half a league in breadth from north-east to south-west; and that the curve of the coast and the isle of *Pelée*, secure it from most winds, except those from the north and north-west, which are the most favourable for bringing ships into the harbour, as the tide flows from that quarter. Another advantage is that the bottom being of sand and clay, and declining from south to north, it is almost impossible for anchors to come home. It must also be observed, that on the south-west of the isle of *Pelée*, a ship may come to anchor when the tide is at the lowest, in five, six, or seven fathom water, and at a little distance from that island, in nine or ten. These advantages of situation, have suggested the design of covering this road, by the several moles represented in plate XXIII. which would make it a very safe retreat for the largest vessels. This project leaves a large space on the north-west side of the road for the principal entry into this large basin, having on the right and left side the two batteries likewise marked in the plan, and another lesser passage was intended to be left open on the east, for lesser vessels. As the isle of *Pelée* is partly covered with water in spring tides, it was also proposed to raise a high causeway through it, with the battery, marked in the plan, at the north end of it, to command the approaches of the island, and the east side of the road. The large fort, marked in the plan, was proposed to defend the little harbour, formed by a prominent rock and a mole on the south side of the island, which was supposed to be accommodated with all the conveniences necessary for refitting and careening large vessels.

N° XXXII.

It must be allowed that if this scheme had been executed, it must have been of the highest advantage to *France*, which by this means would have had, opposite to the best harbours of *England*, a receptacle sufficient to contain a strong and numerous fleet, the utility of which, in time of war, is too evident to be insisted on. Or had even the harbour of *Cherbourg* been finished, it must have been of the greatest advantage to navigation, as ships there might have waited in safety for a wind to carry them round the capes of *la Hogue* and *Barfleur*: and the place must have become a staple of great importance, as vessels instead of being exposed in the road of *Havre de Grace*, or running the risk of going into that harbour, might have sent up their cargoes from *Cherbourg* to *Rouen* in barges, which in twelve hours time might have reached the mouth of the *Seine*; and in four days arrived at *Rouen*.

The fortifications, intended for the security of the town, are so plainly laid down in plate XXII. that little needs to be said concerning them. It was proposed, that the whole fortress should consist of eleven fronts, defended by so many bastions, seven half-moons with flanks, and eight *Tenailles*; besides three detached works, very conveniently placed at the entrance of the *Yvette* into the basin, two towers, in the form of detached bastions, marked D in the plate, to command the mouth of the harbour, two batteries, opposite to the two curtains next to the jetties, together with the *Lunette* on the rock, marked A, to command the approaches to the beach on each side, and two batteries marked B, each containing twenty pieces of cannon, to secure the heads of the jetties.

Such were the grand projects formed for the improvement of the harbour, road and town of *Cherbourg*, and, so far as we have mentioned, they were, with immense labour and

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great



great expence, carried into execution, but the promising prospect soon vanished, and the work and labour of years was entirely destroyed in a few days.

*Great Britain* had reaped little advantage from the present war, during the two first campaigns, in the year 1755 and 1756. In 1757 more vigorous counsels prevailed, and the ministry, instead of giving way to dismal apprehensions of a *French* invasion, and acting merely on the defensive at home, resolved to employ the superiority of their naval force, in destroying the enemy's trade, alarming his coasts, and carrying terror and desolation into his country. With this view an expedition was determined against *Rochfort*, of which we shall soon have occasion to take more particular notice; the next against *St. Malo* will also fall in our way.

The fleet and army having returned from this latter, to *St. Helens*, about the end of *June* 1758; on the 5th of *July* following, the troops were ordered to disembark, till the transports should be re victualled, and having accordingly landed at *Cowes*, marched to their former encampment, on the forest of the isle of *Wight*. Various conjectures were formed, touching the second destination of the armament. Some officers eagerly wished for a German campaign, but this they had no reason to expect, considering the present disposition of the court, which seemed not disposed to send armies to the continent; and therefore the favourite plan of action prevailed, and the troops were still to be employed in alarming the coast of *France*, destroying the enemy's shipping and distressing his maritime places. Accordingly on the 23d of *July*, thirteen battalions consisting of about six thousand men, reembarked at *Cowes*, and fell down to *Spithead*. On the 27th his Royal Highness Prince *Edward* attended by all the barges of the fleet, was rowed on board Commodore *Howe's* ship the *Essex*. The barge in which he sat carried the

standard of *England*, the flags and captains followed in order according to their seniority; and the guns of the garrison fired as he passed.

On *Sunday* 30th, the fleet weighed anchor, and continued their endeavours to get to sea, till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the Commodore perceiving, it would be impossible for the rear of the fleet to clear the land, tacked about and stood for *Spithead*. Next day the fleet weighed again, and sailed to *St. Helens*, where it remained till toward the evening; then stood out and by night cleared the land; but, by reason of variable winds and calm weather, it did not arrive at the place of its destination till the afternoon of the 6th of *August*, when it stood close in to the town of *Cherbourg*. The Commodore ordered the transports to anchor about a league and a half west from the town, to weigh by day break, and to keep close by the frigate on board of which his pendant was flying. In the night two of the bomb vessels anchored close to the shore, to throw shells into the town, which, as few of them reached the place, did but little damage. At day break, while the large ships tacked, as if they intended to attack the forts, the frigates and transports stood further to the westward, about a league from *Querqueville*, and signals were made to get the flat bottom boats in readiness, and to prepare for landing. The Commodore's pendant was hoisted on board the *Pallas*, seven or eight frigates and two bomb vessels stood in as near as possible to the shore, and anchored so as to clear the coast entirely. The enemy, who had planted no artillery on this part of the coast, having deemed it impracticable for the *English* to land here, on account of the rough ground close in shore, began now to be sensible of their mistake. About eleven o'clock in the morning, the boats, with troops on board, having drawn close under the Commodore's stern, the signal was made

made for landing the first division, consisting of 1500 men, and scouring the coast by the fire of the shipping. This was done so effectually, that the *French*, who by this time, had got behind the sand hills, and the natural ramparts on the shore, were struck with a panic and fled before even the first division was landed. Their retreat was the more surprising as their numbers were greatly superior to the whole *English* embarkation, being no less than 9000 men, and of these three thousand regular troops.

Immediately upon the landing of the troops, which was nearly finished before night, the advanced regiment took post on an hill at *Naqueville*, and could the army have marched on without delay, it might have surrounded several detached parties of the enemy; and got possession of the village of *Querqueville*; but the whole of the infantry not being yet landed, all the light horse being on board, and fort *Querqueville* still in the enemies possession, the general thought it imprudent to march without his whole force, and therefore determined to remain that night at *Erville*, a village near the place where the army disembarked. Next morning a disposition was made for moving forwards, and a party of light horse and Grenadiers, with two pieces of cannon, were ordered to advance by the low road to *Querqueville*, to be followed by the whole army, except one column, which was to march by *Naqueville* along the rising grounds. However before the army began to move, they had intelligence, that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill or plain, and that fort *Querqueville* seemed to be entirely abandoned. This information, the advanced party of the light horse and granadeers having found true, took possession of the fort, struck the *French* ensign, and hoisted *English* colours. When the army marched up to *Querqueville* another party of light horse was detached to reconnoitre the high road by *Hainville*, and the first party in the meantime march-

ing by the low road, on the back of the forts, and finding also the lines along the coast, the batteries, and every other place quite abandoned, advanced behind *St. Aulne*, and *Ecœurdeville*, *Hommet*, and *la Gallet*, to the city of *Cberbourg*, which they found quite evacuated by the enemy, and open for their reception. The other reconnoitering party on the right also reported that the wood and every other place was clear on that side; yet the army continued to still march in one column, and the rear did not get up to *Cberbourg* till after midnight.

Next day the town and its avenues having been reconnoitered, it was determined, that the forts and bason should be demolished without delay: the destruction of the former being left to the engineers attending the army, and that of the latter to the officers of the fleet and artillery. At first the demolition of the works proceeded but slowly, the forts were for some time run down by hand, for want of miners; but intelligence being daily brought, that the *French* were busy in assembling a considerable body of troops to intercept the retreat of the *English* army, they took a more effectual method for destroying the forts by blowing them up, some mines were likewise sprung in the bason; and notwithstanding the work was much retarded by the sloth and drunkenness of the men, by the 15th of the month the fort of *Tourlaville*, *Gallet*, *Hommet*, *Ecœurdeville* *St. Aulne*, and *Querqueville* with the bason, jetties, batteries and grand sluice, on the gates of which were found two pompous inscriptions, \* were entirely demolished by springing of fifty

On the east side,

Hanc jussit Lodovix, suavit Floræus, et undis  
Curavit mediis Asfeldus surgere molem:  
Non aliis votis almæ præsentior urbis.  
Ars frænavit aquas, fluctus domuitque minaces.  
Hinc tutela viget, stat copia, gloria crescit,  
Hinc Rex, hinc sapiens, herosque nanebit in ævum.

three



three mines and the consumption of 141 barrels of powder, which were taken in the place. The public taxes in *Cherbourg* were raised for his Britannick Majesty, with a contribution and ransoms for the town, and a royal glass manufactory which yields considerable profit; but all these sums taken together did not exceed 60000 livres. About twenty-seven ships were burnt in the harbour and basin, 173 iron cannon, with three mortars of the same metal, destroyed; and 22 fine brass cannon and two mortars put on board a *Danish* vessel and sent to *England* under convoy.

During the demolition of the works at *Cherbourg*, the *English* General, attended by some of his commanding officers, going out to reconnoitre, with a detachment of horse and foot, some of the *French* cavalry appeared at a distance. Captain *Lindsay* of the light horse, being immediately ordered to attack them, advanced accordingly with a brisk pace, but falling in with a body of infantry concealed behind a hedge, received a severe fire, which obliged his command to wheel and retreat, and he himself received a mortal wound, by a musquet shot, of which he died universally regretted. On

On the west side,  
LUDIVICI XV. jussu,  
FLORÆ consilio,  
ASPEEDI ductu,  
In Ævum stat hæc moles.

Ars naturæ victrix, aquarum impetum refrænât, facilem navibus tempestate  
actis aditum dat, tutelam asserit, copiam invehit, gloriam perpetuat, simul-  
que principem, sapientem, hæroa, posteritati commendat.

Parody of the latin Verses by an Officer of the Army.

*Lewis* and *Fleury* must, with *Asfeld* now  
Relign to *George*, to *Pitt*, to *Bligh*, and *Howe*.  
One blast destroyed the labour of an age,  
Let loose the tides, and bid the billows rage;  
Their wealth and safety gone, their glory lost,  
The King's the statesman's, and the hero's boast.

the 16th of *August* the *English* General having obtained all the ends of the expedition, and concerted a plan for re-imbarking the troops, struck his camp at three o'clock in the morning; and the army having marched to the west side of *Gallet*, embarked at leisure, without any disturbance from the enemy\*, so that when the inhabitants of *Cherbourg* awoke, they saw no vestige of the *English* army, but the destruction and havock they had made.

The country about *Cherbourg* produces corn, particularly barley, oats, black corn, with large quantities of flax, pease and beans, especially the valley of *Saire*, which lies on the east side of the town and harbour. On the west also towards *Cape la Hogue*, there is great plenty of oats, and black corn, but not so much barley, however all along the coast, there is great abundance of good pasture, large flocks of sheep, and hogs in great plenty.

On the west coast of the *Cotentin* are several small creeks, wherein there are little harbours, such as *Dielette*, *Carteret*, *Creance Pirou*, *Montmartin*, and *Hauteville*. The principal of these *Dielette*, near the village of *Flammanville*, which is about three leagues to the south of *cape la Hogue*, and five to the south west of *Cherbourg*, was greatly improved in the year 1731, so that now the water rises in it seven or eight feet at full sea, in common tides, upwards of fifteen at full and change of the moon, and the *French* authors pretend it is still capable of much greater improvement. The rest are of small consequence scarce capable of admitting any vessel above the size of a fishing boat, nor do we meet with any place of considerable strength or importance, till we arrive at.

\* His Royal Highness Prince Edward came off with the last division of the Grenadiers, and steered the boat on board. Hostages had been taken for the punctual performance of the articles of the ransom.

## G R A N V I L L E,

A Little town of lower *Normandy* situated in the latitude, of 48 degrees 50 minutes north, and 1 degree 32 minutes to the westward of the meridian of *London*, being 20 leagues distant from *Cherbourg* six from *Coutances*, six from *Avranches*, ten from *Pont-Orson*, seven by sea, and fourteen by land from *St. Malo's*, five from fort *St. Michael*, and eleven from the island of *Jersey*. It stands upon the top of a steep and rugged rock, almost surrounded by the sea, and separated from the continent, on the east side, by a trench twenty feet in breadth, cut out of the rock, which can be easily filled with water from the sea. It is of an oval form, surrounded by a plain wall, which was repaired, by order of the *French King*, between the years 1727, and 1731.

It is of no great antiquity, but it appears by a charter of *Charles VII.* in the fifteenth century, that in those days it was looked upon as a place of great strength and the key of *Normandy*. Its fortifications were demolished in the year 1689, and the warlike stores, which were in it at that time, were put on board a ship to be carried to *Havre de Grace*, but lost in the passage. It has two suburbs, separated by a little river called *le Bosc*, the largest of these is on the south side of the town, and lies along the foot of the rocky eminence upon which the town stands, the other lies still further to the south, and serves as a general magazine of all the goods and commodities sold at *Granville*.

There are only two gates at *Granville*, the one called the great gate, and the only one that leads into the town. It N° XXXII.

is situated in the middle of the town wall, on the south side, communicates with the suburbs, and is secured by a draw bridge and a herse. Over this gate is a house belonging to the King, now occupied by the farmer of the revenue, formerly by the King's lieutenant, and before that employed as a guard-house for the town Militia. The little gate is called *the gate of the dead*; because it opens into the church-yard. It leads to the harbour, and to a field on the west side of the town, separated from it by a deep and narrow ditch. This field terminates in a point, which advances a good way into the sea, and is called *Cap de Libou*. On the north of the point is a little fort or rather redoubt, where there is a guard-house and two magazines, and on the south side of it a small battery in the form of a horse-shoe. The streets of *Granville* are but few, very narrow, and inconvenient, as they all lie up and down the hill. The houses are all of stone and some of them well built. The inhabitants, about thirty years ago, were reckoned little more than 2000, but a late Author \* tells us there are no less than 7000 communicants and 10000 inhabitants; but so vast an increase in so short a time is not very probable.

The city Militia is obliged only to guard the coast and defend their own town. It is divided into seven companies, who have each a Captain two Lieutenants, two Serjeants, and a corporal. The number of men in each company

\* Nouvelle Description de la France, tom. IX. p. 497.



is not fixed ; but they mount guard by turns in time of peace as well as war, and are under the direction of the Governor, King's Lieutenant, or commandant of the place. There is a Major belonging to the city Militia, and a Captain of the gates who have their commission from the Governor. All the officers of the Militia are for life, and in the nomination of the Governor. There is only one public square in the town which is employed as a fish market. Every *Saturday* there is a great market, near the wind-mill, for corn, meat, poultry, and game ; as also for flax, and hemp.

The isles of *Chausey* lie to the north-west of *Granville*, and belong to the family of *Matignon*, which sometime ago farmed them out to the inhabitants of *St. Malo*. They abound with quarries of hard stone, which a great many workmen are employed in cutting and forming, in order to transport them to *St. Malo's*, *Granville* and other places, for building and repairing the fortifications and private houses. The *English* also bring large quantities of stones from *Chausey*, to fortify the isles of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*. The isles of *Chausey* are said to have been formerly possessed by a society of Monks, but the *English* having seized these islands, drove them out in the beginning of the sixteenth century, since which time they have settled at *Granville*, under the title of the Reformed Cordeliers, and have a Convent about a quarter of a league from the town. There is however still a little chapel in the islands of *Chausey*, and a chaplain, to attend the workmen, who is maintained at their expence. All the people that are on these islands have their provisions and necessaries from the town of *Granville*. Since the beginning of this war there was a kind of fort in one of them, which was taken and dismantled by Commodore *Howe* in the year 1756. The country about *Granville* produces apples in great abundance, rye, barley, some oats, flax, and

hemp. The harbour lies east-south-east and west-south-west, at the foot of the rock, on the south side, between the town and the little battery on the point which we have already mentioned. It is formed by one causeway or jetty, built of loose stones without mortar, near 180 yards in length, ten in height, and as much in breadth, with a little elbow in the middle. The water rises from 30 to 36 feet in the harbour at full and change of the moon, but only from ten to eleven, about the quadratures. The jetty was built at first and has been kept up ever since by the inhabitants at their own expence, by means of a tax which they levy on their own ships, and other merchant vessels which use the harbour. This tax they increase as occasion offers, and when they find it necessary to repair or lengthen the jetty. Those who levy the money are accountable to the community for the improvements of it. Ships under 100 tons burthen commonly pay 10 livres a year, those which are above an hundred, but under 150 tons, 15 livres, those above 150 tons pay 20 livres : but barks, sloops and boats four livres ; and with regard to vessels which don't belong to the place, those who come to unload pay 2 sols for every ton of burthen, but those, who come not with a design to break burden, pay only one sol for each ton. All these taxes produce in common years about 700 livres.

There is no road at *Granville*: ships generally anchor at the point of *Libou* where the ground is good ; and about three leagues from *Granville*, lies the road of *Cancalle*, which is a very good one, as also that of *Chausey* which though it is not quite so convenient, ships outward or inward bound anchor in it in time of bad weather.

The most considerable part of the trade of the election of *Constances* is carried on at *Granville*, yet no sort of manufactures are established here, the men go to sea, and the women in general  
are

are employed in the oyster trade. This branch is so considerable, that it supports all the meaner sort of people in the town, and produces yearly from 40 to 45000 livres. The principal trade, however, of *Granville* consists in the cod fishing at these islands, of *Cape Breton* and *Gaspée* and on the banks of *Newfoundland*. The inhabitants of *Granville* send yearly 16 vessels to these isles, for the dry cod fishing. They are generally provided with salt, fishing tackle, and other necessities at *St. Malo's*, and when they have finished their fishing, the largest vessels are sent to unload at *Marseilles*, and take in new freights for *Rochelle*, *Nantz*, and *St. Malo*. The lesser vessels, which sail directly for *Bordeaux*, *Rochelle*, *Nantz*, and *St. Malo's*; having disposed of their cargoes, make their returns in salt, wine, brandy, vinegar, and other commodities, and all of them come and put up at *Granville*. *Granville* sends also, yearly, 36 vessels to the banks of *Newfoundland* for the fresh cod fishery. They are provided with salt at *Brouage* to cure their fish at the banks, and the fishing season being over, they come and unload at *Honfleur*, *Havre*, and sometimes at *Dieppe*. *Granville* had no commerce with *Martinico* till the year 1730, but since that time it sends yearly a ship with dry cod, from *cape Breton*, which having unloaded its cargo at *Martinico* takes a freight of sugars for *St. Malo's*, and then returns in ballast to *Granville*.

In short, in return for their dry and fresh cod, *Granville* takes from *Marseilles*, several sorts of oils, cotton, wool, galls, allum, prunes, figs, raisins, nutmegs, anchovies, olives, capers, wine and other liquors. From *Bordeaux* vinegar, brandy, wine and all sorts of dry fruits. From *Rochelle* salt, wine, brandy and other liquors. Some barks from *Granville* carry cyder to *Brest* and *Chateaulin*, and bring slate and some other commodities in return. From *Morlaix*, *Roscoff*, and other parts of *Bretagne*, in return for cyder, vine-

gar, baskets, straw-hats and other small commodities, the barks of *Granville* bring salt, mackarel, empty casks, cordage and tallow.

Six or seven boats, belonging to *Granville*, are generally employed in trading to *St. Malo's*. They commonly carry thither passengers, and such commodities as are readiest, especially linens manufactured at *Marigny* and other places in *Normandy*, cyder, spirits extracted from cyder, fresh and dry cod, sheep, &c. and in return bring from thence *Bordeaux* wine, beer, oils, Dutch-cheese, prunes, figs, raisins, almonds, anchovies, capers, white and red herrings, fresh and salt Mackarel, *Marseilles* soap, cotton and woollen yarn, casks and sail-cloth. In short there are few or no seaports in *France* with which they do not trade, either directly or indirectly. The inhabitants of *Granville* also carry on a very considerable trade in fishing upon their own coasts; we cannot now stay to enlarge upon this subject, but shall only say in general that they employ twenty eight large boats from three to eighteen tons burthen, besides others of lesser size, merely in fishing for oysters and lobsters. And it is, further, to be observed, that the trade of *Granville*, however considerable already, is still upon the growing hand, and might be carried to a very high pitch, if the harbour were but large enough to contain a sufficient number of ships, for carrying it on.

There is sufficient evidence, that *Granville* was built and fortified a little before the middle of the 15th Century, by the *English*, who were then in possession of all *Normandy*. It fell into the hands of the *French* King, with the rest of that Province, in the year 1450, and has continued so ever since. Its first fortifications were demolished by order of *Lewis XIV.* in the year 1689. In 1695, it suffered a severe bombardment from a squadron of the *English* fleet, and was almost entirely reduced



reduced to ashes. Lord *Berkley* of *Stratton*, at the head of the British fleet, in his return from bombarding *St. Malo*, in the beginning of *July*, thought it would be improper to overlook *Granville*, which was, even at that time, a place of considerable trade, tho' greatly inferior to what it is at present; accordingly he detached a squadron of eight frigates, and as many bomb vessels to attack it. On the eighth of *July*, Captain *Bembow*, at the head of this squadron, anchored before the place about nine in the morning, and an hour afterwards, Colonel *Richards* began the bombardment which lasted till six in the evening, when the squadron bore away leaving the whole town in flames. This is a fact the *French* never offered to dispute, but the most of their writers pass it over without saying a word. In the beginning of *June* 1758, the Duke of *Marlborough* having put an end to his expedition against *St. Malo's*, reembarked his troops, on the 11th and 12th of that month. On *Tuesday* thereafter a gentleman, who had formerly been at *Granville*, having reconnoitred that place observed a camp before it consisting, as it was afterwards understood, of 5000 men, and intelligence was received, that a considerable body of forces was there assembled, under the command of the Marshal *de Harcourt*. However the fleet being detained sometime at *Cancalle* by contrary winds, on *Sunday* next the Duke of *Marlborough* with some general officers went along the shore to reconnoitre *Granville*. On *Tuesday* Commodore *Howe* with the engineers made an excursion for the same purpose. On the back side of the town they perceived nothing but an old wall on a precipice, without any manner of defence, and wholly exposed to a bombardment. These observations were reported to the General; but it was not thought proper to make any attempt upon the place at that time, and the fleet tacked out of the bay.

Sometime before the year 1750, the present King of *France* observing the pains and expence the inhabitants of *Granville* put themselves to, to improve their harbour, and cover it from south and south easterly-winds, and that their labours were like to meet with little success; ordered the following project to be put in execution. It was first of all intended to raise the detached mole *Q R*, adjoining to a rock, on which the fort *O R Q* was to be constructed: this was the most essential part of the project, and the intention of it was to cover the entrance of the harbour and secure it against the formation of sand banks and shoals. It was also proposed, to hollow the whole channel between this mole and the wall, marked *B C*, and make it equally deep with the bottom of the harbour, so that the water might rise in it 16 or 17 feet; and, that a good number of frigates might be accommodated, and kept afloat, it was also proposed, that the harbour should be accompanied with a basin, which should have at its entrance the grand sluice *S*, and behind it the dyke *I K L M*, to form a reservoir for the waters of the river of *Bosc*, and those that should be brought up by the rising tide, for cleaning not only the harbour, but also the basin, by means of other sluices to be constructed in the wall *G F E*, as at *Cberbourg*.

To judge of the merit of this project, with regard to the course of the tides, we must know, that at the beginning of the flood, the tide runs along the west end of the peninsula, upon which the town stands, and from thence passes directly to the bottom of the bay of *Mont St. Michael*, by which being repelled, it circulates along the shore till it comes to the harbour of *Granville*, maintaining a kind of struggle all the way with the remaining part of the tide which continues its course into the same bay, and in this state matters continue till the tide comes to the height, when.

when the waters stand in a kind of *equilibrium*. But as soon as the ebb comes, the current resumes its former direction, enters the harbour, circulates round the point of the Isthmus, and returns to the place from whence it came, so that as it retires it helps to carry the ships out of the harbour, through the western passage C O. With regard to the time of getting into the harbour; it may be gained, about the middle of the flood, by the assistance of the current, which runs into the bay; because the general force of the tide pressing upon the water next the shore, it will be an easy matter to get to the eastern passage D R. Moreover, the course of the tide round the harbour being stopt by the dike L M, which forms the reservoir of water, will certainly be directed between the mole and the heads of the jetties C D, and serve effectually to clear the passage from all kind of sand, mud, or other rubbish. There is no great reason to doubt but the harbour, thus improved, might be extremely useful; but it will

always have the inconvenience of having no road near it, and consequently ships, in bad weather, will be obliged to anchor at *Cancalle*, when they cannot take advantage of the flood to get into the harbour. It was also proposed, that the town should be enclosed within new walls, marked in the plan, A. B. C. D. E. F. G, in consequence of which it would be enlarged by a considerable addition at the foot of the rock I. H. L, not to mention the increase it might receive by occupying the remaining part of the peninsula. Such was the project formed by the *French* Court for improving the town and harbour of *Granville*, and matters were carried so far, as has been observed, that orders were actually given for putting it in execution; but we are assured, that little or nothing has been hitherto done in consequence of them.

A little more than three leagues to the south east of *Granville* lies the town of

## A V R A N C H E S,

**I**N Latin *Abrincatæ, civitas Abrincatum, civitas Abrincatarum, Abrincæ, Abrincas*, in the latitude of 48 degrees 42 minutes north, and 1 degree 18 minutes to the west of the meridian of *London*. It stands upon a hill, the foot whereof is washed by the river *Sée*. The inhabitants of *Bretagne*, under the command of *Guy de Thouars*, having, in the year 1203, burnt the town and castle of *Pont-Orson*, laid siege to *Avranches*, and demolished its castles and fortifications. These were but indifferently repaired till the time of *St. Lewis*, who enlarged the town and drew a new wall N° XXXIII.

round it, with an excellent ditch; and from this time it served as a frontier town, and a bulwark against the encroachments of the Bretons, till the province of *Bretagne* was reunited to the crown of *France*. The *Avranchin*, or district belonging to *Avranches*, is watered by three rivers, which are navigable by boats of twenty tons burthen, almost a whole league from their mouths, that is, as far as the tide runs up. The first of these is the *Coësson*, which separates *Normandy* from *Bretagne*; the second the *Selune*, near the mouth of which is a stone bridge, which the people of the country

U u u

believe



believe to have been built by the fairies; the last is the *Sée*, just now mentioned. The air is mild and temperate, the inhabitants, civil, ingenious, and fond of war, to such a degree, that there are more soldiers in the *French* King's army from the *Avranchin* than from any other county of *Lower Normandy*. There are here no manufactures nor trade; the people live upon the corn produced in the country, or what they

purchase out of the province of *Bretagne*. They find vent for their cyder, which is reckoned the best of *Normandy*, at *Granville*, *St. Malo's*, and some other places in *Bretagne*: they have plenty of flax and hemp, which they dispose of at *Granville*, or send to the *Pays du Maine*, and *Anjou*.

A little more than two leagues to the west-south-west of *Avranches* stands the abbey, castle, and town of

## M O U N T S T. M I C H A E L,

**S**ITUATED upon a promontary, between the mouths of the *Sée* and the *Selune*, in the middle of a bay formed by the coast of *Normandy* and *Bretagne*. This promontary is divided into two eminences called *tombs* on account of their form. One of them is very high, and on it stands the abbey; the other is lower, and upon it the ruins of a fort demolished in 1669: this latter, on account of its lesser size, was called *Tumbella*, whence its modern name of *Tombelene* is derived. The abbey is called, in old acts, and Latin writers, *Monasterium ad duas tumbas in periculo maris*; because of the danger, which those are exposed to, who travel between these two eminences and the sea, if they are not very careful to chuse the proper interval betwixt the two floods, because the tide, advances with a swift pace, and covers all the country for a large league round.

After passing the beach, which consists of quick sands mixed with little shells, you come to the first gate of the town, which is shut with an iron grate, and never opened but for coaches and other carriages. Those who ride or walk on foot enter by another little round gate, at the side of the

large one, near the first court of guard, where travellers leave their fire arms, and their swords; then having passed a little place of arms, you turn to the right, and enter into the town by a draw bridge; then passing by the parish church, you turn to the left, and arrive at the second court of guard, where you are obliged to lay down your hidden arms, such as pocket pistols, bayonets, and even knives. After this you turn to the right, and ascend by easy steps, cut out of the rock, to the entry into the castle, which lies on the east side. You then pass under the *berse* pointed with iron, and, after going up some steps, you arrive at a large gate, twelve inches thick, and covered with a coat of iron. In this gate they open a wicket, about three feet high, and, having passed through this, you find yourself in a large dark vault, the walls whereof are covered with musquets, and half pikes, ranged in proper order. You come next to a large guard-house, where there are always a number of citizens upon duty. After this you continue to ascend and pass a small court about twelve foot square, the high walls whereof are defended by loop holes and mach-culices, last  
of

of all you pass the further gate of the castle, and arrive at a platform before the gate of the church, called *Saut-Gautier*.

In this place you repose yourself, and are agreeably entertained by observing, through the windows of a little gallery, a vast extent of sandy beach, sea, and land. After this you enter the church, and find it to be a Gothick building in the form of a cross, and of such a smoaky colour as shews its antiquity. The great altar of *St. Michael* is placed between the choir and the nave. It is very much enriched with ornaments of sculpture; towards the top is an arch in which is placed the statue of *St. Michael* the Arch-angel, as high as a man, and said to be of solid gold. Be this as it will the design is very incorrect, and the execution but indifferent. On one of the walls of the south side of the church, are the names and arms of all the gentlemen of *Bretagne*, and *Normandy*, who defended this fortress against the *English*. In a chapel on the same side, is the treasury, filled with a vast number of consecrated vessels and highly esteemed relics. Among others, are shewn the head of *St. Aubert*, who built the church; you see also at the end of the armoury a square buckler and a short sword, said to have been found in *Ireland* near the body of a dragon, whose death is piously ascribed to *St. Michael*. In the nave is a staircase which leads to a low chapel, called *Notre-dame de sous terre*.

From the church you repair to the cloyster, where you see, with admiration, all the parts of a regular monastery exceeding well built, upon the point of a rock. This cloyster is about 33 yards every way; and has on one side of it the hall of the Knights of *St. Michael*, and on the other a large refectory: there is also here a machine for taking up provisions for the convent, out of the sloops which bring them

to the foot of the mount. Over these, are the Dormitories, an infirmary, and a very good library. This done you go to the top of the church, where you can walk about, within the balustrades, erected round the whole roof. The curious do not satisfy themselves with this, they go up to the lanthorn of the steeple, which is near 130 yards above the level of the beach at the foot of the mount. From this one can see, in *Normandy*, toward the north the point of *Granville*, toward the east the town of *Avranches*, on the south that of *Pont-Orfion*, and the south-west *Montdol*, and the town of *Dol*: in *Bretagne*, toward the west the harbour of *Cancalle*, and on the north-west the isle of *Jersey*, which is at least 16 leagues distant from mount *St. Michael*; but to have a full view of it, you must be furnished with a telescope, for to the naked eye it appears like a cloud. After viewing the top of the church, the conductor leads you to the subterraneous parts of this uncommon building. You are there shewn two dungeons, each of seven or eight foot square, into which they let down state criminals by a trap door. In the deepest of these caverns, you see a great many sea birds, which resort thither in winter, and probably die there of hunger. To have a compleat view of the curiosities of this mount you must go out of these walls to see a chapel, about twelve feet in length and eight in breadth, dedicated to *St. Aubert*, and built upon a rock which formerly stood on the top of the mount and at the earnest prayer of that Saint, threw itself down, to make way for the work-men, who were to build the church. To this little chapel you ascend by twelve or fifteen steps cut out of the rock: it is always open, and there is nothing in it but the altar, and a statue of that Saint. The north part of the mount is not inhabited as it consists entirely of a rock, so rugged and steep that the town has no occasion for walls to defend it on that side. It will be easily imagined



imagined, from this description, that Mount St. *Michael* is a place of great importance and strength. The citizens guard it in time of peace, but in war it has a garrison of regular troops. The fortress is under the direction of the abbé of Mount St. *Michael*, and in his absence, of the prior, to whom the keys are carried every night.

Mount St. *Michael* fell into the hands of *England* together with the rest of *Normandy*, but was taken from King *John* by the inhabitants of *Bretagne*, and restored to *Philip* the *August* of *France*, who improved its fortifications so as to render it an impregnable fortress. It was however besieged by the *English* in the year 1423, but so well defended by the garrison, animated by the example of 119 gentlemen of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, who had shut themselves up in it, that the enemy was obliged to raise the siege. These were the gentlemen whose names and arms are to be seen upon the wall of the abbey church, as we have already observed. Mount St.

*Michael* is one of the most famous pilgrimages of *France*, particularly for the lower sort of people, who resort to it in vast numbers every summer.

About a league and a half to the south of Mount St. *Michael*, stands the little town of *Pont-Orson*, on the river *Coesnon*, which for a long time served as a bulwark against the inhabitants of *Bretagne*. The castle and fortifications were built at first by *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, and finally destroyed by *Lewis* XIII. that it might be no more a sanctuary or place of refuge for the Calvinists. It was reduced to ashes on the 15th of *May* 1756, by an accidental fire, which began at 12 o'clock at noon, and in less than two hours time consumed the whole place, so that little now remains but a few houses, and some thatched huts.

Having thus travelled over the coast of *Normandy* we enter upon that of *Bretagne*, and the first sea port of any consequence we meet with, is that of

## S T: M A L O,

SITUATED in the latitude of 48 degrees 38 minutes north, and 1 degree 57 minutes to the west of the meridian of *London*. It is not of great antiquity, for it was but an abbey and a country town, when the Bishoprick of *Aleth* was translated to it, upon the destruction of the city of that name, which happened in the year 1172. Queen Anne of *Bretagne* the royal Consort of *Charles* VIII, and afterwards of *Charles* XII. of *France*, gave it great encouragement, and by her interest it was made a city, or royal borough.

Its Latin names are *Maclovium*, *Maclopolis*, and *Macloviopolis*, from the name of the first Bishop and Patron of *Aleth*, who in that language is called *Macutus*, *Macbutes*, and *Maclovius*. The town stands upon a rock in the middle of the sea, in the little island of *Saint-Aaron*, which is now joined to the Continent of *France* by means of a sort of causeway or dike, called the *Sillon*, which has often been damaged by storms, and was almost quite ruined in the year 1730. At the end of this causeway next the town is a castle flanked with large towers, a good ditch,

ditch, and a large bastion. As this place is of great consequence, there is always in it a good garrison, and all the gates are shut at six o'clock, except that of *Saint Thomas*, which stands open till nine. As soon as the gates are shut they let loose a number of mastiffs who stroll about upon the ramparts all night, and prevent a surprise by an enemy. The Cathedral church is dedicated to *St. Vincent*, and stands in the square of the same name, as do also the town-house and the episcopal palace. There are some other squares in the place, but less remarkable; and, as to the streets, except two or three, they are all very narrow. The greatest part of the houses of *St. Malo* have no fresh water, but what drops from the clouds in rain, which is conveyed in pipes, from the roofs of the houses on which it falls, into cisterns, and of this they have enough for all family uses. There is only one parish church in the town, though it contains between nine and ten thousand inhabitants; but there are several convents of Monks and Nuns, and a general hospital. The two entrances into the harbour are defended by several forts, such as that of the *Conchal*, of the great, and the little bay, the forts of *Isle-Rebours*, *Sezemlere Roteneuf*, the castle of *Latte*, and *Fort Royal*. There are several little isles near the harbour, the most considerable whereof is that of *St. Sezemlere*, which is near a quarter of a league in circumference: it belonged formerly to the *Recolet* Monks, who had a convent there, until the year 1693, when their habitation was entirely destroyed by the *English*. But the charity of the inhabitants of *St. Malo* has enabled them, since that time, to build two very magnificent convents, the one within the town, and the other at *St. Servand*.

The harbour is one of the best of the kingdom, and most frequented by merchant ships; but it is of very difficult and dangerous access, on account of the rocks which lie round  
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it. The town of *St. Malo* is exceedingly well situated for trade; and accordingly, in this respect, it has succeeded beyond most towns in *France*. It maintains a trade with *England*, *Holland*, and *Spain*. Its trade with *England* consists in linen cloth, which the inhabitants of *St. Malo* export, from the manufactories of *Rouen*, *Laval*, *St. Quintin*, *Vitré* and *Rennes*, in return for which the *English* send to *St. Malo*, coarse cloth; lead, tin, coals, copers and galls. This trade was formerly exceeding profitable to the *Maloins*, because the balance was greatly in their favour; but for some time past no great quantities of *French* linens have been imported into *England*. The *Dutch* send to *St. Malo* planks and masts for ship building, and take in return the commodities of that place. The commerce of *Spain* is of all the most considerable and most profitable to the inhabitants of *St. Malo*. It consists principally in linen cloth, from all the parts of the kingdom of *France*, as also castor, fattins of *Lyons* and *Tours*, gold and silver Brocades, wool from *Amiens* and *Rheims*, and many other commodities. These they send directly to *Cadiz*, whence they are conveyed to the *Indies*, and the profits which the merchants of *St. Malo* get by this trade must be very considerable. The number of vessels employed in carrying it on is not fixed; but they never exceed fifteen frigates. The time of their departure from *France* depends upon the advice they receive concerning the departure of the *Spanish Flota's*; this holds particularly with regard to the goods designed for *Carthagena*; but those intended for *Mexico* must commonly be at *Cadiz*, before the 10th or 15th of *July*. The returns from the *Indies* are always in gold or silver, or valuable commodities for which there is great demand in *Europe*, such as leather, cochineal, indigo, campeachy wood, and wool. The voyages indeed are something long, taking up no less than eighteen months, and two years in some instances; but on

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the other hand they are so profitable that this trade generally brings in twelve millions of livres in gold and silver, and never less than six or seven. It may also be said that no branch of trade is more beneficial to private merchants, and to the State in general; because it is the only one that brings them money in specie.

The inhabitants of *St. Malo* carry on also a considerable trade in dry and fresh cod: they send to this fishery, in *North America*, a good many vessels from 100 to 300 tons burthen, with salt for the fish, and provisions for subsisting the crews. They carry their fish to *Bayonne*, *Bilboa*, and *Bordeaux*, and bring home the returns in fruits, soap, oil, and allom, which they take in at *Cavita-Vecchia*, and dispose of, to great advantage, at *Nantz*.

When those branches of their commerce are interrupted by war, the inhabitants of *St. Malo* are generally employed in privateering. For this purpose they arm a great number of vessels, and it may be justly said, that on many occasions they have been of great prejudice to the powers at war with *France*, and greatly enriched themselves with the spoils of their enemies; besides, that, by this means, they train up vast numbers of sailors, to the great benefit and advantage of their country.

It must however be owned that the trade to *Spain* is never carried on without great danger and difficulty, especially in time of war; because then the greatest part of the commodities used in it become contraband; they are in great hazard of falling into the hands of privateers, and the indulto's on these occasions are raised very high, sometimes to 50 per cent. It is true since the *Bourbon* family succeeded to the crown of *Spain*, the indulto's upon the subjects of *France* have been much lighter; but this advantage is balanced by another inconvenience, which is that the passage of the

*Spanish* fleets to the *Indies* is often prevented by enemies, and they are exposed to the danger of being taken or sunk in their return. In time of peace the difficulties which the inhabitants of *St. Malo* find in carrying on the trade with *Spain*, arise from the laws of that kingdom, whereby the trade to the *Indies* is prohibited to all who are not natives of *Spain*, not excepting even the subjects of that Monarchy in *Italy* and the *Netherlands*. But on the other hand, as the merchants of *Spain* are not able to load the *Spanish* Flota's for their own account, they are obliged to have recourse to foreigners to supply them with the commodities necessary for the consumption of the new world. By this means, either the foreigner sells to the *Spanish* merchant his commodities upon trust, for a certain stipulated profit: or under the name of the *Spanish* merchant sends his own goods to the *Indies*, in which case, he must use the name of the *Spaniard* in all his deeds and writings with regard to that part of his property, so that he must depend entirely upon the integrity of the person who lends him his name, and who is thereby absolute master of the freight and the returns, the foreigner not being able to bring him to an account, nor so much as to complain, in case of any cheat or imposition; because besides the confiscation of the goods in dispute, he would run the hazard of losing all the other effects he might happen to have in the dominions of *Spain*, and expose himself to a long and severe imprisonment, from which he could not deliver himself at last, but at the expence of a large sum of money. The *Maloins*, to avoid these inconveniences, carry on their correspondences with their factors, under fictitious, or borrowed names, for fear their letters should be intercepted, which often happens to be the case. These precautions prevent the evil apprehended, only in part; that is, by means thereof, the foreigner commonly avoids

a formal conviction, but he does not escape suspicion, and even this is punished by severe taxes or fines, which the council of the *Indies* impose upon illicit trade, according to the strength of the presumptions upon which the suspicion is founded. After all, with whatever difficulties this trade is attended, the profits attending it are, on the main, very great, and the *Maloins* prosecute it, not only with great advantage to themselves, but also to the benefit of their country.

We have already seen, that *St. Malo* made no great figure till the reign of *Lewis XII.* that is, till about the beginning of the sixteenth century. During the wars between *Henry IV.* of *France* and the partisans of the League, the inhabitants of *St. Malo*, apprehending that their governor intended to declare for the King and admit his troops into the town, found means to surprize the castle, and having murdered the Governor, and divided among them his treasures, which were very considerable, openly espoused the interests of the League; and demolished the castles of some of the Royalists in the neighbourhood: yet they would not receive a garrison into the town, but, on the contrary kept the castle in their own hands, till the end of the war, which, notwithstanding their industry and circumspection, was very prejudicial to their trade. This revolution happened in the year 1590. In 1594 the King's arms being attended with great success, and the far greater part of the kingdom having submitted to him, the *Maloins*, seeing the affairs of the League in a desperate situation, resolved to abandon a ruined party, and be reconciled to the King; for this purpose they sent deputies to wait on his majesty, who surrendered the town to him, on condition, "that they should not be obliged to receive a garrison; that there should be no inquiry made concerning the murder of their

"late governor, the seizure of his treasures, the surprize of the castle, or the injury done to the gentlemen in the neighbourhood, whose houses they had demolished; that they should have the privilege of trading to the same extent as before the civil wars, and be allowed to cast so many pieces of cannon as they should think necessary for the protection of their trade."

In the war which broke out soon after the year 1688, the privateers of *St. Malo* greatly distressed the trade of the allies; and the court of *Great Britain*, having determined to employ their fleet in alarming and ravaging the coast of *France*, resolved, that, among other maritime places of that kingdom, *St. Malo* should not be neglected. Accordingly this place was twice bombarded during that war. On the 13th of *November* 1693, King *William* sent out a fleet of 12 men of war, from 70 to 80 guns each, 4 bomb-vessels, 12 brigantines, and several smaller vessels, under the command of Commodore *Bembow*, who was afterwards Admiral. The contrivance of firing mortars from ships at sea was then a new invention, having been first used about twelve years before, by one *Renaud* a young Frenchman, who had never seen an action. To encrease the effect of the bomb-vessels that were sent with the fleet on this occasion, a new Galliot of about 300 tons burthen was so contrived as to be itself one great bomb, capable of being discharged wherever she could float. In the hold of this Galliot, next the keel, were stowed 100 barrels of powder, and as the effect of powder is always in proportion to the resistance, this layer was covered with a flooring of thick-timber, which was perforated in several places, to admit the train that was to communicate the fire. Upon the top of this floor was laid 300 carcasses consisting of grenades, cannon bullets, chain-shot, great bars of iron, and an incredible variety of other combustible matter,



matter, which produced a fire, that, according to the report of the *French* at that time, could not be quenched but by hot water. It is added that besides the carcasses and combustibles already mentioned, 340 mortars were also put on board, loaded with small bombs and grenades: but it is scarce to be supposed that such a number of mortars should be put on board of a ship, which at one blast was to be destroyed, by an explosion, that of itself must give a very great effect to all the bombs and balls which were on board.

With this machine, which from its office was called the Infernal, (and of the same nature with those dreadful machines which the *Dutch* made use of to destroy the bridge over the *Scheld*, when the Prince of *Parma* besieged *Antwerp*) the fleet set sail from *Guernsey*, the Public being utterly ignorant of its destination. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th of *November* they anchored before one of the entrances into the harbour of the city, called *la Conchal*, upon the front of which was an unfinished fort, called *Quince* fort. About eleven at night, they came within cannon shot of the town and bombarded it till four in the morning of the 17th, when they were obliged to warp out, for fear of being aground. On the 17th and 18th the vessels went in again, and the bombardment was renewed; but still they were obliged to return before the tide was out. On the 19th some of the sailors went ashore on the island *Sexemlere*, burnt a convent, and on the same day preparations were made for striking the great blow by playing off the Infernal. An engineer, being put on board, carried her under full sail to the foot of the wall, where she was to be fixed, notwithstanding all the fire of the place against him; but it happened that the wind, suddenly veering, forced him off before the vessel could be secured, and drove her upon a rock, within pistol-shot of the place where she was to have been moored. All possible

attempts were made to get clear of this rock, but without effect; and the engineer finding that the vessel had received damage from the shock, and began to open, set fire to the train and left her. The sea water that broke in prevented some of her carcasses from taking fire, but the vessel soon after blew up with an explosion that shook the whole city like an earth-quake, uncovered above 300 houses, threw down the greatest part of the wall towards the sea, and broke all the glass, china, and earthen-ware for three leagues round. The consternation of the people was so great, that a small number of troops might have taken possession of the place without resistance. As it was, they demolished *Quince* fort, carried off eighty prisoners, and frightened most of the people out of town. This expedition, which was well-timed, and well executed, struck a panic into the inhabitants of *St. Malo*, whence the most troublesome of the *French* privateers were fitted out; and served to awaken that whole nation from their golden dreams of the empire of the sea, by shewing them what a very small squadron of *English* could do, when commanded by men of resolution and experience.

The combined fleet of *England* and *Holland* was again sent to visit *St. Malo*, in the year 1695. It sailed, on the 23d of *June*, and on the 4th of *July* Lord *Berkeley*, who commanded it, came before the place, and immediately began to bombard *Quince* fort to the westward, and a battery raised by the *French* on point *Danbour* to the eastward, between which is the channel or entrance into the harbour. The first service was performed by Colonel *Richards*, who had three *English* and two *Dutch* bomb vessels under his command; and the latter was entirely committed to the *Dutch*, who employed therein four bomb ketches, for many hours. On the 5th every thing being ready for the attack of the town, Lord

*Berkeley*

*Berkeley* gave the signal about four o' clock in the morning, and upon this *Captain Bembow* hoisted the flame coloured flag on board the *Charles* galley. Immediately after, the *English* and *Dutch* frigates appointed to guard the bomb vessels entered the channel, and came to an anchor within a mile and a half of the town, having *Colonel Richards*, and the bomb vessels in a line before them; and the bombardment began about six. All this time the enemy fired very warmly from the shore, from the batteries of the great and little bay, and of the island of *Danbour*, from fort *Vauban*, fort *Royal*, fort *Quince*, &c. their galleys and boats taking also the opportunities of the tides, and rowing sometimes so near as to gall the line of bomb vessels. Yet, in spite of this interruption, about eight o' clock a great fire broke out in the east part of the town, and vast clouds of smoke were seen ascending in several places. Lord *Berkeley* and the other Admirals came in their boats to encourage the seamen, and expressed much satisfaction, as to the manner in which the attack was disposed. An *English* and *Dutch* fire-ship set on fire the wooden fort on *Quince* rock, which burnt for two hours; and about four in the afternoon a great fire broke out in the west part of the town.

By seven in the evening, the bomb-vessels had spent their cargo of 900 bombs and carcasses, and therefore the signal was made to put to sea. The whole enterprize was executed by six *English*, and four *Dutch* men of war, nine Gallies, fourteen flat-bottomed boats, and two Brigantines. The loss sustained on the side of the assailants was 60 men killed and wounded by the fire of the *French*; a bomb vessel called the *Terrible* so shattered, that it was necessary to set it on fire; two boats, and three or four barks sunk. The bombardment lasted somewhat more than eleven hours, with all the success that could possibly be expected, a great part of the

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place being burnt, and the *French* reduced to the necessity of blowing up several houses, to prevent the destruction of the whole.

The *French* accounts of the bombardments of their towns during this war, contradict those of the *Dutch* and *English*, but at the same time they neither raise the reputation of *France*, nor, with impartial judges, discredit what has been advanced by the latter. *M. Quincy* tells us, that the court appointed Marshal *Choiseul* to command on the coast of *Bretagne*. At *la Hogue* he had two battalions of marines, three of Militia, a regiment of horse, a regiment of dragoons, and besides all these a numerous body in reserve. *M. d'Estrees* commanded in the neighbourhood of *Rockelle* another body of forces. The care of *Brest* and the adjacent country was committed to *M. Vauban*, who had a special commission to command the marines, of which there were 22 battalions on the coast. All this shews, how apprehensive the *French* were of those bombardments, into what confusion they put them, and what expence they were at, to provide against their effects. As to this particular affair of *St. Malo*, the author before mentioned is pleased to say, that the *English* fleet consisted of 70 sail; of which 25 or 30 were ships of the line. He owns the bombardment continued eleven hours; that 900 bombs were thrown, of which 500 fell into the town, whereby ten or twelve houses were burnt, 35 or 40 damaged, and eighteen or twenty people killed or wounded. Father *Daniel* gives pretty near the same account, and both agree, that two infernal machines were spent at fort *Quince*, one to very little purpose, and the other to no purpose at all. Yet when it is remembered that *St. Malo* was an old town, its buildings mostly of wood, the streets very narrow and the place crowded with soldiers, it is not easy to conceive, how so many bombs could fall, and yet

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do so little hurt; this induced a *Dutch* journalist to say, merrily enough, that the *Malouins* had taught the dogs, that guard their city, to take up the bombs in their mouths, and run away with them out of the town. In short, the vast difference between the *French* and *English* accounts is easily accounted for from this consideration, that the *French* always kept in pay a journalist, instructed to heighten all their successes, and extenuate all their losses, by feigned relations; which were soon after reckoned proper documents for history; though, at the time of their first publication, their value was well known, and justly despised.

In this present war, the *English* ministry were so far from being dispirited with the bad success of the expedition against *Rockfort* in the year 1757, that the disappointment seemed to animate them the more. Accordingly, as soon as the season admitted, the army assembled again in the isle of *Wight*. It consisted of fifteen battalions, four hundred artillery men, and five hundred and forty light horse, in all thirteen thousand fighting men. They were also provided with 60 pieces of cannon, fifteen of which were twenty-four pounders, and fifty pieces of the mortar kind. On the 23d of *May* 1758, *Charles* Duke of *Marlborough* arrived in the camp as commander in chief, Lord *George Sackville* and the Earl of *Antrim* were the Lieutenant Generals; the Major Generals were *Waldgrave*, *Mostyn*, *Dury*, *Boscawen*, and *Elliot*. The baggage began to be embarked on the 25th, next day the first brigade were put on board their respective transports, and the whole embarkation was finished on the 28th. The troops, that were to make the first debarkment, were to keep themselves in readiness; to take two days provisions, and a tent for every eight men. The officers that were to com-

mand them were to have only private soldiers tents, till they could establish themselves on the shore.

Lord *Anson* and Sir *Edward Hawke* had hoisted their flags at *Spithead*; but Commodore *Howe* commanded the frigates, and was intrusted with the direction of every thing that related to the landing of the troops in the enemy's dominions. For this purpose a considerable number of flat-bottomed boats, of a new invention, was provided; and nothing was wanting that could be deemed necessary to forward the execution of the enterprize. The weather, during the encampment on the isle of *Wight*, had been remarkably pleasant; the men had constant exercise morning and evening, were in good health and spirits, and longed for nothing so much, as an opportunity to exert themselves in actual service. The whole nation seemed to be animated with an uncommon degree of alacrity; Lord *Downe*, Sir *James Lowther*, Sir *John Armitage*, Mr. *Berkeley*, and Mr. *Delaval*, persons of distinguished rank and fortune, engaged as volunteers in the service, and every lover of his country began to entertain agreeable hopes of the success of the armament, though the destination of it was kept an inviolable secret. It was, however, easily perceived that the intended voyage could not be of any considerable length, because a great number of soldiers were crowded into one transport. This disposition was attended with such inconvenience, that the troops loudly complained, they were in danger of being stifled for want of room and fresh air; the whole tonnage of the transports amounting to no more than 11084.

To remedy this evil, four hundred men of the guards were taken on board a ship of war, and by this expedient the rest were considerably eased. The soldiers had another subject of complaint, which is but too common with all persons employed

ployed by sea for the service of their country. They were put upon short allowance of provisions, and even the beef, they received, was old, hard, salt, and disagreeable. At this period the Captain of a *French* sloop, who had been detached for intelligence, boldly ran up among the fleet at *Spithead*, and saluted the Admiral, as if he had been a subject of *England*, but he was soon discovered and taken. The enemies vessels were very alert upon the coast of *England*; for, notwithstanding a great number of cruisers, the *French* privateers made prize of some small craft on the back of the isle of *Wight*.

The proper disposition being made for landing, if it should be thought proper, and every thing prepared for the voyage; the fleet was favoured with a fair wind on *Thursday* the 1st of *June*; Lord *Anson* immediately weighed and put to sea with all the ships of war, except those destined as convoy to the transports under the immediate direction of *Commodore Howe*. By eleven in the forenoon all the transports were under sail, by two o'clock the fleet cleared the isle of *Wight*, and stood over to the coast of *France*, with a fresh gale which blew all night. In the morning of *Saturday*, *June* 3, a great part of the fleet was astern of the *Commodore*, who being to the westward of *Alderney*, brought to off of *Sark*, and dropped anchor in very foul and dangerous ground, where many anchors were lost. The *Wara* transport, having on board part of the first regiment of guards, drove upon a rock, and fired guns of distress, but, when she was on the point of foundering, all the men were saved in boats, and removed into other vessels. Notwithstanding the repeated signals to make sail, the transports lagged behind; some of them at the distance of five or six leagues, otherwise the fleet might have anchored this evening in the bay of *Cancalle*, near the place of its destination.

At night the *Commodore* weighed and stood off to sea, and on *Sunday* morning made sail for land. Next day the fleet made *St. Malo*, and about two in the afternoon stood into the bay of *Cancalle*, where some batteries on the land beginning to fire on the cutters, the frigates ran in shore, and a few shot were exchanged.

About five in the evening all the grenadiers in the army went on board the flat bottomed boats for landing; the volunteers accompanied this detachment, and acted with them on all occasions. About seven, *Mr. Howe* in his own ship, the *Effex*, led the way, and with two others ranging up along side of a small battery, poured in some broadsides, by which it was effectually silenced, and the whole army landed without any loss, except that of three sailors; nor did they meet with any opposition, but from the random shot of a few straggling peasants. The troops thus landed marched forthwith in small parties to seize the posts and villages which were situated on high grounds, and rendered very strong by hollow ways, enclosures, gullies, and every natural defence, except water. The field pieces, being ten light six pounders, were likewise landed, and by a mistake of orders drawn into a deep road, where they stuck in the mire, and with great difficulty were brought back to the beach. All night the troops lay on their arms. Next morning, a spot of ground was laid out for a camp, to be fortified with an entrenchment, to secure a retreat for the army; and, in the evening, 600 men were set to work upon it. The people in the country, except a few of the aged and infirm, abandoned their houses in the utmost consternation.

The army being quite disembarked, the troops encamped on the ground chosen for the intrenchment, on the road from *Cancalle* to *St. Malo*. On *Wednesday* morning, the *Duke of Marlborough* and *Lord George Sackville*, with the first



first column of the army, began their march towards St. *Malo*. Lord *Ancram* at the head of the second column advanced towards the same place, through the great road by the sea side, to the right of the village of *Dol*. The brigade of the guards occupied an encampment three miles to the left, on a spot of ground which was the most accessible avenue by which the enemy could fall upon the army. This night and next day, a detachment of troops set on fire above 100 sail of shipping, together with a great number of magazines filled with naval stores, at St. *Servand*, and *Solidore*, a kind of suburb to St. *Malo*, with a large and open harbour. They likewise took possession of a fort near the point of *Parame*, which the enemy had abandoned. In the mean time, the brigade left at *Cancalle* were employed in making the intrenchment, as well as in building two square redoubts, one horn-work and two batteries, for the defence of 1130 paces of ground. In the rear of the intrenchment were landing places, with high rocks and difficult communications toward the shore. The front was covered by a hollow way, flanked with houses, in which loop holes were made; a little further advanced was a fall of large trees cut down for the purpose. The left was secured by a deep escarpment: the center and the right defended by falls of trees, and the village of *Cancalle*, of very difficult access. Never was a finer situation for a small army to make a stand against any superiority of number.

The three brigades, encamped with the Duke of *Marlborough* at *Parame*, had no opportunity of acting. The light horse and out parties scoured the country, and brought in numbers of prisoners, but there was little prospect of being able to reduce St. *Malo*. The place, as we have already observed, is strong by its situation on a peninsula, almost surrounded by the sea, and having no communication with the

land but by a narrow dyke of about 6 or 700 yards in length; and it has also 250 pieces of cannon mounted on its ramparts. It is true it has no out works, and its fortifications are such as could not sustain a regular siege for any length of time: but it is strong by nature and art towards the sea. Upon *Friday*, Commodore *Howe* with the ships of war and artillery-transports, sailed from the bay of *Cancalle* towards St. *Malo*, with an intention to land the battering cannon; but the design of a formal siege was then thought impracticable. It would have taken up more time than upon the present plan it would have been prudent to bestow. The artillery could not be landed near the town; nor were there horses sufficient to draw it from any considerable distance: and before regular approaches could have been made, the enemy, in all probability, would have been able to assemble a force much superior to the *English* army. On these considerations, the General resigned all thoughts of attacking the town by land, and Commodore *Howe* sailed back to the bay of *Cancalle*. Some letters passed between the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Governor of the town, and an exact account was taken of the ships, vessels, store-houses, and magazines, which had been destroyed at St. *Servand*; whereby it appears, that incredible damage was done to the *French* in this excursion, however they may endeavour to conceal or extenuate the particulars of their loss.

St. *Malo* is the capital of the Bishoprick of that name, which is of considerable extent, and the soil about it produces most kinds of grain and fruits in great abundance. The most remarkable towns in the district and diocese of St. *Malo*, are St. *Servand*, *Cancalle*, *Chateauneuf*, *Dinan*, *Tintiniac*, *Combours*, *Montfort*, *Breal*, *Guer*, *Ploermel*, *Josselin*, &c. About five leagues in a direct line to the west of St. *Malo's*, lies

## S A I N T C A S T,

**A** Village containing about 2 or 300 inhabitants, which has but very lately acquired fame, from the defeat of a small party of *English* troops by a whole army of the *French*, in the year 1758.

The fleet under the command of Commodore *Howe*, together with the transports and troops, having returned to *England* on the 19th of *August*, from the expedition against *Cberbourg*; on the 31st of that month at six in the morning, sailed again for the coast of *France*. All that day and the night following, it had foul weather and a rolling sea; the next, it was heaved up the channel as far as the *Start*. The day after, the weather being more favourable, it made *Guernsey*, and towards night was in sight of *Jersey*. On *Sunday*, the third of *September*, it was off *Cape Frechal*, on the coast of *Bretagne*, and by six in the evening came to anchor in the bay of *St. Lunaire*, about two leagues from *St. Malo*. This bay is environed with rocks, and has very indifferent anchoring ground. The same night signal was made to the troops to remain on board, and soon after orders were issued to prepare for landing at break of day. Next morning early the flat-bottomed boats were got out; and between six and seven the greatest part of the army and about thirty horse went on board them, and lay for some time under the stern of the Commodore and the large ships. About nine o'clock, the Commodore having hoisted his flag on board one of the frigates, stood in, and the whole fleet weighed and followed. During this time and the greatest part of the day, a pro-

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digious quantity of rain fell, which greatly incommoded the troops, and had like to have damaged their ammunition. A boat or two was also overfet by a frigate in tacking, and four or five men lost, besides the accoutrements of several others, who were saved with great difficulty. It was also apprehended there would be some danger and difficulty in covering the landing on so rocky a coast; but two or three frigates and a bomb-ketch getting close in shore, the Commodore went on board the frigate, where his pendant was hoisted; the boats stood in, the landing was effected at noon, and the men, as soon as they got on shore, formed as fast as possible, and took possession of the high grounds on the beach, near the village of *St. Lunaire*. The remainder of the troops, and about 50 light horse with their field pieces were landed in the afternoon, and their tents in the evening. It was now evident though few were admitted, into the secret, that the design was against *St. Malo*. It was however given out, the better to conceal the real intention, that at *St. Briac*, about a league and a half from the army, there was a harbour where they might find a great number of ships; accordingly five companies of grenadiers under the command of Sir *William Boothby*, were detached that evening, and found there one three masted vessel, eight of two masts, and about four sloops, which they burnt, and returned next morning without molestation. A detachment of the grenadiers of the guards burnt likewise five barks the next day at another place: in the afternoon the works of *St. Malo*, and the forts at the mouth

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of the harbour were reconnoitred. In the month of *June* preceding it was judged, that an attempt upon *St. Malo* would be unsuccessful; though the army then was more numerous, and better provided with artillery; the consternation of the town and country greater, and the coast less guarded. It was however now proposed, that the ships should attack the forts; the bomb-ketches run in to bombard the town; the flat-bottomed boats be rowed up after the forts should be taken, so as to pass the place in the night, and transport the troops to the *St. Servand* side, where a blockade might be formed, and bomb batteries erected against the town. In opposition to this it was said, That the mouth of the river, which forms the basin from *St. Malo* to *St. Servand*, extended two miles in breadth, and the forts that defended the entrance were strong and numerous, considering the difficult navigation of the entrance, through which none of the pilots would undertake to conduct the ships: That the entry was defended by several batteries mounting in all about 50 pieces of large cannon; besides 40 planted on the west side of the town: That there were also seven armed vessels lying in the basin, the guns whereof might be brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raised on shore to the westward, or upon the ships that should enter by the usual channel. It appeared moreover, that the two deckers, which were intended to silence the batteries, were insufficient for that purpose; and, the town walls being 40 foot high, no attempt could be made upon them, until a breach was first made, nor was there yet any artillery on shore to make one. These considerations were sufficient to divert them from this design; but they were also informed that the Marquis *de la Chatre*, commandant of *St. Malo* and the adjacent places, upon the appearance of the British fleet, had drawn into the town, in the night

time, the regiment of *Boulonnois*, a battalion of the Militia of *Pontenai-le Comte*, the best part of the capitainerie of *Dinant*, and afterwards that of *Dol*. He had also armed a number of small vessels, and disposed them at proper distances about the mouth of the *Rance*, and a good way up that river.

The next scheme proposed by the *English* was to send in the *Brilliant* and two bomb vessels to bombard one of the forts and the town: but this plan appeared so hazardous, that it was also dropt. Some were then of opinion, that the safest and best measure now left was to reembark; but the ships, with the winds coming about, had been forced to weigh and stand off without the rocks; so that the Commodore and Prince *Edward* were obliged to lie that night on dirty straw in a hay-loft, as they were not able to get on board. The troops in the mean time were short of provisions, the peasants had drove away their cattle and abandoned the country, so that very little was brought to the camp, nor could they have any from their ships which were now at a distance. At the same time, the ground where the fleet lay at anchor, was so foul and rocky, that the people of the neighbourhood expected to see the ships dashed in pieces. The Commodore, therefore, unwilling to lie longer in so dangerous a situation, moved up to the bay of *St. Cast* about three leagues to the westward; and the army, having now laid aside their design upon *St. Malo*, resolved to penetrate further in the country, yet so as to keep near the fleet, in case it should be found necessary to reembark. Accordingly on the 7th, 300 grenadiers with pioneers, and proper officers, went in search of the road by which the whole body was to march. Next day at eight in the morning, the army was formed in a column, and about eleven o'clock began to move, preceded by 300 grenadiers of the line, and the quarter masters.

masters. They travelled under a heavy rain the whole day, and through a fatiguing road, till they came to a church situated near a gut of water made by the tide, which having waded through, an hour more brought them to their ground near St. *Guildo*.

The grenadiers had in front the village of *Guildo* on the other side of the river, where the tide flowed some fathoms deep in the channel, which was therefore fordable only at low water. From this village the *French* Militia or *Gardes des Cotes*, with a few regulars, fired some shot, but did no execution. The artillery which attended this march, were two field pieces, a few shot from which silenced the enemy for that night; but the rain was so heavy that many of the soldiers were obliged to quit their tents. The intention of the *English* was to pass this river next morning at six o'clock, and every necessary preparation was accordingly made; but when the hour came, they found they had mistaken the time of low water, and that they were some hours too late, which obliged them to wait till the afternoon. This day the *Maidstone* and a cutter stood in close by the abbey of St. *Jagu*, situated about half a mile from *Guildo*, on a neck of land, environed on two sides with the tide, and deep water towards the sea. All this day was calm, and it was the opinion of some of the seamen, that the troops could be taken on board at this place, with great safety; as many of the ships could stand in, and the boats get near, supposing nothing further to have been intended by land. And indeed, had it been resolved to embark here, or to make the most of the ground, and wait for the enemy, the army would have had the frigates at hand to answer the purpose of batteries, besides a village and intrenchments in their front.

The hour for passing the water being come, orders were issued for the troops to prime a fresh, and see that their

firelocks were in order; and for the grenadiers of the whole army to pass the ford opposite to the village of *Guildo*, whence the *Gardes des Cotes* had kept firing, but with little effect, all that day. The brigade of guards was to ford the river at the same time, lower down facing the wood of *Val*, where they must land on a beach, within thirty or forty yards of the edge of the wood, which had in it parties of armed peasants and Militia. At four o'clock the grenadiers marched to the ford, and entered it, after three or four discharges of their field pieces: in passing, however, they were harrassed by the enemies fire from the windows of the houses, and garden walls, whereby several of the men were wounded, among the rest Lord *Frederick Cavendish* in the thigh, and Captain *Daniel Jones* in the foot; nor did the firing cease, till the grenadiers got up to the village and scoured it. Captain *Caswell* had almost been lost in a quick-sand. Colonel *Julius Caesar* who marched at the head of the brigade of guards, as he drew near the water, observing the advantage he would give the enemy, should he attempt a passage over it in the face of the wood, filed off with his column more to the right, by which the guards not only found a better ford, but gained the opposite bank without any disturbance. The troops found the night so cold, especially after wading the river, that some of the men were obliged to quit their tents, and walk about the best part of the time. Such was the situation of the *English* army; let us now turn to that of the enemy.

The Duke *d'Aiguillon*, commandant of the province of *Bretagne*, having been informed by *M. de la Chatre* of the position of the British fleet, the descent made by the *English* troops, and of their subsequent movements, ordered the greatest part of the troops under his command to begin their march, and arrived on the eighth at *Lamballe* in the way from *Brest*



to *St. Malo*, about 33 leagues distant from the former, and twelve from the latter. This place was appointed for the rendezvous of a part of their troops. A battalion of the *Volontaires Etrangers*, having reached this spot by two forced marches, was sent with a squadron of dragoons under the command of the Count *d'Aubigny*, to take post at *Dinant*, a town considerably more to the right, between *Lamballe* and *St. Malo*, about eight leagues distant from the former, and four or five from the latter. This place was of consequence, as it commanded the passage over the *Rance*; it had, besides, some of their magazines, and was appointed the rendezvous of one of their columns. The Duke *d'Aiguillon*, upon advice brought him of the position of the army under General *Bligh*, at the river on the right of *Guildo*, went himself to *Plancoet*, on the same river, about a league and a half higher up, with two squadrons of dragoons, and 800 *Gardes des Cotes*. He ordered *M. d'Aubigny* to *Plouer* on the banks of the *Rance*, about half way between *Dinant* and the mouth of that river, with the regiment of *Brie*, the first battalion of the *Volontaires Etrangers*, that of *Marmande*, a Militia regiment, and three of the *Gardes des Cotes*, with two squadrons of dragoons. The *Chevalier de Polignac* was to advance with a detachment as far as *Pleurtuit*, and whilst these troops were inclining to the right nearer *St. Malo*, *M. de la Chatte* had orders to send out of that place the *Chevalier de Beon* with a detachment of the regiment of *Boulonnois* to *Ploubalec*, a village near the edge of the bay, between the river *Rance* and *Guildo*, a little more than a league from each, to the right of the *Chevalier de Polignac*. The principal object of these different detachments, was to disturb and disquiet the left of the British army. By these movements also the troops from *St. Malo* now formed a part of the column under *M. d'Aubigny*; *M. de Beon* occupied *Ploubalec*,

on the right by the sea; *M. d'Aubigny Plouet* or *Plouer*, on the left up the country; and *M. Polignac's* detachment advancing as far as *Pleurtuit* on the right of *Plouer*, took possession of the center. However, by the disposition of the *English* camp at *Val*, *Plancoet* becoming uncovered, the third battalion of *Volontaires Etrangers* marched thither in the night. The *Chevalier de St. Perh* was detached also in the night to take post at *St. Potan*, to watch the movements of the *English* army, to which we shall now return.

On the 10th in the morning about six o' clock, while the British army was filing off for *Matignon*, distant about three miles, and as many from *St. Cast*, accounts were brought that the enemy's advanced Piquets, and some horse, had been seen by the grenadiers, who were advancing with the quarter-masters to mark out the ground for that night's encampment. At the same time they had advice, that some of the flanking parties had been heard firing, and that some of the soldiers were wounded. Upon this the greatest part of the army marched on in full expectation of seeing the main body of the enemy, but the parties which occasioned the alarm soon wheeled off, and only shewed themselves now and then. Some of them fired at a Lieutenant and six or eight men, who had advanced too far to reconnoitre, and killed the officer. As the army advanced a little further, a body of infantry and a squadron of horse appeared, who having stood a few shot from the field pieces, wheeled off through *Matignon*. Hitherto, a great many of the *English* officers imagined that the disturbance they met with on their march proceeded only from the country people and militia, but about one o' clock a *French* prisoner was taken, who belonged to one of the regiments that encamped in that neighbourhood. and gave a list of the names of eleven battalions, and two or three squadrons of regular troops, that were with the Duke

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*d'Aiguillon* at the distance of a league and a half from the army. About three o'clock, they had certain intelligence, that at least 14 battalions of old regiments, and four squadrons, with twelve pieces of cannon and several mortars, were on their march from *Brest*, and close by. A priest, who had been sent by the enemy to inform himself of the situation and strength of the *British* army, and likewise fell into the hands of the *English*, confirmed these accounts, repeating the same regiments that the former prisoner, and several others had named, and further assured them of what they had been told by the people of *Matignon*, that the army from *Granville* and *St. Malo* was expected that night to join the other from *Brest*. Upon this it was proposed by *Major General Elliot*, at a meeting of some of the principal officers, that if it was not their intention to fight the *French* they should retreat immediately, and be as expeditious as possible in reembarking the troops. This advice appeared reasonable, and, in consequence of it, orders were dispatched to the shipping at *St. Cast*, to stand in for reembarking the army. It was also resolved that the General should be beat at three next morning, and the army march off at four. As it would have been imprudent to fight the *French* army, with so few field pieces as the *English* had with them at that time, not to mention other circumstances, the resolution now formed was very seasonable; for this very day, about noon, the *French* under *d'Aubigny* and *la Chatre*, consisting of about 3000 men, passed the river at *Guildo*, and the Duke *d'Aiguillon*, with whom this column was not yet joined, had with him the main body of the army. *D'Aubigny*, in order to join him, would have repassed this river, but the tide being then up, he was obliged to traverse the country, through other difficult and intricate roads; and fell in with the van-guard of the Duke's army at ten o'clock at night.

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In short, the whole *French* army were joined this evening, within a small distance of the *English*, and the Marquis *de Broc*, with eight companies of grenadiers, twelve piquets, and two hundred dragoons, was ordered, during this night, to disturb and disquiet as much as possible the advanced posts of General *Bligh's* army, and strictly to watch all their movements.

Next morning, being that of the 11th of *September*, the General was beat according to order in the *British* camp, at the appointed hour, and immediately upon it all the piquets came in; but the grenadiers of the army under Colonel *Griffin*, having been obliged, on account of continual alarms given them by their out posts, to lie on their arms, not only thought it unnecessary to beat the General, but even looked upon it to be the most prudent measure, as the plan now was to retreat from an enemy near at hand, to march off as silently as possible.

The army began to move at day break in one column, with the grenadiers in the rear; but though they had not above three miles to march, the halts and interruptions occasioned by bad roads, were so frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach till near nine o'clock. During this march, a small advanced party of the enemy fired upon them from an orchard, and were quickly repulsed, but no considerable body of *French* troops appeared, till the *English* had reached the shore. Immediately upon this the embarkation begun, but the boats were unluckily rowed too far in quest of their respective ships, when at such a critical time, they should have embarked the men in those they found nearest at hand. The transports did not return with that regularity or punctuality which was requisite, and when they came, some of them, it is said, were employed in carrying off horses and cows instead of men, notwithstanding

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all the attention of the sea officers, who behaved with great conduct and moderation. The small ships and bomb-ketches were ranged in shore to cover the embarkation; and it would have been well judged to have had all the cutters and small craft brought in towards the beach. Mean time the enemy appeared by a wind-mill on the left of the *English*, as they stood with their backs to sea, and played upon them with their artillery, almost all the time of the embarkation.

It was about nine o'clock, when the *French* dragoons first came in fight, and discovered the *English* fleet drawn up in a line, and their boats busy in reembarking the troops, who also appeared in order of battle on the beach, at the bottom of the bay, behind some sand-hills. The enemy's infantry soon followed the dragoons, and shewed themselves from the hills. The Duke *d'Aiguillon*, having reconnoitred the different passages by which his troops could descend to the attack, made his disposition as follows. *M. de Comte de Balleroy*, with the regiments of *Bourbon*, *Brissac*, *Bresse*, and *Quercy*, was to make his entrance by the right, as he faced the sea; *M. d'Aubigny*, with the regiments of *Boulonnois*, *Brie*, and the battalions of *Fontenai-le-Comte*, of *Marmande*, and the first of the *Volontaires Etrangers*, by the left. *M. de Broc* had orders to march with his detachment straight to the center of the *English* army. The *Chevalier de St. Pern*, was kept in reserve, with the second battalion of *Penthièvre*, and a third of the *Volontaires Etrangers*. The Marquis *de la Chatre*, not being confined to any column, was to move from place to place as there should be occasion. Whilst these dispositions were making, *M. de Villepatour* brought up the artillery from *Brest*, and *M. d'Urtuby*, that from *St. Malo*. They were planted on a battery below a mill, between the right and center of their army. The column on the left, came down the hill, about half an hour after

eleven, and were the first that shewed themselves on the beach, headed by fifty grenadiers of the *Volontaires Etrangers*, followed by the grenadiers of the *Boulonnois* and *Brie*. They began to march down partly covered by a hollow way on their left, intending to gain a wood, where they might form, and extend themselves along the front of the army; then to advance forward under shelter of the sand hills, which favoured them greatly. They were no sooner in motion, than the shipping began to play upon them with cannon and mortars, which produced great confusion. Their line of march down the hill was much staggered; and continued sometime in suspense. All the grenadiers of the *British* army, and a few companies of the first regiment of guards remained on shore, making about 1500 men, under the command of Major General *Dury*; who seeing the enemy advance, ordered them to face and march from behind a bank that covered them; but at the same time from its sloping position, rendered the rear ranks incapable of acting. At a moderate distance from these sand hills was the mouth of the lane or defile at the bottom of the hill, whence the enemy now began to come out; and they endeavoured to gain as fast as possible these little heights. The grenadiers of the guards on their right, faced this lane, and beat them off as fast as they attempted to come on, nor can it be denied that Colonel *Clavering*, who commanded them, shewed here great composure and steadiness, considering what a forlorn hope they were become. The enemy made several efforts of this sort, in which they suffered extremely, from the musquetry of the grenadiers. At last one of their officers, quicker sighted than the rest, perceiving the fruitlessness and fatality of these attempts, pulled off his hat, and waved it to his companions, then, instead of troubling himself with the sand bank, turned short to the right, and run along the shore

shore behind it; the rest followed him immediately, which gave liberty to the crouds that came down the hill, to extricate themselves from the defile, and form an extended line along the beach, opposite to the *English* army. The officer, who thus led the first column of the *French*, was killed, but the two other columns followed the first with great spirit and valour. The small remnant of the *British* army now on the beach, was drawn up on an uneven ground, and gave the enemy an irregular fire from right to left; this was soon returned, and the engagement continued for some time with doubtful success. The *French* having so great a superiority of number, the *English* troops were in danger of being surrounded and cut in pieces; it was therefore proposed to General *Dury*, that they should retreat along the beach towards a rock on their left. In this march, their flank might have been secured on one side by an intrenchment, on the other by the sea; and the enemy, in pursuing them, would have been exposed to the whole fire of the shipping, which, in all likelihood, they would have found difficult to be born. This advice was not followed, and now no prospect of victory or even escape remained, except by boats. Sir *John Armitage* was shot through the head in the beginning of the action, many of the officers fell, and a great many of the men were slain. At length their ammunition, which was far from being compleat, began to fail; upon which they were seized with a panic, broke, and fled in the utmost confusion. Some ran to the sea, and endeavoured to save their lives by swimming to the boats, which were ordered to give them all possible assistance. General *Dury*, being wounded, took to the sea, where he perished, and this was the fate of a great number. The *French* no sooner perceived the *English* giving way, than they pursued them, tho' in an irregular manner, and a conside-

erable slaughter ensued. The latter were killed both on the shore, and in the water, and many in swimming lost their lives, by shot and shells thrown from the enemies canon and mortars, for that purpose, as well as to sink the boats, one of which was destroyed. The slaughter would not have been so great, had not the frigates continued to fire occasionally on the enemy; for these being silenced by a signal from the Commodore, the *French* officers and soldiers exhibited instances of humanity and moderation, in giving quarter and protection to the conquered. Some hundreds of the *English*, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, wisely retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand, exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The loss of the *English* on this unfortunate occasion, amounted to about 700 choice troops killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; nor was this little advantage purchased at a cheap rate by the enemy. The shot from the frigates, and the shells from the bomb vessels, as the *French* marched down the hill, did considerable mischief among them, and the fire of the *English* troops had so great an effect, that their loss could not be inferior to that of the *English*, though they endeavoured as much as they could to lessen it. Commodore Lord *Howe*, perceiving that the sailors in the boats were a little staggered by the enemy's fire, ordered himself to be rowed in his own boat, and brought off as many men as it could carry; this was the last boat that came from the shore.

The action was very warm for the time it lasted, considering the great disproportion of numbers between the *English* and *French*; out of the former that were on the beach, half were either killed, wounded or taken prisoners. Among the first were Major General *Dury*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Wilkinson*: Lieutenant Colonel *Cary* was knocked down and received a bad contusion. Colonel Lord *Frederick Cavendish*,  
and



and the Lieutenant Colonels *Pierſon* and *Lambert*, with the Captains *Rowley*, *Mapleſon*, *Paſton*, and *Elphinstone* of the navy, were made priſoners. Theſe were the officers of rank among the *Engliſh* that ſuffered by this affair; but they had more than 40 officers in all killed or wounded, whereof fifteen died on the ſpot. The principal men among the *French* that ſuffered, were the Chevalier *de Redmont*, Maſhal de camp, and quartermaster General; the Marquis *de la Chatre* Brigadier, and Commandant of *Upper Bretagne*; the Chevalier *de la Tour d'Auvergne*, Colonel of the regiment of *Boulonnois*; the Chevalier *de Polignac*, Colonel of the regiment of *Brie*; the Marquis *de Montaigu*, the Marquis *de Luce*, *M. de la Bretonniere*, Governor of *Dinant*. Theſe were wounded, together with fifty more of lower rank. They had alſo ſeven killed on the ſpot, though not of any conſiderable rank. The regiments of infantry that came

from *Breſt*, were thoſe of *Bourbonnois*, *Royal-Vaiſſeaux*, *Briſſac*, *Breſſe*, *Quercy*, *Panthievre*, *Volontaires Etrangers*, and *Brie*, with two ſquadrons of dragoons, eight cannon, and as many mortars. Moſt of theſe regiments had two battalions; wherefore, when joined with the regiments that came from *St. Malo*, and the Militia and *Gardes des Cotes*, from both theſe places, the *French* muſt have had in the field a very conſiderable body of men. The nobility and gentry of *Bretagne* gave, upon this occaſion, great proofs of their valour and zeal for the ſervice of their King. Numbers of them repaired to *St. Malo*, upon the appearance of the *Engliſh* fleet, and entered as volunteers at the head of the grenadiers of the regiment of *Boulonnois*, with which they marched out of that town, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the battle; as did a great many others, who joined the Duke *d'Aiguillon's* army, on that and the preceding day.

## REFERENCES

To the PLAN of the Action at *St. Caſt*, represented in Plate 27.

- A the Center of the *French*, conſiſting of fix Companies of the Grenadiers, 12 Piquets, and 400 diſmounted Dragoons, under the Marquis *de Broc*.
- B The right Column of the *French*, conſiſting of eight Battalions under the Chevalier *de Balleroy*.
- C The left Column of the *French*, conſiſting of five Battalions under the Count *d'Aubigny*.
- D *Corps de Reſerve*, conſiſting of two Battalions under the Chevalier *de St. Pern*.
- E Firſt Situation of the *French* artillery under *M. de Ville Patour*.
- F Second Situation.

G Third Situation.

H *Engliſh* Column pushed back as far as the point *de la Garde*.

That the reader may not be miſſed, it will be proper to take notice, that the plan of the battle of *St. Caſt*, in plate XXVII. is copied from one published by the *French*, who, to magnify their ſucceſs, and add a luſtre to their victory, have represented the *Engliſh* as covered by entrenchments, which is entirely without foundation; they had neither time nor instruments neceſſary for drawing intrenchments; had not this been the caſe, it is more than probable the enemy would have had no victory to boaſt of.

About

About four leagues to the westward of *St. Cast*, stands the town of *St. Brieux* or *St. Brieuc*, which is said to owe its origin to a monastery, built by a Saint of name, that who, according to some accounts, was a native of *Ireland*, and to others, of *Great Britain*. This monastery is said to have been erected in the sixth century, and in the ninth, the village where it stood was raised to the rank of a city, and made the seat of a Bishop, who is one of the suffragans of the Metropolitan of *Tours*. Its Latin name is *Briocum*, or *Fanum sanctum Brioci*. The town stands on a bottom surrounded with hills which deprive it of the prospect of the sea, although it is not above half a league distant from it. The churches, the streets, and the squares, are very handsome; but the town, having no ditch nor walls, is not separated from its suburbs, except on the side next the convent of the Cordeliers, where there is a piece of a wall about an hundred yards in length. The church of *St. Michael*, stands in the suburbs of that name, and is the principal church in the town. The convent of the Cordeliers is well built, and has a spacious garden. There is also here a college for the education of youth, maintained at the expence of the town, and a small harbour, with a moderate trade. The Bishoprick of *St. Brieuc* is bounded by that of *St. Malo* on the east, by the diocese of *Vannes* on the south, those of *Treguier* and *Quimper* on the west, and by the sea on the north. The principal towns in it are *Moncontour*, *Lamballe*, and *Quintin*. The soil is fruitful, producing abundance of grain of all kinds, and fruit trees, from which the inhabitants make large quantities of cyder; but the principal branches of their trade are a kind of linen-cloth, and thread. The linen-cloth is principally made about *Quintin*, and the parishes of *Loudac*, *Uzel*, and *Alineuc*, and commonly bought by the mer-

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chants of *St. Malo* and sent to *Cadiz*, from whence it is conveyed to the *Spanish West-Indies*. The thread is prepared about *St. Brieux*, *Moncontour*, and *Lamballe*, whence it is conveyed to *Leon*, for the use of the manufactures in that country.

About nine leagues to the north-westward of *St. Brieux* lies *Treguier* formerly called *Lantriguier*, in Latin *Tricora* and *Tricorium*, antiently *Vorganium*, a very antient city on the northern coast of *Bretagne*, which has often suffered by the incursions of the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*. It is the seat of a Bishop, who is suffragan to the Metropolitan of *Tours*, and temporal Lord of the city. The town has a small harbour, but carries on no considerable trade, its inhabitants are reckoned to be about 2,200. The diocese of *Treguier* reaches almost from the gates of *St. Brieux* to the river of *Morlaix*, the soil produces great plenty of corn; so that the magazines of *Brest* are commonly furnished from it, and great quantities of that commodity are likewise conveyed to *St. Malo*, for victualling the ships. The country also abounds with hemp and flax, which turn out greatly to the profit of the inhabitants. *Lewis XIV.* is said to have purchased here, every year, 30,00000 pounds of the former for the magazines of *Brest*, and large quantities of the latter are conveyed to *Leon*, to be employed in the linen manufactures. Paper is also here, an important article of trade, large quantities of this commodity were formerly exported to *England* in time of peace, but of late the *English* generally manufacture their own paper. The diocese of *Treguier* also abounds in horses. They are stronger than those of the Bishoprick of *Leon*; but not so numerous. It is generally reckoned that two thirds of the horses that are yearly carried out of *Bretagne*, come from *Leon*, and one third from *Treguier*.

About ten leagues to the south west of *Treguier* stands the town of

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# M O R L A I X.

## M O R L A I X,

**I**N Latin *Mons relaxus* and *Marlovium*, a place of great consideration on account of the large trade carried on in it, and the number of its inhabitants, which are said to exceed 20,000. It is situated on the side of a hill, about two leagues from the sea, on a river which falls into the bay of *Toreau*. This river is deep enough to receive ships of 100 tons, which by means of the tide come up to the town. The church of *Notre-dame du Mur*, the most considerable in the place, is a very antient fabrick, and built in a particular manner. The spire passes for a piece of uncommon workmanship, and is about 253 feet in height. Some of the streets are very grand, and it is remarked of the suburb of *Viniee*, that it is as large as the town itself. The harbour is formed by the river and has on each side a quay faced with cut stone which affords the finest walk about the town. In the suburb just now mentioned stands the convent of the *Dominicans*, that of the *Capuchins*, and an hospital, which was reckoned one of the stateliest buildings of the whole province, but in the year 1731 a fire broke out in it with such violence, that it was entirely consumed in a few hours. From it the flames spread to the other houses of the street, and consumed a great many magazines of linen-cloth, thread and other valuable commodities. The town-house is a square building standing in an isle formed at the extremity of the town by the rivers of *Treguier* and *Leon*. A part of the waters of the former is separated from the rest by a

jettee, which alters its direction, and forces it into the channel of the *Leon*, and after having surrounded the town-house the two rivers unite and form what is generally called the river of *Morlaix*. The river of *Treguier* is called *Jarlot* and is formed by two streams, the one coming from *Plourig*, the other from *Plouigneau* two leagues above *Morlaix*. It is not navigable; but has strength enough to turn two paper and nine corn mills. The river of *Leon*, takes its rise from a fountain near the abbey of *Relec*, about four miles from *Morlaix*, on the side next the *Quimper*. It is pretended that this stream washes the border of the three Bishopricks of *Leon*, *Treguier*, and *Quimper*. Be this as it will, the river is not navigable above *Morlaix*; but it supplies with water ten paper mills, four for grinding corn, and a machine for making snuff. The house wherein the manufactory of tobacco is carried on, stands near the convent of the *Capuchins*, and has nothing remarkable about it, though it employs, almost continually, 8 or 900 hands. The markets that are held here on *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays* contribute greatly to the riches of the town of *Morlaix*. It is reckoned, that the commodities disposed of at these markets amount to 100000 crowns every week, the principal of these commodities are linen cloth and thread, the former is sold at the town house, and no pieces are allowed to appear at market till they have been first examined by the proper officers, and stamped with the seal of the town. The thread

thread market is held in a lane, which, on that account, is called thread street. The castle of *Toreau* which defends the mouth of the river, is of a form nearly oval, and stands upon a rock near the sea, about three leagues distant from the town. Within it are some houses or buildings which serve for magazines, and barracks for the accommodation of the garrison. The corporation of *Morlaix* were at the expence of building this fort, in the reign of *Charles IX.* who, on this account made some grants in their favour, and particularly conferred on them the privilege of electing their own magistrates; but this privilege was taken from them in the time of *Lewis XIV.*

The road lies near the mouth of the river of *Morlaix*. It is very large, has good anchoring ground, and the vessels that ride in it are secured from all winds. A late *French* author thinks it would be easy to improve the harbour of *Morlaix*, by the addition of an excellent basin, which he thinks might be had at a very moderate expence, but the project is rather too long to be inserted here\*.

In the year 1522, the town of *Morlaix* suffered greatly by a descent of the *English*. The jealousies which the Kings of *England* and *France* conceived upon the election of *Charles* of *Austria*, who succeeded his grandfather *Maximilian* in the empire, united these two princes for some time. But two or three years after, *Henry VIII.* to whose arbitration the *French* King had submitted the differences betwixt him and *Charles V.* declared war against *France*. And an *English* fleet was sent to cruise upon the coasts of *Normandy* and *Bretagne*. Intelligence having been brought to this fleet, that the greatest part of the merchants of *Morlaix* were gone to the fair at *Noyal*, at the distance of seventeen or

eighteen leagues, and that the Count *de Laval*, who was then governor of *Bretagne*, held a general convention of the nobility at *Guingamp*; they resolved to take advantage of this favourable opportunity, and sailed directly to the mouth of the river of *Morlaix*, where having landed on the 4th of *July*, at nine o' clock in the morning, they sent before them some of their number, disguised in the habits of merchants to seize the gates of the town, which was only two leagues distant from the place of their landing. The main body followed at some distance, and as soon as the gates were secured, poured into the town. The surprize and consternation of the inhabitants was so great, that, without dreaming of making head against the enemy, they thought of nothing but saving themselves and concealing their money. No sort of resistance was made but by one Ecclesiastic, who, as the *French* Historians pretend, having seized a musquet slew five or six of the *English*, and was then killed himself. The enemy upon this pillaged the town at their leisure, and carried a great booty on board of their ships, then having committed the greatest disorders and set fire to several places of the city, particularly the church of *Notre dame du Mur*, retired about midnight with a great many prisoners, leaving a few of their number drunk and asleep in a wood near the place, where they were all put to the sword next morning. Whilst they were employed in ravaging the town, one of the inhabitants found means to escape, and carry the dismal news, that very day, to the Count *de Laval* at *Guingamp*, the Count immediately put himself at the head of the nobility and gentry, who were convened there, and arrived next day at *Morlaix*, but the *English* were then gone, and he could see nothing but the wretched remains of the town, which, except the suburbs, was almost entirely reduced ashes.

During

\* See Nouvelle Description de la France, tom. VIII. p. 400 et seqq.



During the wars between *Henry IV.* and the partizans of the league, the city of *Morlaix* had espoused the interest of the latter, and continued attached to it till the year 1594, when the Marshal *d'Aumont* having reduced some other places in *Bretagne*, came before the town of *Morlaix*, and in a few days having made himself master of it, vigorously attacked the castle. The Duke *de Mercœur*, immediately marched to its relief with 3000 *French*, and 5000 *Spaniards*, commanded by *Juan del aquila*; but as the two commanders were too weak to undertake any thing singly, they could do as little when their troops were joined. For besides the contrariety in the tempers of the two nations, the quarrels and jealousies between the chief Captains were such, that there was no sort of mutual confidence between them, and each was equally forward to traverse the other's measures and to promote the interest of his own party; because the Infanta of *Spain* and the Duke *de Mercœur* had each of them pretensions to the Dutchy of *Bretagne*; the former as the descendant of *John de Montfort*, by her grandmother *Anne* of *Bretagne*, and the latter in right of his wife, the lineal heiress of *Charles* of *Blois*, who was killed by *Montfort*. So that, while the suspicions they had of one another made them march slowly, and they could not agree upon the

method of attacking the Marshal, a reinforcement was sent him from *England*, under the command of *Norris*, and the Marshal, finding now his strength nearly equal to theirs, resolved to give them battle. Upon this, the *Spanish* General, who was determined to run no hazards for the interest of the Duke *de Mercœur*, refused absolutely to fight, and proposed to retreat. As they were decamping, 200 horse, among whom were six and twenty Gentlemen, the Marshal had sent to reconnoitre, threw themselves rashly into the middle of the enemy's troops, and were all killed or made prisoners, which gave the Duke some comfort, amidst his other afflictions, and the Marshal durst not treat the besieged with the utmost rigour, as he had sworn he would, but gave them all their lives, and detained the officers only till the enemy restored the Gentlemen just now mentioned, whom he generously ransomed at the expence of all the plunder of the place. Having thus reduced the castle, he put a garrison of Royalists in it, under the command of *Montgomery-Corboson*, and gave the government of the town and the adjacent country to *M. Cotenisan*, one of the richest men of the whole province.

About four leagues to the north west of *Morlaix* stands the town of

## ST. P A U L D E L E O N,

**I**N Latin *Legio*, upon the north coast of *Bretagne*, the capital of a country called the *Leonnois*. One of the name of *Paul*, famous for his piety, was the first Bishop of it,

and from him the town is called *St. Paul de Leon*. The Bishop of this diocese, who has his seat here, is also temporal Lord of the town. The church of *Notre dame* of

of *Creis-Ker*, remarkable for its steeple, which is perhaps the boldest, and certainly the highest, and most beautiful, in *Europe*, stands now at the end of the town; tho' it was formerly in the middle of it, as its name, in the *Celtick* language, seems to import. An ancient author ascribes the first foundation of this church to one *St. Gueroch*, said to have been canon and grand-vicar of *St. Paul*, who died about the middle of the sixth century. *Albert* the Great, a Dominican of *Morlaix*, who wrote the history of the Saints of *Bretagne*, asserts that this church of *Creis-Ker*, having received great damage by several accidents, was rebuilt with greater magnificence than at first, by *John* Duke of *Bretagne*, surnamed the Conqueror, who, according to some historians, died in the year 1399. Others, from several circumstances and characters of antiquity, which they observe about the steeple already mentioned, will have it to be of much older standing: the common tradition is that it was built by the *English*, when they were possessed of *Bretagne*. Most part of the steeples of that country have been built in imitation of this, but they have all come far short of the original. The architecture of this uncommon pile of building is Gothick, but has something in it so surprising, that the late Marshal *de Vauban*, who was a most excellent judge in matters of this kind, often said it was the boldest piece of architecture he had ever seen. It is commonly called the *Devil's-tower*; concerning which expression a late Author observes \*, that it was the custom in *Europe* to ascribe extraordinary effects of nature or art to the devil; whereas in *Asia* it was equally common to call such extraordinary effects the works of God, whereof we have a great many instances in sacred scripture. We shall

\* *Piganiol de la force*.

further observe that some part appears to be broke off from the top of it, which is owing to its having suffered several times by thunder. In former times several families had a right to bury in the church of *Creis-Ker*; but for some time past this practice has been laid aside. *Creis-Ker* having never been a parish, or collegiate church, is now employed by the seminary of the *Jesuits*, to which the benefice belonging to it was annexed by a late bishop of *Leon*, with the consent of the magistrates of the town.

It may be justly said that the town of *Leon* would be of little consequence, were it not for the neighbourhood of the harbour of *Roscof* or *Roscou*, which serves it instead of a suburb, and is one of the most noted ports on the coast of *Bretagne*, especially as it lies so near the road of *Raz*, which is the general resort of most vessels that come into, or sail out of, the *British* channel. So that upon the whole, were the quay of *Roscof* compleated, it would be one of the best harbours in the kingdom. As matters stand at present, it has this particular advantage, that ships may go out of it with any wind.

The soil of the diocese of *Leon* scarce produces as much grain, as is necessary for supporting the inhabitants. All those parts of that country, that are fit for producing flax, are sowed with lint-seed imported from *Courland*, because that which grows at home does not succeed. The principal riches of the country consist in the trade the inhabitants carry on in horses, paper, and linen cloth. Two thirds of all the horses that are yearly carried out of *Bretagne* are from the diocese of *Leon*: and it is said that no less than 10 or 12,000 are sold at the fairs of *Folgouet* and other places of that Bishoprick. They also manufacture large quantities of paper, the greatest part of which was formerly conveyed to *Morlaix*, and from thence to *England*; but since the woollen



cloths of *England* have been prohibited in *France*, this branch of trade comes to little account. A great part of the linens of the diocese of *Leon* are vended at *Landerneau*, *St. Paul de Leon*, *Brest*, and *Morlaix*. The principal manufactures for sail cloth are established at *Loncrenan*, and *Pondeaux*; and from these places the arsenal of *Brest* is supplied with all its stores of this kind.

In the year 1375, the Duke of *Bretagne*, being then at war with *France*, had a supply of 3000 archers sent him from *England*, with whom after taking the castle of *St. Mabe*, and putting the garrison to the sword, he marched against *St. Paul de Leon*, which having also refused to submit, he

took by assault, and treated the inhabitants with great severity.

Between the town of *St. Paul de Leon*, and the sea, there is a large tract of ground, formerly inhabited, which is now covered with sand, so that nothing appears but the tops of some chimneys. This sand is continually gaining upon the country, and has already reached within half a league of the town of *Leon*, so that there is ground to apprehend, the inhabitants of that place will, in time, be obliged to abandon it, and seek for new inhabitants.

About twelve leagues to the south west of *Leon* stands the famous town of

## B R E S T,

**B**RESTIA, by some supposed to be the *Brivates portus*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*. It is a seaport town seated on the north side of a large commodious bay, which opens to the ocean, in the most westerly part of the continent of *France*. It has long been a place of some consequence and strength, but far from making the figure it does at present. So late as the year 1630, the King of *France* had no establishment there, nor so much as one ship either in the road or harbour. Next year Cardinal *Richelieu*, observing it to be a place capable of great improvement, ordered a magazine to be built there, and resolved to carry the harbour to great perfection. With this view he removed the royal palace from *St. Renan* to *Brest*, and gave great privileges to the merchants and tradesmen that were willing to settle there. Formerly there was but one parish church in the town,

which was that belonging to the castle. The second built in it was that of the *Seven Saints*, which is a priory in the nomination of the Prior of the *Benedictines*, of the abbey of *St. Matthew*, antiently called *St. Mabe in finibus terræ*. This church was repaired about 140 years ago, and greatly beautified especially in the inside. After *Brest* was enclosed in walls, the privileges of the parish church of *Lambazellec* were transferred to it, and *Lambazellec* became a vicarage to *Brest* which formerly had depended upon it. The Mayor of *Brest* is chosen every two years, and immediately after his election, repairs to the church of the *Seven Saints*, at the door whereof is a stone, on which is impressed the print of a man's foot about two inches deep. Whatever be the meaning of this ceremony, or the origin of a custom seemingly so insignificant, if not ridiculous, the new Mayor is always obliged

to put his foot into this print. The church of *St. Louis* is considered as the parish church of the town and famous for the disputes which the Jesuits have had with the inhabitants. The expence of building it amounted to 30,000 livres, to defray which the late King by letters patent of the 26th of *February* 1686, empowered, for a limited time, the Magistrates of *Brest* to levy a tax of eight livres upon every ton of wine and six upon the like quantity of beer and cyder consumed in the place. *Lambazellec* is a village about three quarters of a league distant from *Brest*: the living belonging to it was worth 900 crowns a year, and this with some casualties is the principal revenue of the rector of *Brest*. The suburb of *Recouvrance* is now considered as a part of *Brest*. It formerly was a vicarage of the parish of *St. Peter* of *Quilbignon*; but the latter now depends upon it. The rector lives at *Recouvrance*, as the principal church, and keeps a vicar or curate at *Quilbignon*. The rector of *Recouvrance* is independent of the rector of *Brest*; only he is obliged to attend him with his clergy on Ascension day. There is also another church in the *Recouvrance*, dedicated to the Virgin, with a living of two thousand livres a year, in the nomination of the Lords of *Chatel*, who are the superiors of *Recouvrance*.

The city of *Brest* is but little, yet it is the most considerable town in the diocese of *St. Paul de Leon*. Its harbour is one of the best in *France*; the castle, which defends the mouth of it, on the side next the sea, is built upon a rugged rock, and it is secured on the land side by a good ditch and strong fortifications. This harbour is also famous for the excellency of its road, which affords great security to the largest naval armaments. It lies on the south side of the town; and the river *Pinfield*, which empties itself into it, serves it instead of a basin. The whole road is near eight

leagues in circumference, and vessels may anchor in it in eight, ten or fifteen fathom water, even when the tide is quite spent, which is depth enough for any vessel however large. It is however a great disadvantage to this road, that the entrance into it, which lies west-south-west, and east-north-east, is difficult and dangerous on account of the rocks, called the *fillettes*, and the *Maingan*, which never appear above water but at spring tides. It is also an imperfection in this road, that it is not covered sufficiently from high winds, which raise the sea to a great pitch, and distress the ships riding at anchor.

The Jesuits have here a beautiful house and a charming garden. It is a seminary, wherein they keep a great number of Ecclesiastics ready to go on board such ships as have occasion for Chaplains. This seminary was first set up in the Collegiate church of *Folgoet*; but it was afterwards transferred to *Brest*, that it might be at hand to serve the ships which might want its assistance, and be useful to the publick; for every one knows what great armaments were fitted out at *Brest*, in the reign of *Lewis XIV*. In this seminary there are commonly twelve Jesuits, who are generally employed, either in instructing the young Chaplains or in preaching and confessing; but there is one of them whose business it is to teach the sea officers the principles of the Mathematicks.

The town of *Brest* is about five leagues distant from *St. Mabe*, and twelve from *Quimper*. It was made choice of as a proper place for an arsenal for all sorts of naval stores; not only on account of the excellency of its harbour, which far exceeds all those in the *French* dominions, except that at *Toulon*; but also on account of the conveniencies which the country adjacent affords for that purpose, particularly the large woods wherewith it abounds, as well as the iron mines and



and other commodities useful in ship building. The streets of *Brest* are narrow, badly laid out, and few in number. Its situation on the side of a hill accounts for their declivity. The great street and that of *Siam* are the most beautiful in the town, and the most handsome and best built houses are those of Intendant, the Count de *St. Pierre*, and Madame de *Chapiseau*. The barefooted *Carmelites* have a convent near the castle. The church belonging to it is not large, but very neat and well lighted, and the society is very numerous, exceeding regular, and said to be of great use to the inhabitants. Travellers, who are curious, may see at *Brest* the largest ship in the world, called the *Royal Lewis*; we could wish, we were sufficiently authorised to give all the dimensions of it; but we are only told, that it is bored for 120 guns, whereof the lower tire are forty eight pounders.

The present state of the fortifications of *Brest* are so plainly laid down in the annexed plan, that it is altogether unnecessary to attempt a particular description of them; it will be sufficient for our purpose to observe, that the town and suburbs of *Recouvrance*, are enclosed with a strong rampart, defended by fifteen bastions, and nine half-moons, with a broad and deep ditch cut out of the rock, and a glacis. The harbour is covered with two beautiful stone quays, surrounded with large magazines, well stored with every thing necessary for naval armaments, and the entrance into it is guarded, on one side, by a strong castle, vaulted and made bomb proof throughout, and, on the other, by a large tower well provided with cannon.

*John III.* Duke of *Bretagne* dying without issue in the year 1341; the succession was claimed by his youngest and only surviving brother, *John* Earl of *Montfort*, and by *Joanna*, his niece by an elder brother, the wife of *Charles de Chastillon*, brother to *Lewis* Earl of *Blois*, and generally called

*Charles de Blois*. Without enquiring into the merits of their several pretensions, *Charles* had one great advantage over his rival, in that he was nephew to *Philip de Valois*, who was to decide the dispute, and this very consideration engaged the greatest part of the Barons of *Bretagne* to declare for him. *John de Montfort* on the other hand, having had the good fortune to get possession of the late Duke's treasures at *Limoges*, immediately drew together a considerable number of troops, and made himself master of several places without opposition; then, encreasing his army with the garrisons of towns already conquered, marched from *Chateau-Ceaux*, and laid siege to *Brest*. The garrison of that place consisted of 300 men, under the command of *Walter de Clifton*, an officer of great reputation, who being summoned to deliver the town and castle to his lawful Sovereign, the Duke of *Bretagne*; answered, "That he would not give up the place "without the order of his master to whom it of right "belonged." The Earl of *Montfort*, upon this, made his dispositions to attack the place; and *Clifton* on the other hand, having armed his garrison, and assigned them their several posts, sallied out himself at the head of 40 men, and made a great slaughter among the enemies; but numbers at last prevailing, he was obliged to retreat, and was pursued by the enemy to the very gate, at which most of this party entered: but the garrison apprehending the enemy would enter along with them, too hastily let down the falling gate, and unhappily excluded their governor with part of his men, several of whom were killed, and the rest wounded. The besieged, as soon as they found their mistake, threw large stones from the top of the wall in such numbers that the besiegers were obliged to give way, and then drew up the gate and took in their Governor, whom they found dangerously wounded. Next day, the Earl of *Montfort*, hearing that

that *Cliffon* was dead, resolved to take advantage of the consternation, which this loss would occasion among the garrison, and press the siege with the greatest vigour. With this view he brought forward his machines, began to lay bridges over the ditch to get at the foot of the wall, and summoned the garrison a second time to surrender. The latter, having demanded a short cessation of arms, to deliberate upon the state of their affairs, at last agreed to give up the place, upon condition, that they should have liberty to remove with their arms and baggage; which being granted, the Earl entered the place, and having left a strong garrison in it, marched directly to *Rennes*, and from that to *Hennebon*, *Vannes*, *Goy la forest* & *Carbais*.

Having succeeded in all these attempts, and obliged almost the whole country to submit to him; that he might have an ally and friend able to support him against the *French* King, of whose attachment to the interest of his rival he had no reason to doubt; he went to *England*, where he entered into alliance with *Edward III.* acknowledged him as King of *France* and did homage to him. These things were not so secretly transacted but *Philip de Valois* got notice of them, and if he was disaffected to the Earl of *Montfort's* cause before, his resentment was now carried to a very high pitch against him. However, that the accustomed formalities might be observed, he ordered the two competitors to be summoned before the Court of Peers, at *Paris*, to defend their rights and receive judgment. *Montfort*, very imprudently, upon receipt of this summons, repaired to *Paris*, imagining, that what he had done in *England* was still a secret; but, his first audience of the King gave him reason to apprehend, the latter was better informed than he was aware of. *Philip* told him he had no just pretensions to *Bretagne*, ordered him not to stir from *Paris*, and appointed a day for

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deciding the cause. It was easy for *Montfort* to see, from this treatment, to what danger his cause and person were exposed at *Paris*; and therefore taking a sudden resolution, he made his escape under the disguise of a merchant, and retired to *Bretagne*. His absence did not in the least hinder the decision of the affair in favour of *Charles de Blois*, who was declared Duke of *Bretagne*, and directly admitted to do homage. Soon after, *John*, the eldest son of *Philip de Valois*, being authorised to execute the decree in favour of *Charles de Blois*, entered *Bretagne* at the head of a powerful army, and *Montfort* retired to *Nantes*, where, that city being soon after reduced, he was made prisoner, conducted to *Paris*, and committed to the great tower of the *Louvre*.

This event would doubtless have ended the quarrel between the two candidates, had not *Margaret of Flanders*, the wife of *John de Montfort*, a woman far above her sex for courage, valour, and every military virtue, undertaken to support her husband's interests, in spite of the bad situation of his affairs; and when the *French* King flattered himself that he should meet with no more resistance in *Bretagne*, put herself at the head of the party, which seemed to be entirely ruined, and maintained her husband's cause with as much honour and ability as he could have done himself. After taking the most effectual measures to secure the places in *Bretagne*, which were still in her hands, and confirm her husband's friends in a steady attachment to the interests of his family, she made a voyage to *England* with her son a child of four years of age, renewed her husband's treaty with King *Edward*, and among other things positively engaged to put into the hands of the *English*, all the places in *Bretagne* which still remained in her power. In consequence of this treaty, the town of *Brest*, among others, received an *English* garrison, and continued under the protec-

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tion of that crown many years, during which time it sustained several sieges.

In the year 1372, the King of *France*, highly provoked, that the Earl of *Montfort*, the Son of *John de Montfort* already mentioned, continued steadfast in his engagements with *England*, found means to gain the greatest part of the nobility to his interest, and next year sent *Bertram de Guesclin*, Constable of *France*, into *Bretagne*, at the head of a powerful army, intending to make an intire conquest of that country. The Earl, seeing this storm ready to break upon him, was obliged to retire to *England*; and the Constable having taken *Rennes*, *Dinan*, *Mabé*, *Quimper*, *Hennebon*, and *Cancarneau*, laid siege to *Brest*, in which *Robert Knolle*, and *M. de Neuville* had shut up themselves at the head of a garrison of 400 men. The constable having invested the town, left the *seigneur de Clifton*, and some of his best officers with 6000 men to prosecute the siege, and marched himself with the rest of his army to *Nantes*. After his departure, the siege of *Brest* proceeded but slowly, the besiegers gaining but small advantages: the besieged, however, tired out with hard duty and long confinement, would have gladly seen an end of it. In this situation of affairs, *Knolle* the governor, hearing of the capitulation of *Derval*, sent notice to the besiegers that he was willing to enter into a treaty of the same kind for *Brest*. The latter having returned for answer, that they could do nothing without the Constable, he obtained a safe conduct for four commissioners, whereof two were *English* Gentlemen, to attend the Constable at *Nantes*, where they agreed upon the following capitulation, viz. "That the garrison should surrender the town and castle to the *French*, at the expiration of forty days, if during that time they should not be relieved by an army capable to raise the siege, and give the Constable battle. To this it was added, "that, during the forty days truce, no stores or

" provisions should be carried into the town; and that for the punctual performance of these articles the garrison should give hostages". But long before the expiration of the forty days, the Earl of *Salisbury*, having received a reinforcement from *England* of 1000 men at arms, and 2000 archers, sailed directly to *Brest*, where he landed his troops, and encamped before the town. Every night he retired to his ships, and in the day time drew up his army in order of battle before the place. The Constable had by this time dismissed the greatest part of his army, and was besieging *Becherel*, little expecting that the Earl of *Salisbury* would come to offer him battle: however, when the time was near expiring, he put his army in motion as if he intended to fight, but, as he only wanted an excuse, he encamped at a great distance from the *English*, and confined himself to that camp for seven days together. The Earl did not think himself obliged to go in quest of his adversary, the treaty by no means obliging him to it; he therefore satisfied himself with acquainting the Constable, "That he waited for him before *Brest*, and was ready to give him battle, and therefore expected he would come and fight him, or return the hostages." The Constable, like a true *French* politician, ordered the Herald to acquaint the *English* General, "That he had a great ambition to meet him in the field, but, that the Earl, if he chused to fight, should offer battle at the place where the treaty was concluded." The Herald, having returned this answer, was sent back to tell the constable, "That the pretence he used was quite unreasonable and unprecedented; but the *English*, for their part, were ready to give him battle in the remotest corner of *Bretagne*. If he should think proper to furnish them with horses, they would meet him at any place he should please to appoint." The other replied, "That

“ That he was not obliged to be so complaisant to his enemies; that, if he should, his conduct would be blamed, “ and, were he to comply with this demand, he should expect hostages for his horses.” The Herald told him he had no instructions upon this subject, and again summoned him to return the hostages to *Knolle*; but without effect. The Earl provoked by such conduct entered the town as soon as the forty days were elapsed, and supplied it with men, and ammunition of all sorts. The Constable on the other hand retired, carrying with him the hostages, and complaining of the Earl for not observing the treaty. The latter, after this, put to sea again to guard the coasts, and *Knolle* shut himself up in the castle of *Delvar*.

In 1377 the *French* built several forts round *Brest*, to cut off all communication between it and the country adjacent: but they could not block it up so effectually by sea, that the *English* could not supply it with men and all sorts of provisions. Accordingly a strong reinforcement was sent to it about this time, under the command of an *English* Gentleman of the name of *Clark*. In the year 1378 *Richard II.* having succeeded his grandfather, *Edward III.* in the throne of *England*, the Earl of *Montfort* renewed his treaty with *England*, one of the articles whereof was, that the Earl should deliver up the town and castle of *Brest* into the hands of the young King of *England*, to be kept by him during the war, but on this express condition, that after the establishment of a solid peace, that place should return to the said Duke or his successors, only in case the Duke should, in the mean time, die without issue, the castle should then remain in the hands of the King of *England*; but in return for *Brest*, *Richard II.* obliged himself to give the Duke and Dutchess of *Bretagne* his consort, a castle with lands in *England* to the value of 700 marks of yearly revenue, so long as the *English* should be possessed of

*Brest*. This treaty continued in force till the year 1381 after the famous battle of *Auray*, in which *Charles de Blois* lost his life, when the Earl of *Montfort* entered into a treaty with the *French* King, by which it was agreed that the former should make some concessions to the widow of *Charles de Blois*, renounce his engagements with *England*, send home all the troops of that nation that were in his dominions, and do homage to the *French* King; and, on the other hand, that the latter should acknowledge the said *John* of *Montfort* rightful Duke of *Bretagne*, admit him to do homage for the dominions thereto belonging; and support him in the possession of them.

In consequence of this treaty, the Duke having several times demanded the restitution of *Brest* from the *English* without success, resolved to take it by force; and with this view invested it with a powerful army in the month of *June* 1386. But as he found no probability of succeeding by open force, he endeavoured to reduce it by famine, and built a large fort, with a wall defended by seven large towers, which he thought would so effectually block up the town, that no provisions could possibly be conveyed into it. It is said that a thousand workmen were employed upon this fort for nineteen days together, and guarded by an army of ten thousand men. Be this as it may, the fort being compleated, the Duke left in it a garrison of 300 men, under the command of *John de Malestroit*. It is not certain, of what number the garrison of *Brest* consisted, but one of the name of *Roche* commanded in it, and it was not long before the blockade was raised. The Duke of *Lancaster*, in his way to *Portugal*, with a great fleet, to join his arms with those of the *Portuguese*, and ascertain his claim to the kingdom of *Castile*, arrived in the harbour of *Brest*, and next day landed his army. Some pretend that the forts which had been built to block up *Brest*, might have held out ten years if they had



been well defended: others say, they were not completed when the Duke of *Lancaster* arrived. Whatever be in this, the *English*, soon after their landing, found means to sap the foundation of one of the towers so that it fell down, and made a great slaughter among those that defended the fort, and the survivors were obliged to enter into a treaty with them, whereby they agreed to pay the Duke of *Lancaster* 20000 crowns of gold, and demolish the fortification they had built to block up the place, upon condition that they should have liberty to retire with all their baggage and provisions.

The Duke, thus disappointed of his first design upon *Brest*, resolved to attack it again next year; but, having found by experience, that to block up the town by land signified little, so long as succours and provisions could be conveyed to it by sea; he took care to build at this time a fort of wood, which he expected would effectually block up the harbour, and two others of stone, to straiten it by land: but in *April* following the Earls of *Arundel* and *Devonshire*, at the head of an *English* fleet, demolished the three forts, supplied the place with provisions for two years, and returned without loss to *England*. The Duke not discouraged with this, rebuilt his forts, as soon as the *English* fleet retired, but Lord *Piercy*, the eldest son to the Earl of *Northumberland*, having made a visit to *Brest* next autumn, destroyed the fort of wood, and having taken one of the other two, put a garrison in it, and set sail for *England*. The Duke of *Bretagne*, being thus twice disappointed in his designs of recovering *Brest* by force of arms, made no further attempts of this kind, and the *English* continued in peaceable possession of it till the year 1396, when it was restored to him by King *Richard*, upon the receipt of ten thousand four hundred franks of gold at one payment, and twenty four

thousand six hundred and six crowns at another, and the Duke conveyed the garrison to *England*, at his own expence.

Thus was *Bretagne* evacuated by the *English*, which gave great joy to the inhabitants of that country: but the restitution of *Brest* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and of *Cherbourg* to the King of *Navarre*, which was made about the same time, were resented in a different manner in *England*. The *English* thought that, though these two places belonged not originally to the kingdom, they had been at so great an expence in aiding the princes to whom they appertained, that they might have been justly kept till the whole was paid. The dissatisfaction was the more general that the sum received for these restitutions was but inconsiderable, and idly lavished away in needless expences. It is true the King of *England* pretended, that his engagement to restore these places after a peace, or a long truce with *France*, made this restitution necessary; but it was well known that the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Bretagne* had broke through their engagements first. *Brest* was also taken by the *French* in the year 1489: the *Bretons*, soon after, endeavoured to recover it, but in vain: it continued in the hands of *Charles VII.* of *France*, and his successor, till it was restored by treaty in 1498.

We hear little of *Brest* from this period till the times of the League. The King's party had secured it for him, soon after the death of *Henry III.* but his enemies formed several designs to wrest it out of his hands. In the year 1592, particularly, the partisans of the League invested it with an army of 6000 men; but *M. Rene-de Rieux-Sourdeac*, at that time governor of the place, acted with such consummate prudence and valour, that his enemies had no reason to boast of their success. The assailants at first attacked the suburbs of *Recouvrance* with great spirit, but met with such a warm reception that all the rest of the siege they managed their af-

fairs

fairs with much greater circumspection, and their principal hopes of success were founded upon a persuasion, that the place was only victualled for fourteen days at most. But when, contrary to their expectation, they had been many weeks before it with very little advantage, they proposed to the Governor a truce, to which he consented, on condition that it should not begin till four days after at five o' clock in the morning, because, as he said, he had already concerted a project which he intended to execute in that time. Meanwhile he ordered the inhabitants of the town to be joyful, and indulge themselves in all kind of festivity with dancing and musick, which they continued all the night before the truce was to begin, and till the morning was a good way advanced. The besiegers, who for the first four days, had been much upon their guard, seeing that a profuse mirth continued among the townsmen, when the beginning of the truce was so near, believed the Governor had formed no design against them, or found no means to put it in execution; and therefore began to make good cheer and get drunk. So that about day-break, when they were all buried in wine and sleep, *Sourdeac*, with his garrison sallied out upon them at three different places, and fell upon the nearest quarter of the besiegers with such vigour, that he left between three and four hundred of them dead upon the spot. His next attack, upon one of their intrenchments near the village of *Guipansois*, did not succeed so well, for in it he lost a hundred Gentlemen, and officers; but, a little after, policy and valour combined together gained him a compleat victory. He sent a number of emissaries into their quarters, who published slyly among the common soldiers all kinds of reports they thought proper to inspire them with a diffidence in their officers and engage them to mutiny. Again when he found that the length of

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the siege, which had made but very little progress in five months time, had tired out the common men, he ordered corn to be proclaimed in the town, at three half crowns the bushel, though it sold for twice as much in the country. The common soldiers in the besiegers camp cried out that they were abused and deceived, refused to obey their officers, and said openly that they must cut the throats of the gentry, who had betrayed them into this expedition, and marry their wives, that they might be masters in their turn. In short, when every thing was like to go into confusion among the besiegers, *Sourdeac* attacked one of their quarters in which there were 2000 men, and carried it, with the slaughter of four or five hundred of these unhappy wretches. Those who survived this calamity, having learned at their cost, how dangerous it was to invade the office of their superiors, and intrude upon the affairs of the great, insured their safety by an eight years truce, which they bought at the expence of eight thousand crowns a year. A little after, seven large ships from *Fescamp* in *Normandy*, having entered the harbour of *Camaret*, to distress *Brest*, which is only three leagues distant from it, he equipped five vessels, with which Captain *Bauf* attacked the *Normans* so successfully, that he took four of their ships, and sunk one, so that only two escaped to carry home the news of their shameful defeat. These advantages gained great reputation to the King's arms, and contributed much to keep the country in subjection.

The Partizans of the League being disappointed of their design of getting *Brest* into their hands, thought the next best was to make it of as little use as possible to the opposite party. Those who are acquainted with the situation of the bay of *Brest*, will remember, that opposite to *Conquet*, upon the end of the large promontory, which divides the gulph into two parts, there is a point, near *Camaret*,

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which



which commands the whole bay, and consequently the entry into the road of *Brest*; so that whoever is well established in that post, may oblige all the ships that double the point of *Conquet*, to pay him tribute. A part of the *Spanish* army which came to assist the party of the League, having well considered all the advantages of this post, did not fail to take advantage of it, and build on it a fortification, which from the name of a neighbouring village, they called fort *Crodon*. The nature of the place obliged them to build it in a triangular form, which of all others is capable of the least defence. It stood upon a rock 500 *French* yards in length, and 150 in breadth, quite surrounded by the sea, except on the side adjoining to the land; on this front they had built two bastions in the form of *Tenailles*, and made a gate in the middle of the curtain, which they covered with two half moons. But tho' the fort was of no great extent, and they had been employed about it more than a year, the works were not yet entirely faced with stone, nor the ditches quite finished; because not being able to procure the materials in the country about, they were obliged to bring the lime and cut stone from *Spain*, besides, that they found great difficulty in laying the foundations, and digging the ditches, the ground being either solid rock, or full of very hard stones. Add to all this that for fear of discovering to the *French* the inside of their fort, they employed none but *Spaniards* in carrying on the works. This was the state of fort *Crodon* in the year 1594, when the Marshal *d'Aumont* undertook to lay siege to it, at the earnest application of the inhabitants of *Bretagne*, who solicited him to deliver the province from this yoke, and particularly of *Sourdeac*, who offered to furnish him with ammunition and cannon to destroy a fort that was like to be so severe a check upon his fortrefs of *Brest*. The siege was lengthened out beyond the expectation

of the assailants, by the valour of 400 veteran troops of *Spain*, of which the garrison consisted, and a number of accidents which could neither be foreseen nor easily prevented. For after carrying the outworks with much trouble, the Marshal could not compleat his trenches in less than fifteen days; because not having above a foot depth of earth, he was obliged to cover them with gabions, and sand bags. After this his powder magazine was blown up by the carelessness of one of the gunners. This misfortune, was succeeded by rainy weather, which for several days interrupted the works of the besiegers, and upon the back of this, the *Spaniards* made a furious sally, in which they destroyed a part of the assailants works, and cut in pieces a whole quarter of their camp. Add to all this, that, during the whole siege the besieged distressed their adversaries greatly, with many small pieces of artillery which they called *Espringales*, and *falcons*, easily transported from place to place, and very hard to be dismounted; so that the Marshal's army, diminished by the loss of the men who were daily slain, and more still by the departure of the Volunteers, who could not bear the fatigues of war for a long time together, was reduced to 2500 fighting men. Meantime *Juan del Aquila*, the *Spanish* General having leisure to assemble his troops, began his march to relieve the fort, but the Duke de *Merceur* disappointed him, and amused him till the opportunity was lost. The *Spaniard* likewise tried to make a diversion, but neither did that succeed. Soon after *Sourdeac*, *Molac*, and some other of the nobility of the province having brought fresh troops and provisions to the camp of the besiegers, the Marshal, having now nothing to fear from the *Spanish* army, ordered a general assault to be given. Three times were the assailants repulsed and the ditch filled with 400 dead bodies among whom was *Martin Forbisher* an *English* Captain, famous for his voyages

voyages and discoveries by sea. At last the besieged, without losing their courage, overcome with fatigue, and quite out of breath, gave way at the fourth attack, and were almost all put to the sword. The place was delivered to *Sourdeac*, who no sooner had it put into his hands, than he employed all the Peasants in the neighbourhood to demolish it entirely.

We shall now conclude the history of *Brest* with the unfortunate attempt made against it in 1694. King *William* on his return from *Flanders* the preceeding year, being informed of the taking of the *Smyrna* fleet by the *French*; appointed *Edward Russel*, Esq; Admiral and commander in chief of the fleet that should put to sea next spring. Soon after it was resolved, that a descent should be made on the *French* coast, to blot out the memory of several unlucky accidents that had lately happened; and, if possible to erect a fort upon a promontory near *Brest*, which should effectually block up that harbour, and render it impracticable for the *French* King to assemble his fleet there. Accordingly on the first of *May* following, the Admiral, having joined the fleet at *St. Helens* consisting of fifty two *English*, and forty one *Dutch* ships of the line, besides frigates, fire ships and smaller vessels; the land forces being also compleatly embarked, and every thing ready, sailed with the whole fleet, after giving the necessary directions for separating, at a proper place, the squadron to be commanded by Lord *Berkeley* which was intended against *Brest*. On the last day of that month, a council of war was held on board the *Britannia*, wherein it was resolved, that the fleet designed for *Brest* should immediately proceed to *Camaret* bay, and land the forces on board under the direction of Lieutenant General *Talmash*.

In consequence of this resolution Lord *Berkley* left the grand fleet, on the 5th of *June*, taking with him twenty

nine *English* and *Dutch* men of war of the line, besides small frigates, fire ships, machines, tenders, well-boats, and five bomb ketches. On the 6th a council of war was held, in which measures were concerted for landing the forces, and it was particularly agreed, that Lord *Cutts* should command six hundred grenadiers, and Lieutenant General *Talmash* advance in person, at the head of the troops that were designed to support them. On the 7th the fleet came to an anchor between the bay of *Camaret* and that of *Bertaume*, the *French* playing upon them with bombs from four batteries. The Marquis of *Carmarthen* asked leave of the Admiral to go into *Camaret* bay, to observe the situation of the forts and the posture of the enemy. On his Lordship's return and making his report, the Admiral ordered two sixty gun ships to go in, and cover the boats while the troops were landing; but the Marquis objecting, that this was too small a force, a council of war was called on the 8th, wherein it was resolved to employ in this service three *English*, and as many *Dutch* frigates, besides the two men of war already mentioned. One of these, however, the *Richmond*, deserted the post assigned her and the Marquis of *Carmarthen* carried in the other five, and posted them in their proper places; which tho' a necessary, was a very dangerous service, for at their going in, a bomb broke over the *Monk*, a great piece of which struck through her poop, and two decks more, and came out again into the water near one of the stern ports on the larboard side in the gun-room, killing three marines, and one of them by the side of the Marquis. So soon as the *Monk* got into the bay, and came up with the western point, *Camaret* fort fired upon her very warmly; and when the rest of the ships were properly posted, they were surpris'd to find themselves plaid upon by three batteries, not one of which was discovered till they felt the shot from it. These military compliments they returned with



with great spirit, and by keeping a brisk and continual fire, covered the troops in their landing, which was not, however, performed with that regularity that might have been expected. The reason was, that the *French* had been well informed of the design against them, and such delays had been made in embarking the *English* forces, that when they came upon the enemy's coast, they found the *French* every where covered with impregnable entrenchments, and supported by a body of regular troops more numerous than that of the forces intended for the descent.

This was represented to Lieutenant General *Talmash* in the council of war, and he was advised not to expose himself or his men, but he answered, " This advice comes too late, the honour of the *English* nation is at stake, therefore I must, and will land. I know that I sacrifice myself and the men, but it is necessary, and must be done, that both our enemies and allies may know that even desperate undertakings cannot daunt *English* courage." He embarked on board the small vessels, with about 800 men, and landed as many of them as he could; but to very little purpose, for several of the well-boats sticking, all that were in them were either killed or wounded, before they could get to shore; and those that did land were very soon driven back to their boats, and with much difficulty carried off again. Among the wounded was Lieutenant General *Talmash* himself, who received a shot in his thigh, of which he soon after died. The Marquis of *Carmarthen*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, whose courage no man ever called in question, tells us, on this occasion, that had the *English* force been double to what it was, the attempt would have been found impracticable. When the men on board the ships saw a few boats come off again, and the whole affair over, they began to be out of heart, and the Marquis had

much ado to bring them out of the bay. The *Monk* had not either a yard or a sail; but was towed off; the rest of the vessels were also brought off with great difficulty, except a *Dutch* vessel called the *Teesep* of 30 guns, which had twelve feet water in her hold, all her men being killed except eight, and of half an *English* company, that was left accidentally on board her, only an Ensign, a drummer, and a private man escaped; so that they were obliged to leave her behind. A council of war being called in the evening, it was resolved therein to return to *Spithead*. The loss on this occasion was computed at 700 of the land forces, killed, wounded, and taken, and about 400 killed and wounded aboard of the ships.

The Marquis de *Quincy*, who is at once the most exact and the most moderate of all the *French* writers, informs us, that at the time this attempt was made, *M. de Vauban* had taken care to put the town of *Brest* into an excellent state of defence, it was surrounded with strong walls, good ramparts, large and deep ditches cut in the rock, with bastions and half moons at proper distances. He had erected a new battery of sixteen pieces of cannon, and six mortars on the bastion of the town, next the castle, between it and the grand battery, with several smaller batteries in other places. He had likewise taken care, to render all the vaults in the castle bomb-proof, and had made the best dispositions possible of ninety mortars, and 300 pieces of cannon. As for the vessels in the harbour, they were placed out of the reach even of bombs; and with respect to men, he had 1400 bombardiers, 3000 Gentlemen who served as volunteers, and of regular troops, 4000 foot and a regiment of dragoons, General *Talmash's* landing therefore with 800 men, might be well called a sacrifice, and yet more than half of these men, could never be got on shore; we must there-

therefore admit, that when the Marquis says 400 were killed, 548 soldiers, and 40 officers made prisoners, he carries the thing a little too far. Father *Daniel*, however, and some other writers carry it as far, and indeed most of them agree in computing the loss of the *English* at 2000. As to what they say of ships being sunk, and hundreds of men drowned in the retreat, they are mere ornament necessary to a *French* detail; as their having but forty five men killed in the action is another stroke of the marvellous, which every reader, perhaps, will not be in the humour to credit. After this unlucky attempt, the unfortunate wounded General proposed, that a small squadron of frigates and bomb-vessels might be sent into the harbour of *Brest*, to bombard that town; but this was judged to be a rash, and as things stood, an impracticable undertaking; therefore Lord *Berkley* sailed immediately for the coast of *England*, and on the 15th of *June*, arrived at *St. Helens*.

Not only the coast of *Brest* and the Gullet is secured by forts, built at proper distances along the shore, but also a great part of the bay. On the south side are the fort and entrenchment of *Quelerne*, and the fort at *Camaret*. On the north side the batteries of *Noailles*, *Porzic*, *Nevent*, *Lion*, the castle of *Bertheaume*, and the fort at *Conquet*, which is five leagues distant from *Brest*.

Almost opposite to this last fort, at a small distance from the shore, lies the island of *Ushant*, or *Ouessant*, in Latin *Uxantus*, *Uxautissima*. It has communicated its name to some other small ones, round it, which generally go under the title of the isles of *Ushant*. The principal island is exceeding steep and rugged, on that side which lies next the main land, so that two persons can hardly get upon it at once, in any place: on the west side, next the sea, the shore is plain and smooth; but even there, it is dangerous to land on account of several large chains of rocks, which

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cannot be easily avoided. There is no work of public utility to be seen in the whole place, but a light-house, built by order of *Lewis XIV.* under the direction of *M. de Vauban*. The island is reckoned to be near seven leagues in circumference, a league and a half in length, and one in breadth. The soil is fruitful, and produces the necessaries of life, in sufficient plenty, for the support of the inhabitants, who do not exceed six or seven hundred. It abounds with excellent fresh water, and fine meadow ground, but there are no trees to be seen upon it, except some shrubs in the Governor's garden. The mutton of the island is exceeding good but very small; the inhabitants have likewise an excellent breed of horses, but these are also of little size, and many of them are purchased by the *Grandeers*, for teaching their children to ride. In general all the brute animals produced in this island are remarkably little, and said to be barren, when they are transported to the Continent. The inhabitants speak the old *Celtick* language, and their morals are much more pure and uncorrupted, than those of the rest of the kingdom. They have scarce any notion of fraud, injustice, theft, adultery, and other crimes which are but too common in *France* and other countries. In a word, their honest simplicity, candor and ingenuity, surprises all that have any acquaintance with the polite part of the world. Many years have not passed since the first public notary shewed his face in the island; and stamped paper, taxes and imposts, with all their ruinous consequences, made their appearance about the same time. They come sometimes to the continent to sell their commodities, especially their sheep, but have nothing singular or remarkable in their cloathing, except the uncommon plainness and simplicity which both sexes observe in their dress. They still retain some usages, which have a great resemblance to those of remote anti-

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quity.



quity. A *French* author takes particular notice, that they bake their bread under the ashes, after the manner of the antient Hebrews. Though they have priests among them, they may be said to live in the most stupid and astonishing ignorance of every thing that concerns religion; so that if, according to a noted Roman Catholick maxim, ignorance is the mother of devotion, they are the most devout people, perhaps, in Europe. It is not long since they had several statues representing the old divinities of Paganism, which at the desire of the Bishop of *Leon*, were transported by the proprietor of the island to one of the estates of the Count de *Rieux-Sourdeac*, where they are still to be seen by the curious. Notwithstanding what has been already observed, concerning the little size of the brute creatures produced here, the rational inhabitants are very tall, and well proportioned. The children, in the isle of *Ushant*, are not taken from the beast, till they arrive at the age of four years; and their marriages have this peculiarity, that the women court the young men, and the first proposal always comes from them. When a young woman intends to make love, she goes, in company with some of her relations, to the

young man, when he is in bed, and carries with her some bread, wine, and such sweetmeats as the island affords; if he approves of her, he eats with her and drinks a glass of her wine; and in this event, the marriage is soon after consummated: if not, he expresses his dislike by refusing to partake of her entertainment.

Before we return to the Continent, we shall take notice of another small island on the other side of the bay of *Brest*, opposite to the large promontory, which forms the Northern boundary of the bay of *Andierne*, at a little distance from the shore. It is called the isle of *Saints*, and is about a quarter of a league in length, and in breadth little more than an hundred yards. It is inhabited by sixty families, containing near three hundred and fifty souls. The men are entirely employed in fishing; in Lent they carry their fish to *Brest* and *Landernean*. From Easter to the end of *June* they fish for *Ling*, which they salt and dry in the same manner as they do cod, and send to *Bourdeaux*, *Robelle*, and *Nantes*; and from the beginning of *July* to the end of *September* for *Congre* eels, which they dry without salt, and export to *Spain*.

REFERENCES to the PLAN of *Brest*, Plate XXXIV.

A The Jesuits College.  
B Barracks for the Marine Guards.  
C Private Magazine for ships.  
D Church of *St. Louis*.  
E Old Rope Yard.  
F Wet Dock.  
G The King's House.  
H General Magazine.

I Mast Store House.  
K Watering Place for the Cattle  
L Magazine for old Stores.  
M The Arsenal.  
N The Carmelite Friars.  
O The Church of the Seven Saints.  
P The Victualling Office.  
Q The Powder Magazine.

About twelve leagues south-south-east from *Brest* lies the city of

QUIMPER

## QUIMPER CORENTIN,

**S**ITUATED at the confluence of the *Oder*, and the little river of *Benaudet*, between two and three leagues from the sea; in the latitude of 47 degrees 57 minutes north, and 4 degrees 4 minutes to the westward of the meridian of *London*. Some learned men are of opinion that it is built upon, or near the spot, on which stood the ancient city of *Vagoritum*, the capital of the *Curiosolites* or *Arvii*, a nation whereof *Cæsar* and *Pliny* make mention, under the former name, and thought to be the same with that to which *Ptolemy* applies the latter. It contains about six thousand inhabitants, and is considered as the capital of *Lower Bretagne*. Its Cathedral is dedicated to *St. Corentin*, the first Bishop and patron of the Diocese, who is thought by the inhabitants to have been the disciple of *St. Martin*. It seems to have been one of the earliest fortified towns in the country. Those who understand the old Celtick dialect gather this from its name, which signifies, *inclosed in walls*. Be this as it may, it appears to have been in former times a place of some consequence and considerable strength.

It suffered much during the dispute between *John de Montfort*, and *Charles de Blois*, concerning the succession of *John III. Duke of Bretagne*, of which we have taken some notice in the preceding article. In the year 1343, while *John de Montfort* was prisoner in the castle of *Leuvre*, *Charles de Blois* entered *Bretagne* with a powerful army, and laid siege to *Quimper*. After having invested the place, and observed that that side of the town which was washed with the tide

at high water was the weakest, he resolved to assault it there next morning early. It is pretended that, according to the course of the tides, it ought to have been high water at the time he intended his attack, and his friends accordingly represented to him, that he could make no attempt at that place without exposing his army to imminent danger, to which he answered, "This resolution I am determined not to alter, and by the grace of God, the sea will do us no hurt." The assault was accordingly begun at the time appointed, and the town carried after six hours vigorous resistance, during which time the besiegers suffered no inconvenience from the tide; which was afterwards considered as a miracle by those who declared for the canonization of *Charles de Blois*. His troops however exercised terrible cruelties in the town, and slew more than 1400 persons, wherein no exception was made of age or sex; and the carnage would have been still greater, if *Charles* himself, shocked with the sight of an infant sucking the breast of its mother lately slain, had not put a stop to the barbarity of his troops. As soon as he was master of the place, he went to the Cathedral Church, where having assembled all the clergy, he forbid his soldiers, on the pain of death, to do the least injury to them either with respect to their persons or goods. He even carried his regard for the Church so very far, that having thought proper to demolish a part of the fortifications of the town, because they were very extensive and required too great a garrison, he chose to dismantle that part of



of it which belonged to himself, rather than injure the property of the Bishop and Chapter, who were proprietors of half the place. After this conquest *Charles* set out for *Paris*, carrying with him several prisoners of considerable rank. Next year, however, the Earl of *Montfort*, having escaped out of prison, gathered together the *English* troops that were in *Bretagne*, and those of his friends, who were in condition to join him, and laid siege to *Quimper*. He attacked it on the east side towards mount *Fougin*: but it is pretended, the Clergy having prayed with more than ordinary fervency against him, the *Oder*, which runs on that side of the town, swelled to such a pitch, that it destroyed his works, and obliged him to raise the siege. Others say, with greater probability, that a part of *Charles's* army drawn together, marched to the relief of the place, and upon their approach, the besiegers thought proper to retire and consult their safety.

The Earl of *Montfort* did not long survive this and his other disappointments; but his son *John* Earl of *Montfort*, after a glorious struggle for near twenty years, against all the power of *France*, in which he was supported by his father-in-law, *Edward III.* of *England*, not only restored his family to his former lustre, but also obtained the peaceable possession of the Dukedom of *Bretagne*. This prince, having, in the year 1364, gained the famous battle of *Auray*, wherein his competitor *Charles de Blois* was slain, and his army entirely defeated, improved his victory to so good purpose that, in a very little time, he made himself master of *Malestroit*, *Redon*, *Iugon*, and *Dinan*, and then laid siege to *Quimper*, which, after a vigorous defence, at last surrendered by capitulation. This success was soon followed by a peace, whereby the King of *France* having acknowledged him Duke of *Bretagne*, and admitted him to homage, the *Bretons* universally submitted to his Government. But the war break-

ing out afresh, in 1373, *Quimper* was once more taken by the *French* army, under the command of the Constable *Bertram de Gueslin*, and not restored till the peace in the year 1381.

*Quimper* is the seat of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of *Tours*, but this diocese is always called the Bishoprick of *Cornuaille*, because it comprehends the county of that name. It consists of more than two hundred parishes, and the bishop's yearly revenue amounts to 14000 livres. The Chapter is composed of six dignitaries and twelve Canons. The Jesuits have here a beautiful college, and the Cordeliers and Capuchins a convent. The inhabitants that live near the sea, employ a great part of their time in fishing for *Pilchards*, those in the inland country breed up great numbers of cattle. The country also abounds with corn, a great part of which is conveyed to *Gascogne*, in return for wine. The most remarkable places on the coast are *Audierne* *Château-lin*, *Faou*, *Porte-croix*, *Pont-l'abbé*, *Bovarnez*, *Daonlay*, *Croson*, *Concarneau*, and *Quimperlay*. All these places, tho' several of them are but villages, are well situated, and have harbours capable of admitting vessels of some burden; the most considerable are *Concarneau* and *Quimperlay*.

The first of these is of very old standing, and perhaps this is the reason why it cannot be now ascertained when or by whom it was built. It stands by the sea side, on a kind of peninsula, about four leagues from *Quimper-Corentin*, six from *Quimperlay*, eleven from *Port-Louis*, and as many from *l'Orient*. It is fortified with ramparts of stone, flanked with some towers, and the gate is covered with a kind of half-moon. What time it was first fortified is unknown, but some new works were added in the time the of Dutchess *Anne*, who married *Charles VIII.* of *France*. There are not above thirty three houses in the town,

but, at least an hundred and twenty six in the suburbs, to which there is a great resort for the convenience of trade; both taken together contain about five hundred inhabitants, and of these, including the sailors, three hundred are said to be able to bear arms. The only branch of trade, the inhabitants deal in is that of *Pilchards*, whereof, in common years, they fish about six hundred barrels; sometimes their fishing has amounted to fifteen hundred. The harbour of *Cancarneau* admits ships of a considerable burden, and the whole town is surrounded by the sea, every time of high tide; which forms an inundation, that no enemy can prevent. Tho' this is but a little town, there is generally a garrison in it, but there are no barracks for the infantry, nor stables for the horse. The officers and soldiers are quartered on the citizens, only the Governor has an apartment in a building belonging to the King.

The arsenal is a fabrick near fifty eight feet, French measure, in length, and about eighteen in breadth. The ground floor, is designed for carriages of cannon, platforms and other utensils for the artillery. Over this is a small armoury containing almost four hundred stands of fire arms, and swords: on the same floor is the apartment for the guard of the artillery. Over all is a garret for match, axes, shovels, pick-axes, and other necessities of the like nature. There is also, on this floor, a small magazine of six feet in breadth and ten in length, for stowing balls and grenades; and last of all, a powder magazine, not bomb-proof, large enough to contain fifteen or sixteen thousand weight, disposed in barrels of two hundred weight each.

The other (viz.) *Quimperlay* is a small town, in the same diocese, containing between six and seven hundred inhabitants, standing on the little river of *Isotte*, about two leagues from the sea, and eight from *Quimper*, in the way to *Port N° XXXVIII.*

*Louis.* The Benedictines of the Congregation of *St. Maur* have an abbey at *Quimperlay*, called the abbey *de Saint Croix*, founded in the XI. century.

In the year 1240, the Lord of *Chateaufneuf*, one of the Duke of *Bretagne's* vessels rose in rebellion against him, and among other calamities this civil war brought upon the country, the town of *Quimperlay* was entirely burnt.

During the war betwixt *John de Montfort*, and *Charles de Blois*, this little town, like other places in *Bretagne*, was forced to submit to several revolutions; but it was particularly signalized by a bloody battle fought near it, in the year 1342.

Among the nobility and general officers, who attended the Duke of *Normandy*, when he marched to execute the *French* King's sentence in favour of *Charles de Blois*, and put him in possession of the dominions of *Bretagne*, there was a *Spanish* Prince, or grandee, whom historians commonly mention under the name of *Lewis of Spain*. This officer, whatever he was, having in the year 1342, reduced *Dinan* a place, at that time, but very poorly fortified, three days thereafter, invested *Gnerrande* by land, and, that the place might receive no succours by sea, seized some merchant ships belonging to *Poictou* and *Rochelle*, which happened to be at *Croisic*, and put on board them a part of the *Spanish* and *Genoese* troops that attended him in this expedition. The town was soon after taken by assault and given up to the cruelty of the soldiers, who pillaged it and put all the inhabitants to the sword without exception of age or sex. *Lewis* in particular found himself greatly enriched by the booty, and knowing of no other place, in that neighbourhood, which he could have a pretence to plunder in the same cruel manner, embarked his whole army on board of the ships he had seized at *Croisic*, and sallied directly to *Quimperlay*, where, having

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landed



landed his troops, he ravaged the whole country, plundering and burning, wherever he went, without resistance. *Walter de Mauny* and *Almery de Clifton*, who had lately brought a strong reinforcement of *English* to the assistance of the Countess of *Montfort*, hearing of the havoc *Lewis* made in the country determined to put a stop to his depredations. With this view they embarked with the *English* troops, and soon arrived at *Quimperlay*, where having seized the enemies ships, and put to the sword those that were left to guard them, they were astonished at the prodigious booty they found on board. Then leaving 300 archers to keep possession of the ships, they landed their troops, and, having divided their men into three bodies, marched by different routs in quest of the *Spaniards*. *Lewis*, informed of their approach, assembled his forces, and began to move towards the ships, but before he could get to the harbour, he fell in with one of the bodies of the *English*, and seeing it was impossible to avoid a battle, made his dispositions accordingly. The *Spaniards* animated by the example of their officers, and the desperate circumstance to which they were reduced, fought with great resolution, and would have overpowered the first body that attacked them, had it not been quickly reinforced by the two

other divisions who had been directed by the country people where to find the enemy. Then the *English* archers, and men at arms, exerted themselves with such vigour, that the *Spaniards* and *Genoese* were entirely defeated, and the greatest part of those that escaped the hands of the enemy were knocked on the head by the peasants; so that of 6000 men not quite 300 escaped; *Lewis*, with the few that remained, took the way to the harbour, in hopes of getting on board the ships, but had the mortification to find them likewise in the hands of the enemy. However the loss of the ships, of the battle, and of his nephew, whom he tenderly loved, did not so far discourage him as to render him incapable of taking the most proper measures for escaping the hands of the conquerors. He got on board a ship, which he luckily found empty in the harbour, with a few of his men, and put immediately to sea. *Mauny* pursued him to *Redon*, and expected to have come up with him there, but *Lewis*, as soon as he arrived, got post horses, and escaped to *Rennes*, leaving the greatest part of his attendants to the mercy of the *English*.

About three leagues from *Quimperlay*, and eleven from *Quimper* stands the little burrough of

## P O R T L ' O R I E N T,

**SITUATED** at the bottom of the bay of *Port-Louis*, at the mouth of the river *Pencroff*, called also *Scorff*. It is defended on one side by *Port-Louis*, so that there is no possibility of attacking it by sea, without being first master of the other. It is a little place, but well laid out. It contains

about thirty good houses, the rest are but very indifferent. It was given to the old India company, in the year 1666; but that company having given up all its priviledges to that, which, at its first institution, was called the *Mississipi* and now the *India* company, or simply the company, because

because it has swallowed up all the rest. This company has made *l'Orient* its place of arms and magazine General. Here are built large store-houses, built of stone, and covered with slate; fine houses for the company's officers, an excellent rope walk, and a beautiful and convenient mast-shade. The inhabitants are, almost all, sailors, fishermen, or artificers employed in the building, careening, rigging or laying up of ships. The publick buildings, that is, the magazines, docks, dock-yard, &c. lie on the side of the town next the harbour, and basin; they are bounded on three sides, by the sea, for some time before and after high water; at other times with deep mud, and that part of the town, which is adjacent to the country is secured by good ramparts, flanked by seven bastions, surrounded with a dry ditch and *Glacis*. The two gates leading to the country are covered with as many half-moons.

This place became famous in the last war, by an unsuccessful attempt made upon it by a body of *English* troops, under the command of Lieutenant General *Sinclair*.

The reduction of *Cape Breton*, in 1745, had encouraged the *English* ministry to form projects against next year, for the conquest of *Quebec*, the capital of *Canada*. With this view, commissions were sent to the Governors of the *British* colonies in *North America*, empowering them to raise companies to join the armament from *England*; and 8000 troops were actually raised in consequence of these directions, while a powerful squadron, and transports having six regiments on board, were prepared at *Portsmouth* for this expedition. But their departure being postponed by unaccountable delays, until the season was too far advanced to risk the great ships on the boisterous coast of *North-America*; that the armament might not be wholly useless to the nation, it was thought proper to employ it to make a descent on the

coast of *Bretagne*, on the supposition that *Port l'Orient*, the repository of all the ships and stores belonging to the *French East India Company*, might be surprized, or that this invasion would alarm the enemy, and by making a diversion, facilitate the operations of Count *Brown*, the *Austrian General* in *Provence*; as well as draw a considerable detachment from *Marthal Saxe's* army in *Flanders*, which was superior to that of the Allies.

The naval force intended for this service consisted of sixteen great ships, and eight frigates, besides bomb-ketches and store ships, commanded by *Richard Lestock*, appointed Admiral of the blue division. Six battalions of land troops with a detachment of *Matrosses* and *Bombardiers* were embarked in thirty transports, under the conduct of Lieutenant General *Sinclair*. The whole fleet sailed from *Plymouth* on the 14th day of *September* 1746, and on the 18th day of the same month, found themselves within four leagues of *Port Louis*, where they met with Commodore *Cotes*, who had founded the coast and fixed on a proper place for landing, about ten miles from *l'Orient*. The Admiral being unacquainted with the coast, and not thinking it advisable to approach it in the night; the General next day went on board of him, to concert measures for disembarking the troops. At this interview it was agreed that the two sloops, the bomb-tender and cutter, should go as near shore as possible next morning, to cover the boats with the troops; but early on the 20th, a large body of *Militia* and some cavalry appearing on the shore, the Admiral thought proper to add three forty gun ships to what had already been ordered, to cover the landing, which was performed in a bay about the distance of ten miles from port *l'Orient*. The *French Militia*, reinforced by some detachments from different regiments, were assembled to the number of 2000, and seemed



seemed resolved to oppose the disembarkation, but their intentions were frustrated by a finesse, that did no small credit to the General.

There were three places convenient for disembarking the land forces. The farthest from *l'Orient* was a sandy bay, bounded on one side by the river of *Quimperlay*; on the other by a rising ground, which separated it from a second little bay. This second was divided from the third by an arm of the sea, which runs above a mile up the country, and by an eminence, on which were planted two cannon. This arm of the sea, though fordable at low water, was at high water quite the contrary. The two last mentioned landing places, were lined with Militia, and *Gardes des Côtes*, the furthest from *l'Orient* was unoccupied. The wind blew along the coast towards *l'Orient*: all the boats, on which were between five and six hundred men, were ordered to rendezvous at one of the *Folkstone* cutters, which was anchored the most to windward, opposite to the bay, adjoining to the river of *Quimperlay*. The wind blew fresh, and it required a considerable time for some of the boats to reach the place of rendezvous, as their being filled with men, prevented the seamen from setting any sail. While the rowers were pulling with difficulty against the wind, the enemy perceived it was the intention to land in the unoccupied bay, the most distant from the town, and therefore determined to change their disposition. The body that was posted in the second bay, marched round the rising ground above mentioned, and drew up on the bay next to the river of *Quimperlay*, opposite to the rendezvous of the boats, where they were so well covered by a bank of sand that the cannon of the frigates could do them no prejudice. The corps which was drawn up on the third landing place, marched off, with an intent, as it was high water, to go round the arm of the sea above

mentioned, and take possession of the middle landing place, which the other body had quitted. But as a march of that length required some time, the General resolved to seize the opportunity and land at the middle place, before the body on their march could possibly reach it. To prevent any annoyance from the body which was drawn off from the first mentioned bay, he ordered the boats to row directly to that bay, till they should come almost within musquet shot of the enemy, then to turn short and row before the wind with the utmost expedition, to the second bay or landing place; and there to form the troops instantly. Lest the battery of two cannon planted on the eminence, upon the opposite side of the arm of the sea, should play upon the boats, crowded with troops, and at so small a distance; he desired that two armed vessels might be ordered to slip their cables, and fire upon that battery, if possible to drive the men from their guns. Previous to the setting out of the boats, these orders were executed, and the batteries abandoned. The corps of the enemy waited for the troops where they were posted, till the boats made the turn to row along the shore, and then run in the greatest disorder towards the second bay, where they perceived it was their design to land. But the forces were landed and formed without the loss of a man, before a single person of their broken corps could reach the bay to oppose them. The general pursued the Militia about two miles. On the 21st, the day after the debarkation, the army marched in two columns to *l'Orient*, General *Sinclair* with one by *Plemure*, General *Offarrel* with the other, by the great road to *Quimperlay*. The latter did not come up till seven at night, having been attacked on his march by a body consisting partly of Militia, and partly of regular forces, which put the troops under his command into a good deal of disorder. Some of the men were wounded, and Lieutenant

tenant Colonel *Henry Erskin* quarter-master general dangerously. General *Sinclair*, about five in the evening proceeded to a wind-mill, within cannon shot of the town.

The Engineers, being immediately sent to reconnoitre the place, reported at their return, that the town was defended only by a thin wall with loop holes in it, without a fosse, and from a place they had pitched upon for a battery, they could either make a breach, or lay the town in ashes in the space of twenty-four hours. Next day the General, accompanied by Mr. *Armstrong* the director general, and Captain *Watson* the engineer, went to reconnoitre the place, and in consequence of the assurance given him the night before, and now repeated, he sent a letter by an officer to summon the town to surrender.

Upon this he was visited by a deputation from the town, who offered to admit the *British* forces on certain conditions, but the terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; and the General resolved to besiege the place in form, though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces sufficient for such an enterprise. His cannon amounted to no more than a few field pieces, and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the sailors dragged up from the shipping. Could an assault have been given the first night after his arrival, when the town was filled with terror and confusion, and destitute of regular troops, in all probability it would have been easily taken by a scalade. But the reduction of it became impracticable by delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ships in the harbour; new works were raised with great expedition; the garrison was reinforced with several bodies of regular troops, and great numbers were assembling from all parts, so that the *British* troops were in danger of being surrounded in an enemy's country.

N° XXXIX.

The Engineers being asked at a council of war held on board the Admiral, if they thought it practicable, either to burn the town, or make a breach in the wall? what artillery, &c. would be wanted and what time required? Their answer was, that with two twelve pounders, and a ten inch mortar, they would engage to make a proper breach, or lay the town in ashes in twenty hours. By the 25th in the morning the battery was compleated, and the mortar and two twelve pounders placed on it by the sailors. This morning also a few carcasses and bombs were thrown into the town, but no cannon were fired, the commander of the artillery having forgot to order the grate for heating the ball to be brought up: the Engineers also now despaired of being able to make a breach at the distance they had placed the battery.

The officers of the artillery insisted they could heat balls without a furnace; but the general opposed their beginning to fire, having then discovered, through the neglect of the officers to whose care it belonged, there was not a quantity of ammunition to keep a continual fire. This forenoon however, two other twelve pounders and the furnace were brought to camp by sailors, and a body of marines; one third of the seamen of the whole fleet, besides the marines and boats crews, having been employed in these services. But in the evening there was such a report made of the situation of affairs, as determined the general to call a council of war immediately. This was held in the camp before *l'Orient*; and consisted of Lieutenant General *Sinclair*, Brigadiers *Offarrel*, *Graham*, *Richbell*; and the Engineers. *Thomas Armstrong* the chief and director General. *Justly Watson*, *John Armstrong*, and *John Chalmers* commander of the artillery. Mr. *Thomas Armstrong* represented to the council, that the stores and ammunition came in so slowly, he

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did



did not see any probability of their being supplied with ammunition as, was necessary, for making a proper use of the battery made last night, and opened that morning; and being apprehensive, that the service intended cannot be accomplished, so soon as was at first expected, there being but thirty four rounds for each of the four pieces of cannon, and none of the shells, and carcasses for the ten inch mortar left, and considering the number of batteries opened already upon them, and daily likely to be opened, he thought it his duty to represent this to General *Sinclair*, as he now does to the council of war.

*John Armstrong*, being extremely afflicted with the gout, was not in a condition to undergo the fatigue of reconnoitering at the time the director General and engineer *Watson*, did; for that reason his opinion was not taken in the council of war held aboard the Admiral; being now asked what he thought of the state of affairs, he said, There being no horses proper to draw their artillery from the landing place, and the roads so broken and spoiled with the rain, that the getting the heavy guns in time was scarce possible; without mentioning the advantage the enemy had of drawing continual supplies of the neighbouring garrison of *Port Louis*, so as to be able to mount six guns for their one, he was of opinion, that nothing of consequence, in these circumstances, could be done against the town of *l'Orient* in a proper time.

The council of war being adjourned to next morning, Captain *Justly Watson's* sentiments being asked, he replied, his former opinion was, that with a ten inch mortar and five twelve pounders, he should have been able to have laid the town in ashes in twenty hours; and if the battery could be properly served with ammunition for that time, he thought the enterprise was still practicable.

The director General being asked what his opinion was in the council of war, on board the Admiral, acknowledged, he then said, that with two twelve pounders, and a ten inch mortar, and some Royals, the town could have been destroyed in twenty four hours; but as things now stood, on account of the difficulties and delays of bringing up ammunition, the alteration of the weather, and other circumstances in favour of the enemy and to their prejudice, it was his present opinion, that no advantage would arise from continuing to push on the enterprise much longer. General *Sinclair* then asked him, whether at any time he had been refused, any number of armed men, or men unarmed to work, he had demanded; or whether he had ever applied to the General for bringing up the Royals; to all which he answered in the negative. Being further asked if he ever mentioned the Royals in any lists he sent to the commissary of the train, at the park of artillery on the sea side, he said he never did, as there were other things more immediately wanted. Captain *Chalmers* of the artillery being at this time obliged to attend the battery, his opinion was not taken at this council of war. Wherefore the next who spoke was Brigadier *Richbell*, who thought it adviseable, not to continue the siege of *l'Orient* for the following reasons. It appeared to him from the opinion of the engineers, that they had from the first made a wrong calculation. That from the great fatigues the troops had suffered from the badness of the weather and the great sickness among them, which daily encreased, and the uncertainty of being supplied with proper provisions, he was apprehensive, should the siege be carried on, it might be attended with fatal consequences to the troops. The Brigadiers *Graham* and *Offarrel* spoke to much the same purpose, and agreed to the reembarkation of the troops; the latter adding, that as the principal motive  
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to encourage the undertaking of this enterprise, was founded in the short time in which the Engineers proposed to carry it into execution, in which he found they were disappointed, and as their communication with the fleet might be interrupted, he thought it reasonable, after having expended all the ammunition for the heavy artillery, to desist from the enterprise.

General *Sinclair* then closed the council of war, by saying, "That in consequence of his Majesty's orders to Admiral *Lestock* and him, to make a descent on the western coast of *France*, he had agreed with the Admiral to view the strength of the town of *l'Orient*, provided the Admiral would land the troops between *Quimperlay* river and *Port Louis*; which being performed, he advanced to the place with the utmost expedition; and, upon assurances given, in the strongest terms, by the Engineers to the council of war held on board the *Princesse*, after they had reconnoitred the place, he had agreed to make the attempt: since which time it was well known to the whole army, how assiduous he had been in carrying on a scheme, he had entered into, solely on the great dependance he had on the Engineers in their own science, and not from any skill of his own. But now finding it was the unanimous opinion of the general officers and the Engineers here present, that the undertaking should be laid aside, he complied with it." Before the close of this day, however, it was thought necessary to call another council of war, on account of a report made by the director general and Captain *Chalmers* of the artillery, informing the General that there were no carcasses or bombs left, and only one hundred and fifty shot remaining, which was not sufficient to serve the battery that night and next day.

At this council Captain *Chalmers*, who had not been examined before, was asked, "Whether he thought the artil-

lery on the battery, with the remaining quantity of stores and ammunition, was sufficient to make either a breach in the wall, or set fire to the town? he answered, "he was positive, they could not make a breach at the distance the battery was placed, considering its oblique situation; and was of the opinion, they could not set fire to the town, as the houses he had seen in the country had very little wood in them; he had likewise observed, that the carcasses, bombs and red hot balls which had been fired into the town, had little or no effect. He further added, he had been able to serve one gun only with red hot shot." Upon this representation it was unanimously agreed to draw off the troops in order to their reembarkation. The guns were spiked up as well as the mortar, which was intended to have been brought away; though had the attempt been made, it was generally thought it would prove ineffectual, as they had no gin, nor other instrument to raise so great a weight. In this day's and yesterdays firing, there were thirty carcasses, thirty shells, thirty two grapes, and three hundred and forty shot thrown into the town: of the shot one fourth only was red hot, for through the neglect of those to whose care it belonged the bellows had been forgot.

The troops after sustaining very inconsiderable damage, since their first landing, were reembarked. The General expected a reinforcement from *England*, and was resolved to wait a little longer for their arrival, in hopes of being able to annoy the enemy more effectually. In the beginning of *October* the fleet sailed to *Quiberon* bay, where they took a *French* man of war, and a detachment of the troops being landed, seized a fort on the peninsula, while the little islands of *Houvat* and *Heydic* were reduced by the sailors. In this situation the Admiral continued till the 17th of the month, when the forts being dismantled and the troops reembarked,



imbarked, the fleet sailed from the *French* coast, the Admiral returned to *England*, and the transports with the soldiers proceeded to *Ireland*, where they arrived in safety.

The Author, from whom we have taken this account, observes that this expedition, weak and frivolous as it may seem, was resented by the *French* nation, as one of the greatest insults they had ever sustained; as it demonstrated the possibility of hurting their country in her tenderest parts, by means of an armament of this

nature; well timed, skillfully and vigorously conducted. But it is rather too sanguine to expect success from such an attempt as this was, that is, from landing a handful of men, without guides, tents, artillery, or any kind of horse, from a fleet of ships lying on an open beach, exposed to the uncertainty of the weather in a tempestuous season of the year; which possibly might render their retreat and re-imbarkation precarious.

#### REFERENCES to the PLAN of *L'Orient*.

A Great Magazine for Sales.

B Peristyle.

C Storehouse for the disarming of Ships.

D Lodgings for the Mates and Caulkers.

E Timber-yard for the Artillery.

F Houses for the Directors.

G Barracks.

H Hall where the Sales are made.

I Lodgings for the Captains and Clerks.

K Chapel.

L The Bakehouse.

M The Direction House.

N Magazine for Pitch and Tar.

O The Shambles.

P General Magazine.

Q Dry Docks.

R Hot House.

About a league to the eastward of *L'Orient* lies

#### P O R T L O U I S,

**S**ITUATED at the mouth of the river *Blavet*. Some Authors confound this place with the ancient city of *Blavet*, as if the former had been built upon the ruins of

the latter. But others say, that though *Blavet* resembled *Port Louis*, as it was a little town, considerable on account of its fortifications, and the goodness of its harbour, and  
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stood upon the banks of the same river, yet it stood further up that river than the place, where *Lewis XIII.* built *Port Louis*. The *Spaniards*, during the wars of the League, having taken *Blavet*, did not restore it till the treaty of *Vervins* in 1598. While it was in their hands, they had let the fortifications fall so much into disorder, that when they restored it, the *French King* did not think proper to repair them, but let them go entirely to ruin. In the reign of *Lewis XIII.* a design was formed to build a new town, at the mouth of the river, which might have the advantage of a better situation, and stronger fortifications than *Blavet* ever had. In consequence of this resolution, the ruins of *Blavet* were employed as materials in building the town and fortrefs of *Port Louis*; which, though it is but a small place, is very well fortified, has a good citadel and a safe harbour. The citadel, if one may be allowed the expression, is sufficient for its own defence, for it is not only surrounded on all sides by the sea, but also beset with rocks, which are the more dreadful, that they are concealed under the water, and for that reason not easily avoided. The King's ships and such others as have no business at *l'Orient*, lie under the guns of this citadel. The town stands in a peninsula at the mouth of the river *Blavet*; two leagues from *Hennebon*, six from *Auray*, nine from *Vannes*, eleven from *Concarneau*, and ten from *Belle-Ille* by sea.

The front of the citadel next the town is defended by a half moon, and a covered way, and the whole fort secured by good walls and ramparts, flanked by some towers, bastions, and redans. The first foundations of this fort were laid by the Duke de *Mercaur*, under the name of the fortrefs of *Blavet*; after him *M. de Brissac*, prosecuted what the former

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had begun, and the Marshal de *Meilleraye*, having finished it, built the walls of the town about the year 1652. The whole place contains 356 houses and about 500 inhabitants, 300 whereof, including the sailors, are able to bear arms. The trade of *Port Louis* principally depends on the pilchards which the inhabitants catch in fishing, their other branches of commerce come to little account. It is impossible to say, what the pilchard trade amounts to in common years, so great is the disproportion in the quantities of that sort of fish caught in different years, and so vast the difference in the prices they bear at different times. In the year 1725, the inhabitants of *Port Louis* sold 374 barrels of pilchards, in 1726 they disposed of 203, which were sold from 50 to 40, 35, 30, 20, 15, 10 and 5 crowns the barrel, they have formerly sold in that town 7 or 800 barrels and more in one year.

There are in the citadel two ovens belonging to the King, which may bake 213 rations of bread at a time, he has three more in the town, which taken together may bake 1350 rations at a time. There are besides these ten ovens belonging to private persons, each of which may bake 400 rations at once. There are also three mills in the place, two wind mills and one water mill with two wheels. This last grinds 40 Minots of eighty pound weight each, in one tide, and each of the two former, with a good wind will grind the same quantity in twenty four hours. There is no inundation, but what is formed by the sea, which no enemy can prevent, or render ineffectual. There are in the citadel four rows of barracks, for the infantry belonging to the garrison, divided into forty four apartments, seventeen of which are possessed by the officers, there being no other place in which they can be accommodated, the other apart-



ments are sufficient to lodge three hundred soldiers. There are neither barracks nor stables for the horse.

The arsenal is a building ninety *French* feet in length, and twenty two in breadth, under ground there is a vault, in which are stowed the musquet balls, the platforms, and grenades, in the ground floor are the utensils proper for the service of the ordinance and room enough for 1000 musquets. On the first floor, is the small armoury sufficient to contain two thousand musquets, and in this and the ground floor there is room for four thousand swords. Over the armoury is a garret, where they stow matches, shovels, pick-axes, and other instruments. Besides this building, there is a shed, seventy two *French* feet in length, and fourteen in breadth, intended as a repository for carriages of cannon. There is but one powder magazine which may contain 115200 pound weight, if it be disposed in barrels of two hundred pounds each, and three of these placed a top of one another. This magazine is made bomb proof. There is no magazine for provisions, but in time of need, the garrets over the barracks might be employed for that purpose, as there is room enough in them for 4545 Quintals of grain. There is no magazine for forrage, nor any place to serve instead of one; the souterrains, which might otherwise answer this end, being too moist for the purpose. Of these subterraneous vaults there are no less than fifteen, and all bomb proof; a late author has given the exact dimensions of them all, those who want more particular information on this subject may consult the *Nouvelle description de France*.

There are two hospitals, one in the citadel, in which the King maintains, eight beds, at the expence of 1000 livres a year. The other, which is in the town, was built by the charity of several private men in the year 1712, there is in it

room enough for thirty nine beds. There are in the citadel two draw-wells which never fail, and also four cisterns, which taken together contain about 5451 cubical feet of water, and it is not remembered that in the greatest drought they were ever quite dry. These draw-wells and cisterns just now mentioned belong to the King, the other wells and fountains that are in the town are the property of private men, but the water they produce is not wholesome, therefore cannot be drunk without some danger. It is further to be observed that *Port Louis*, has this advantage that the enemy cannot divert the course of its fresh water, such as it is, because the inhabitants are supplied from springs within the fortifications.

The harbour of this place is formed by nature; no human art or pains have been employed to improve it. It lies north-east, and south-west, and cannot contain above seven or eight ships of war at a time, the anchoring ground is good, but the entrance into the harbour is difficult on account of the rocks which lie before it, however, as it is, it is a great relief to the ships which sail southward. On the north side of the harbour there is a large bay, which might be converted into a magnificent basin sufficient to contain at once fifty ships of war. In the year 1732, the *East India* company had a design to build at this place large magazines and a hotel for the accommodation of their principal servants, but these designs were never put in execution. The company have since confined their schemes to *l'Orient*, and *Port Louis* continues in the same state of mediocrity it was in before.

Opposite to *Port Louis*, and the mouth of the river *Blavet*, at a small distance from the shore, lies the island of *Groa*, *Groy*, *Groix* or *Grouais*, remarkable for the number of *Congre* eels, that are caught upon the rocky shelves, which

which lie near it. The flesh of this kind of eels is white, firm, fat, and of an excellent taste. They are not salted like pilchards, but dried after the manner of cod-fish, large quantities of them are consumed in this island, the rest are sold from ten to twenty livres the quintal.

In the year 1596 Lord *Berkley*, being sent to bombard the

coast of *France*, detached Captain *Fitz. Patrick*, with the *Burford. Newcastle*, and a fireship to the island of *Groy*, with orders to land. This he soon effected, and having destroyed twenty villages, containing about 1300 houses, took a ship from *Newfoundland*, with twenty small vessels, and carried off about 1500 horses and black cattle.

#### REFERENCES to the Plan of *Port Louis*.

A *Notre Dame* or the Great Church.

B *St. Peter*.

C The Recollect Friars.

D Nesmond's Tower.

E Prisoners Tower.

F Gavre Tower.

N. B. All the Rocks which lie round the town are under Water except those between Nesmond's Tower and the Citadel.

Between two and three leagues from *Louis*, stands the town of

#### H E N N E B O N,

A City in the diocese of *Vannes*, subject to the parliament of *Rennes*, and the intendance of *Nantes*, containing about 780 inhabitants. It was formerly a place of great strength, but its fortifications have been long ago razed, it has still, however, a governor, and a small harbour, by means whereof the inhabitants carry on a considerable trade, in corn, bar-iron, honey and pilchards. The town is divided into three parts, called the new town, the walled town, and the old town. A good many gentry and rich merchants reside in it. It has two parish churches, one dedicated to *St. Giles*, the other to the virgin, and called the church of *Notre-dame*.

The Earl of *Montfort* having fallen into the hands of the *French*, and been committed prisoner to the tower of the *Louvre*, the Countess of *Montfort*, his wife, took upon her the management of her husband's affairs, and, it must be owned, conducted them with as much courage, and good conduct as he could have done himself had he been at liberty. She took every method to encourage the friends of the family and keep them closely united to her husband's interest: and having obtained succours from *Edward III.* of *England*, till they should actually arrive, shut up herself and her son, with some of her best friends and a good garrison in



in the town of *Hennebon*. Mean time *Charles de Blois* thought he had now an excellent opportunity of putting an end to the war, if he could make himself master of that place, and get into his hands the two only persons that stood in the way of hopes. With this view he resolved without loss of time to lay siege to it, and the Countess, apprized of his design, made proper dispositions to receive him. As soon as the town was invested several young adventurers from *Spain*, *Genoa*, and several parts of *France* advanced to the gates, and invited an equal number of the garrison to come out and engage them in single combats, those of the garrison accepted the challenge, and the champions of the besiegers, retired in the evening, after they had been very roughly handled. Next morning by break of day the assailants advanced, to the gates of the town, to insult the garrison; but the latter sallied out upon them, and the battle was maintained on both sides till three of the clock in the afternoon, when the *French* were obliged to retire with great loss. The besiegers greatly enraged at this second repulse renewed the attack with greater fury than before, and the townsmen defended themselves with uncommon vigour. The Countess, in the mean time, having put herself in armour, rode from street to street encouraging the men to their duty, and by her heroic example and animated expressions engaged the ladies, and the women in general, to demolish the useless houses, carry stones, and pots full of quick lime to the top of the walls to be thrown down upon the enemy, as soon as they should come within reach. This done, she went up to the top of a high tower, whence observing the besiegers camp, on that side of the town which was most remote from the attack, in a defenceless condition, she again mounted her horse, and sallying out, with 300 Cavaliers, at the gate next the camp, set fire to the tents; the servants who were the only guard left in them, hav-

ing taken to their heels, as soon as they saw her approaching. The besiegers, observing their tents on fire, made great haste to revenge the insult, and extinguish, if possible, the flames. The Countess upon their approach, assembled her whole force, and, seeing it was impossible to get back to the town, fled at full career towards *Auray*. *Lewis of Spain* pursued her, and killed a few of her attendants that were worst mounted, the rest escaped together with their heroic leader. The *French* army having lost their tents were obliged to use huts of earth instead of them, the besieged, on the other hand, were greatly at a loss to think what had become of the Countess, and could hear nothing of her for some days, in which time she drew together, with incredible diligence, 600 of her friends compleatly armed and well mounted, at whose head she entered *Hennebon* by break of day in sight of the *French* army.

The *French*, provoked at seeing this reinforcement carried into the town, in spite of all they could do to prevent it, gave another assault, which they continued till three o'clock in the afternoon, and therein lost a great number of their men.

As this siege lasted longer than *Charles* expected, he divided his army into two bodies, one whereof he appointed to carry on the siege of *Hennebon*, under the direction of *H. d'Leon*, *Lewis of Spain* and the *Viscount of Roban*, to whom he gave the *Genoese* and *Spanish* troops; then having ordered the twelve machines, he had at *Rennes*, to be brought up for battering the town, he went himself with the other division of his army to besiege *Auray*.

*Lewis of Spain* battered the walls of *Hennebon* with his machines, so violently, that the Bishop of *Leon*, seeing the inhabitants discouraged, proposed to have a conference with his nephew, *H. d'Leon*, wherein it was agreed, that the bishop should dispose the inhabitants to surrender the town, and

and the nephew prevail with *Charles* to forgive what they had hitherto done against him. The Countess, who already began to have some suspicion of the Bishop, earnestly entreated the nobility and gentry of her party not to be discouraged, assuring them, that she expected a powerful reinforcement before the end of the three days. But the Bishop found means to shake the constancy of the most resolute of them, so that his nephew, reckoning the affair was as good as done, advanced to one of the gates expecting to be admitted into the town. While he amused himself with these flattering hopes, and, indeed, was upon the point of succeeding, the Countess looking out at one of the windows of the castle towards the sea, cried out, with such a transport of joy as gave life to her whole party, that she saw the succours coming. The inhabitants immediately run to the loop holes and embrasures, of the walls, and observed with pleasure a fleet approaching with the *English* auxiliaries, consisting of 6000 bow-men, the best in *England*, under the command of *Walter de Mauny*, and several other officers of considerable quality. A terrible storm had detained them upwards of forty days, but after all they came not too late.

When the leading men among the besieged, saw the succours arrive, they told the Bishop that it would be proper for him to countermand his nephew; for they were no longer in the humour of surrendering the town. The Bishop did more, he so much resented the disappointment, that he went himself and joined his nephew, and the latter enraged at this unexpected revolution, having ordered the largest machines to be applied to the walls, and kept at work day and night without intermission, went to present his uncle to *Lewis* of *Spain* and *Charles* of *Blois*, who received him with great joy. The Countess nothing dismayed with the

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violent playing of the machines against the town, received the *English* with as great order and magnificence as could have been expected in the most peaceable times; and when they had reposed themselves a little, *Mauny* having informed himself of the condition of the place, and the circumstances of the assailants, resolved to go and attack one of the largest engines, which distressed the town more than all the rest. A good many of the gentry and officers in the garrison having offered to join him in this expedition, they armed immediately, and after appointing three hundred archers to ply incessantly with their arrows those that guarded the engine they sallied out, seized the machine, and broke it in pieces; then hastening to the camp of besiegers, set fire to it, and killed a good many of the enemy, who did not expect to be thus attacked. After this *Mauny*, seeing a troop of *French* horse compleatly armed advancing toward him couched his launch, and said to those that stood by him. "I am fully determined never to return to the castle "untill I have overset one of these champions;" with these words, he flew towards the *French*, followed by the gentry that attended him, and attacked the enemy with great vigour; but after having given many proofs of his strength and courage, finding that the numbers of the *French* were still encreasing, he retired gradually to the side of the ditch, and there stood his ground with the horse that were with him, until the foot that had accompanied him in the expedition got safe into the place, and the garrison plying the enemy with arrows and missile weapons from the loop holes of the walls, obliged them to retire. This done *Mauny* also entered with his troop, and the Countess who had been witness of their uncommon feats of arms, came down from the castle, and saluted him and all his companions in testimony of her grateful acknowledgment of their ser-

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vices, and the respect she paid to their distinguished merit.

Next day *Lewis of Spain* called the Viscount *de Roban*, *H. de Leon*, the Bishop of *St Paul*, and the commander of the *Genoese*, to deliberate upon the state of affairs, and what measures were proper to be taken; when they all agreed, that it was absolutely necessary to raise the siege. In consequence of this resolution, they decamped next morning, and took the rout to *Auray*, to join *Charles de Blois*, who was still before that place. Thus the inhabitants of *Hennebon* were delivered from the calamities that generally attend those who are shut up in a besieged city; but it was not long before they were plunged in them a second time; for before the year was out, *Charles de Blois*, having taken *Auray*, *Vannes*, and *Carbais* advanced with his army, and invested *Hennebon*. *Lewis of Spain*, after having spent six weeks at *Rennes*, to be cured of the wounds he had received at *Quimperlay*, rejoined *Charles* at this siege. There arrived likewise in his camp, almost every day, several *French* nobility, in their way from *Spain*, where they had served against the *Moors* of *Granada*, and hearing of the war of *Bretagne*, were willing to gather laurels on the borders of their own country. *Charles* battered *Hennebon*, with fifteen large engines, which threw stones to the very center of the town. The besieged however were not discouraged, neither at the number of their enemies nor the noise of their machines; they even carried their contempt of the besiegers so far as to insult them from the walls, crying out as they cleared the great stones which were thrown by the engines upon the ramparts, "You have not yet thrown enough, you want more hands, send for your companions who are lying at their ease in the fields of *Quimperlay*".

These insults did not give so much vexation to any of the besiegers, as to *Lewis of Spain*, and the *Genoese*. The former, especially was so transported with rage, that he could by no means contain himself, but came to the tent of *Charles de Blois*, and in the presence of a good number of nobility, represented that he had one favour to ask in return for all his services. *Charles de Blois* answered, with a very good grace, "that he would not only grant him any favour in his power, but rejoice if he could do any thing to oblige him." Upon this *Lewis* said, "He would take it as a great kindness if *Charles* would deliver up to him *John de Bouteiller*, and *Hubert du Fresnoi* (two gentlemen of the Earl of *Montford's* party, "who had fallen into the hands of the *French* at a small place called *Faovet*,) that he might dispose of them according to his pleasure;" adding, "that they had defeated him, wounded him, driven him out of the country, and, moreover, had slain his nephew *Alphonso*, whom he tenderly loved, that in resentment of these injuries, he intended to cut off their heads, in the sight of their associates in the expedition to *Quimperlay*, "who were now at *Hennebon*." *Charles* was shocked at this proposition, and did all he could to divert *Lewis* from so barbarous a design; but all he could say signified nothing; *Lewis* protested he would abandon *Charles's* interest and party, if he would not give him leave to satisfy his vengeance on this occasion. *Charles* was obliged to yield and bring the two prisoners, *Lewis of Spain* in defiance of all the remonstrances that could be made upon the subject, was fully determined to have them beheaded; and the execution was to be performed after dinner. But it luckily happened that all that past between *Charles de Blois* and *Lewis of Spain* was carried directly into the town, to *Mauny* and *Cliffon*, who were quite astonished at the shocking news.

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As the matter demanded great expedition, *Mauny* encouraged all about him to exert themselves to the utmost to save the two valiant Knights. Many considerations animated them to this enterprize, friendship, honour, pity, duty, and glory. It was therefore agreed that all the Gentlemen at *Hennebon* should divide themselves into two bands, one whereof should fall out about the time of dinner, and shew themselves without the town ditch. It was to be presumed that the besiegers would immediately put themselves in motion, and come and attack them. *Cliffon* was to command this body, which was to consist of three hundred men at arms, supported by 1000 archers, to keep the enemy at a distance by the dint of their arrows. The other body was to consist of 100 men at arms and 500 archers under the conduct of *Mauny*, who were to go out by a postern gate, opposite to that at which the former body were to fall, and fetching a compass, fall upon the back of the enemy's camp. As soon as *Mauny* had settled the order of these two sallies, every one run in great haste to his arms, and in time of dinner, *Cliffon* having set open the great gate flew directly to the camp of *Charles de Blois*, and with hideous cries began to overturn the tents, and put to the sword every one that came in his way. The whole camp was immediately in motion, and fell upon *Cliffon* and the body which he commanded, who received them with great resolution and many fell on both sides. *Cliffon* retired gradually, fighting all the way till he came to the town ditch, where he stood his ground, whilst the archers on each side performed wonders. Here the battle was renewed with great vigour, and the whole *French* army made this their place of rendezvous, leaving none but their servants to guard the tents, *Mauny* taking advantage of this happy conjuncture, sallied out secretly at the postern gate already mentioned, marched with great haste to *Charles's*

tent where the two prisoners were, put them upon two horses that were brought for that purpose, and carried them in triumph to *Hennebon*, where the Countess gave them such a kind reception as they well deserved. *Cliffon* still kept his ground against the whole *French* army, but he was soon left at liberty to retire to the town; because *Lewis of Spain*, hearing that the prisoners were rescued left the battle in great rage, suspecting that *Charles de Blois*, had concerted the means of their escape; and his example was soon followed by all the rest. Two Knights of *Bretagne*, having ventured too far were made prisoners *Landreman*, and the Lord of the Mannor of *Guingamp*. *Charles de Blois* was overjoyed at this acquisition, he carried them to his tent, where they were prevailed upon to espouse his interests and swear allegiance to him.

Three days after, *Charles de Blois* held a council of war in his own tent, wherein it was represented to him, that it would answer no end, to continue longer before *Hennebon*, as it was too well provided with men, provisions, and arms; and there was not sufficient forage for the army in that country; for these reasons they advised him to raise the siege, and attempt something else. *Charles* was sensible of the reasonableness of this advice, and therefore having moved from *Hennebon* marched his army to *Carbais*.

*Hennebon* was again besieged and taken by *Bertrand du Guesclin*, Constable of *France*, in the year 1373, but at this time it was garrisoned by eighty *English* only who had no assistance at all from the townsmen, and therefore being unable to defend so large a fortress, were easily overpowered by the *French* army, and all put to the sword except two Captains *Thomelin Wich* the Governor, and Sir *Thomas Prior* who commanded under him, we now proceed to



## A U R A Y,

A Little town in the diocese of *Vannes*, about six leagues to the south east of *Port Louis*, and nearly the same distance from *Hennebon*. The town stands upon the bay of *Morbihan*, and consists but of one street containing almost 900 inhabitants. It has a small harbour and a good quay, by means whereof it carries on a tolerable trade, in corn, which is conveyed to the coast of *Gascogne*, and to *Spain*. The inhabitants also deal in bar-iron, honey, and pilchards. This place, which was formerly a fortress of great strength, makes a considerable figure in the history of *Bretagne*. The Earl of *Montfort*, in the year 1341, having laid siege to it, not only assaulted it twice and was repulsed; but would have been forced to raise the siege, if he had not prevailed with the Governor, to abandon the party of *Charles de Blois* and espouse his cause. Next year, it was besieged by *Charles de Blois*, and the garrison defended it with great resolution for a long time, during which they suffered much by famine, and lived for several days upon horse-flesh, and when they were reduced almost to the last extremity, that they might not be exposed to the cruelty of the besiegers, who refused to grant them any capitulation, secretly evacuated the place in the night time, and forced their way through the enemies camp. In this attempt, some of them were killed, but the greatest part escaped by means of a wood, which happened to be in that neighbourhood, and joined the Countess of *Montfort* at *Hennebon*. After this *Auray* continued in the hands of *Charles de Blois*, till the year 1764, when it was invested by the young Earl of *Montfort*, son to *John de Montfort* who first claimed the

succession of *John III.* Duke of *Bretagne*. This siege continued some time, and the besieged, distressed with famine, lighted fires upon the top of the castle, to apprise *Charles de Blois* of the great extremity to which they were reduced, *Charles* employed a *Breton*, of great dexterity in the management of the cross-bow, to go as near as he could to the castle, and to shoot, towards these fires, arrows with billets tied to them, acquainting the besieged, that they should soon be relieved. The archer accordingly shot one arrow which reached the signal, and the billet tacked to it was found and carried to the Governor. In it *Charles* gave the besieged leave to come under engagements to deliver up the place to the *English*, the day after the feast of *St. Michael*, if they should not be relieved before that time. Upon the receipt of this billet, the Governor of the castle capitulated with the *English*, who were already masters of the town, to deliver up that fortress to them, at the term just now mentioned, if he should not be relieved before, on condition that the latter should allow the garrison provisions in the mean time for money.

The Earl of *Montfort*, having information that *Charles* was to move from *Lanvaux* on *Saturday* the 28th of *September*, marched out of the town, with his whole army, and encamped near a wood behind the castle, where he intended to wait for his enemies. They appeared in the afternoon in very good order, and the garrison of the castle, seeing their friends coming to their assistance, erected a white  
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standard on the top of the dungeon, and made their trumpets sound so loud that they were heard in the camp of *Charles de Blois*; who posted himself behind a small arm of the sea, in a park surrounded with trees, in which there was a very beautiful house. There was now nothing between the two armies, but a meadow, and a small river into which the tide flowed twice every day. The light troops on each side met and skirmished, and the two armies were drawn up as if they had intended to engage that evening. *John de Montfort* was indeed of opinion that he ought, without loss of time, to begin the attack; but his officers, particularly *Oliver de Clifton*, persuaded him to put off the battle till next morning. Mean time a sort of panic seized the *French* army, they imagined they were to be attacked about mid-night, and therefore continued under arms, and made great fires; but *Charles de Blois* and *Guesclin*, the Constable of *France*, did all they could to dissipate these apprehensions, and ordered a strict guard to be kept. The *English* army observed the same caution on their side, and made several fires on the banks of the rivulet already mentioned. At day break the light troops of the two armies began to skirmish, and several of the *English* troops and a good many horses were taken by the enemy. As soon as the *English* General was informed of this loss, he ordered that none of the troops, upon pain of death, should molest the *French* army, in their approach, or dispute with them the passage of the rivulet.

The day on which the battle was fought, was *Sunday* the 29th of *September*, a day very remarkable in the annals of *Bretagne*. *Charles de Blois* divided his army, by the advice of the Constable of *France* into three bodies, and a reserve or rear-guard. The first, which consisted of *Bretons*, was commanded by the Constable: the Counts of *Auxerre* and *Joigni*  
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commanded the second, which was composed of *French* troops. *Charles* put himself at the head of the third body, which consisted of *Bretons*, and was more numerous than either of the other two. The Counts of *Rboan*, *Leon*, *Avau-gour*, *Dinan*, *Ancenis Malestroit*, and several Lords of *Bretagne*, commanded under him. The body of reserve was committed to the *Sieurs de Raix*, and *de Rieux de Tournemine*, and *du Pont*. Each of these divisions comprehended about a thousand fighting men. *Charles de Blois* himself flew from rank to rank encouraging the Lords of his party to a vigorous discharge of their duty, assuring them that they were to fight for a good cause, adding, that if it should please God to grant him success that day, he would reward them abundantly for all they had done, and suffered on his account, and relieve the people from all the miseries and pressures to which they had been exposed for a long time past, and continued to endure every day.

On the other hand *Cbandos*, the *English* General, having been instructed by King *Edward* to be particularly careful of the affairs of the Earl of *Montfort* (who by the marriage of his daughter was become his son) also divided his army into three bodies; and a rear-ward. *Robert Knoll* and *Walter Huet* commanded the first; the second was put under the direction of *Oliver de Clifton*, *Eustace d'Auberticour*, and *Matthew de Gournai*. *Cbandos* and the Earl of *Montfort* put themselves at the head of the third. Each of these three bodies consisted of five hundred men at arms, and four hundred archers. These dispositions being made, *Cbandos* called *Caverly*, and offered him the command of the body of reserve, consisting of five hundred men, with an order not to stir from a certain post assigned him, upon any account whatever, unless he should see the main body of the army broken, or giving way, in which event, he was to fly to  
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their assistance. But *Caverly* insisted upon commanding some part of the first line, imagining it reflected upon his courage to be placed in the rear. *Cbandos* represented to him, that he looked upon him as one of the most prudent Knights in the army, and therefore assigned him that post, as he believed it to be the most important of all; *Caverly* however did not yield till the other protested, that if he continued to refuse this command, he must absolutely take it himself. *Caverly*, at last, sensible that his General, by this disposition, intended to do him honour, without further difficulty placed himself at the head of the rear guard, and repaired to the post assigned him.

Both armies being by this time ready to engage, the Earl of *Montfort* at the request of one of his relations, had permitted him to be armed and dressed in the same manner with himself. This young hero moved from place to place animating the troops, and calling to *Charles de Blois* to engage with him in single combat. *Charles*, hearing himself defied, and, as he apprehended, by the real Earl of *Montfort*, made haste to meet him, and lifting up with both his hands a steel battle ax, gave him a dreadful blow upon the head, which brought him to the ground; but *Cbandos* and *Knoll* run to his assistance, and a bloody conflict ensued. *Charles de Blois* imagining he had slain his rival, cried out that *Montfort* was dead, and *Bretagne* now his own. This being reported to the Earl of *Montfort*, he repaired to the place, to shew himself to his antagonist, who knowing him by his arms, advanced to attack him. By this time the engagement became more bloody than before. *Charles de Blois*, and *John de Montfort* inspired both armies by their example, and their partizans, on each side, signalized themselves by prodigies of valour. Whilst *Oliver de Clifton*, armed with a battle ax, made his way through the thickest

ranks, he received a severe blow upon his helmet, which bruised his visor, and wounded him in the eye; but this did not hinder his continuing the battle with the same vigour as before.

*Cbandos* at the same time occasioned no less disorder in the body commanded by the Count *d'Auxerré*. He broke through the ranks, till he came to the Count himself, whom he wounded in the eye with a sword through the visor of his cask. As the latter was going to have his wound dressed, an *English* soldier gave him another blow upon the head which made the blood gush out of his first wound, in such plenty that the visor was quite full of it, and he quite lost the use of his sight. Immediately upon this a Knight, who knew him, called out, "For God's sake; Count *d'Auxerré*, suffer not yourself to be killed, yield or you are a dead man." The Count upon this delivered him his sword, and the Count *de Joigni* was made prisoner at the same time.

*Guesclin* in another part of the battle was carrying all before him, and calling out *Notre-dame*, knocked down all that came in his way with a battle ax of steel. *Cbandos* perceiving him, left the Earl of *Montfort* engaged with *Charles de Blois*, and begged his friends to follow him. *Bertran*, upon this, was beset before and behind, and at last brought to the ground by many heavy blows; but *la Houffay*, *Charles de Dinan*, and another Knight, raised him up again, and *Dinan* before *Cbandos's* face, gave his brother in law *Richard of Canterbury* so severe a blow as cleft his skull. *Cbandos* enraged, animated his friends to vengeance, mean time he himself was attacked by *Guesclin*, and *Beaumanoir* attacked an *English* Knight of the name of *Huet*, who was brought to the ground by many strokes, and would have been killed, if *Oliver de Clifton* had not come to his relief; and called to

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*Beaumanoir* to yield, "It will be better for you, said he, "to espouse the interest of the Duke, than to grieve your "friends by a fruitless attachment to *Charles's* party." He added that before night *Beaumanoir* and the Viscount *de Rhoan* would be his prisoners. *Beaumanoir*, however shocked with this insult, had no time to answer, being obliged to run to the assistance of *Charles de Blois*, who after being almost in possession of the victory, saw it, on a sudden snatched out of his hands by *Caverly*.

This brave officer, seeing the Earl of *Montfort's* army begin to give way, marched to their relief, and, fetching a compass, fell upon the rear of the enemy. This unexpected attack by a large body of fresh troops quickly put *Charles de Blois's* army into confusion, and broke them so that they could never make head again. *Charles* himself had the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemies and to lose his life and his liberty together. There are various accounts concerning the manner of his death. Some will have it, that soon after he was taken, an *English* soldier thrust a dagger into his mouth, with such force, that it stuck out half a foot beyond the back of his neck, that upon this *Charles* fell down, and a Cordelier, who stood by him, exhorting him to think on God, and St. *John the Baptist*, in whom he had had a particular confidence during the whole course of his life, *Charles* answered, "Ah "Domine Deus," and expired. Others will have it that the Earl of *Montfort* ordered *Charles* to be killed in cold blood by a Gentleman of *Guerrande*, of the name of *Lesnerac*, and this account is said to be confirmed by an ancient manuscript in the castle of *Nantes*, in which it is asserted that *Charles de Blois*, after the battle of *Auray*, was brought to the Earl of *Montfort*, who employed *Lesnerac* to put him to death. But whatever other circumstances attended *Charles's* fate, the generality of historians agree that he died

at the battle of *Auray*, and that the Earl of *Montfort* had no direct hand in his death. *Froissard* adds, that both parties seemed to have determined before hand, that whichever of the two princes should lose the battle, he should have no quarter, that thereby a final end might be put to a quarrel in which so much blood had been already spilt. Be this as it may, together with *Charles de Blois* his natural son called *John de Blois* was likewise slain, and his troops being put to the rout were pursued eight leagues with great slaughter. An Author who lived about that time, will have it, that on *John de Montfort's* side there were not twenty slain; others say not above seven or eight, some historians think this incredible; but none doubt, that on *Charles's* side at least a thousand fell, among whom were a great many Knights, two Earls, and twenty seven Lords. One thousand five hundred men at arms were also made prisoners, and among them *Bertran du Guesclin* the Count *d'Auxerre*, and the Viscount *du Fou*.

As soon as the general officers returned from the pursuit, they waited upon the Earl of *Montfort* to congratulate him upon his victory. *Chandos* the *English* General, among other compliments, told him "That this day had secured him the "Dukedom of *Bretagne*, adding that *Bertran du Guesclin*, "who had never before been defeated in a pitched battle "was now his prisoner, and that he would never set him "at liberty until the Earl had concluded a peace with the "French King." The Earl having thanked them all for their services, took *Chandos* by the hand, and said, "He "owed the success of the day to his good conduct, and the "courage of the *English* troops." Immediately after this he ordered search to be made for the body of *Charles de Blois*, but those who were employed in this service, having reported that it could not be found among the dead, he swore that



he would not leave the field of battle till he had seen it. Upon this a new search was begun, and the Earl himself having found it, lying with the face towards the east, wrapped in a kind of shirt of hair-cloth tied about the middle with a hard rope, was greatly affected with the shocking sight, and shed abundance of tears over it. *Cbandos*, less moved, withdrew the Earl from the dismal spectacle, bidding him, "thank God for the glorious victory he had obtained, and consider, that without the death of *Charles* he could never have obtained the peaceable possession of his inheritance of *Bretagne*." *Charles's* body, by order of the Conqueror, was carried to *Guingamp*, where it was honourably buried. The greatest part of the prisoners that were taken upon this occasion were not ransomed, nor set at liberty for fear they should renew a war, which by this decisive battle seemed to be terminated; but sent into confinement in *Poictou*, *Saintonge*, *Bordeaux*, *Rochelle* and *Vannes*. The Governor of *Auray* having been slain in the battle, and a great part of the garrison deprived of their lives or liberty, the castle surrendered on the 30th of *September*, the day after the battle. Those of the garrison that were left had leave to depart with their baggage,

and the Earl of *Montfort* entered the place on the first of *October*. Nor was this the only happy consequence of his victory, in a few days after he made himself master of *Malestroit*, *Redon*, *Jugon*, and *Dinan*, and the *French* King sent ambassadors to him with propositions of peace, which soon after took place.

The war having broke out again, *Auray* was invested by the *French* army, under the command of *Oliver de Clisson*, in 1377, and held out a considerable time; but the besieged, at length reduced to extremities, agreed to surrender the town, if they should not be relieved by the Duke of *Bretagne*, or the King of *England* before a certain day. This term being arrived, and no relief appearing, the place was, according to articles, given up to the conqueror, and continued in the hands of the *French* till the peace was concluded between their King and the Duke of *Bretagne* in the year 1381. Last of all it was besieged and taken by the *French*, a little more than a century after, viz. in the year 1487, from *Francis II.* the last Duke of *Bretagne*, but of these two last sieges, the reader will excuse our omitting the particulars, as we hasten to

## V A N N E S,

**I**N Latin *Dariorigum*, *civitas Venetum*, *civitas venetica*, the capital of the diocese of *Vannes*, and one of the most ancient cities of the whole country, as its origin is said to have preceeded the conquest of *Gaul* by the *Romans*. A *French* Author will have it, that *Cæsar* staid near this town,

sometime with his army, on account of the conveniency of its harbour. It is indeed true that *Cæsar* makes mention of the country of the *Veneti*, takes notice of their naval power, and their great knowledge in navigation, but he speaks not a word of their town. This Author seems to have been

been led into a mistake by taking the word *Civitas*, which *Cæsar* often uses, for a town or city; whereas that great Captain always uses this term to express a state, republic, or people, and never in any other sense. The same author is likewise of opinion, that this town was called *Venetia*, on account of several little isles near it, which have some resemblance to those on which the city of *Venice* is built. But another *French* writer differs so far from him on this subject, that he thinks this *Venice* taken its name from the *Veneti*, and quotes *Strabo* to support his opinion. Be this as it may, the town of *Vannes* is situated in the north latitude of 47 degrees 38 minutes, and 2 degrees 41 minutes to the westward of the meridian of *London*; being about three leagues distant from *Auray*, nine from *Port Louis*, two and twenty from *Nantes*, and two from the sea at low water, but the high tide reaches to the walls of the town, by means of the canal of *Morbihan* or gulf of *Vannes*. The town is but little, standing between the suburb of *St. Paterne*, and that called the *Fauxbourg-du Marché*. The latter is larger than the town itself, from which it is separated by the walls and a broad ditch. In it are several Churches and Convents. That of the *Jesuits* is very handsome, and the Church belonging to it is dedicated to *St. Joseph*. The grand hospital, and the Convent of the *Dominicans* are in the suburb of *St. Paterne* which is separated from the town by the river which runs along the town ditch to the castle of *Hermine*. This fort is now almost in ruins; but the dungeon, and some large towers, which are still remaining, shew that it has formerly been a place of great strength. The Convent of the *Urfuline Nuns* is a very stately fabrick. The streets of the town are but small and narrow, except that which passes from the gate next the sea to the town house, and another that leads to the Cathedral Church. It contains four parish Churches and several Convents.

N° XL.

There are several small islands in the mouth of the river *Vannes*, viz. the isle of *Ars*, the *Monks island*, the *Happy isle*, the isle of *Tascon*, the isle of *Breder*, and several others. The isle of *Ars* in its form resembles a cross, and that part of it which appears above water in time of high tide is not above two leagues in circumference. There is in it a country town containing about eighty houses, a parish Church, and eleven small villages. The island produces good corn, about a hundred tuns of wine, and some salt. It belongs to the abbess of *St. George de Rennes*, and the abbe of *St. Gildas de Rbuis*. The part of it which lies next to the north, belongs to the abbess, and is much more considerable than the other. The whole contains between 8 and 900 inhabitants, including women and children.

The isle of *Monks* is about the distance of a league from *Vannes*, two from the sea, a quarter of a league from the isle of *Ars*, and about a gun shot from *Arradon* on the continent. It makes a part of the parish of *Ars*, and contains six small villages. It is the property of *Marquis de Cornulier*, and produces only wheat and rye, and about eighty or a hundred barrels of wine. The inhabitants do not exceed 6 or 700. The other islands are so inconsiderable that they deserve no further notice.

The town of *Vannes* was several times taken by the *French*, and retaken by the *Bretons* during the reign of *Charlemagne* in the eight century. After the death of *John III. Duke of Bretagne* in the year 1341, the inhabitants of *Vannes* opened their gates to the Earl of *Montfort*, and submitted to him as their lawful Sovereign. But next year, *Charles de Blois*, having made himself master of *Auray*, laid siege to *Vannes*. He had scarce invested the place, when the garrison of *Ploermel* attacked him in his camp, in hopes of raising the siege; but they met with so warm a reception that after losing a great many men, they were obliged to retreat in

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great disorder to *Ploermel*, having the enemy all the way at their heels. *Charles*, as soon as his troops returned from the pursuit, attacked the town with great vigour, and having carried all the out-works, advanced to one of the gates, at which the besieged sallying out, a brisk engagement ensued, which was continued till night with great loss on both sides. Next day the besieged demanded a days truce for burying their dead, and *Charles* agreed to it; but during that short cessation of arms, the inhabitants consulting together came to a fixed resolution to surrender the town, notwithstanding all the remonstrances the governor could make to the contrary; so that the latter was obliged to escape with his garrison at one of the gates, and make the best of his way to *Hennebon*, while *Charles* was entering at the other.

But *Charles* did not continue long in the possession of the place, for soon after *Robert* of *Artois* brought a reinforcement to the Countess of *Montfort* from *England*, landed his troops in the neighbourhood, and having sent his ships to *Hennebon*, laid siege to *Vannes*. *M. de Leon*, *Oliver de Clifton*, *Tournemine*, and *Lobeac*, who commanded in the town, seeing the enemy approach, set proper guards at all the posts of the town and castle, and placed ten men at arms and twenty archers at every gate. According to *Froissard's* account, *Robert* of *Artois* army consisted only of a 1000 men at arms, and 3000 archers, yet, without raising the siege, he found means to ravage the whole country as far as *Goy la Fort*. Other Authors say, his troops were more numerous; but, be this as it may, several vigorous assaults were given during the siege; and, the garrison made a vigorous defence. The Countess herself was at the head of the besiegers, and *Mauny*, leaving *William de Cadudal* to command at *Hennebon*, joined the assailants with a hundred men at arms and two hundred archers. A little after the town was

attacked in three places at once, and a great many of the garrison were slain. The *English*, however, after continuing the assault the whole day, retired at night; but as soon as they understood the besieged were composed to rest, they returned again to the charge in three divisions, two whereof, commanded by *Robert* of *Artois* and the Earl of *Salisbury*, attacked the two gates of the town with great fury. The inhabitants roused out of their sleep, run in great confusion to the two places where they were attacked. Meantime *Mauny* with the third division of the *English* marched without noise to another place of the town which he found defenceless, and the troops, having planted their scaling ladders without opposition, got into the town unperceived. The hostilities they committed soon made the besieged sensible of their unhappy situation, and all endeavoured to consult their own safety; but every one was not so fortunate as *H. de Leon*, *Oliver de Clifton*, *Tournemine*, and *Lobeac*, with some others, who, not being able to get into the castle, escaped through a back-gate, the rest were left to the mercy of the conqueror. After the town was taken, *Robert* of *Artois* continued in it to command the place and castle, and the Countess, five days after returned to *Hennebon* with *Mauny* and several others, while the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, *Suffolk*, and *Cornwall*, marched towards *Rennes* with three thousand men at arms, and an equal number of archers, besides the troops of *Bretagne* that espoused the interest of the Countess.

Mean time *H. de Leon*, and *Oliver de Clifton* seeing themselves exposed to the just reproaches of their friends, and the scorn and contempt of their enemies, on account of their irresolute and imprudent conduct at the siege of *Vannes*, resolved to use extraordinary efforts to wipe that stain off their character, and recover the place they had lately lost. With

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this view having assembled 12,000 men, and being joined by the Marshal de Beaumanoir, they invested *Vannes*, whilst the Earl of *Salisbury* was employed in the siege of *Rennes*, where *Robert* of *Artois* made a very brave defence; but at last the besiegers prevailed, and breaking into the town by main force, drove out the *English* with great slaughter. Among others *Robert* of *Artois* the governor, having received a dangerous wound, with difficulty made his escape through a back gate; and after staying some days at *Hennebon*, embarked for *England*, expecting to find better surgeons there than in *Bretagne*; but the motion of the ship having opened his wounds, he died soon after his arrival at *London*, much regretted by the *English*, and was buried at *Canterbury* \*. King *Edward* was so sensibly affected with his death, that he swore he would revenge it in an exemplary manner; and, with that intention, having assembled an army, embarked at *Portsmouth* in the beginning of *November*, and soon arrived in *Bretagne*. Having landed his army at *Brest*, he made himself master of *Faoet*, and *Roche-Periou*, *Ploermel*, and *Malestroit*, and laid siege to *Vannes*. As the garrison were aware of his approach, they put the town and castle in a proper posture of defence, provided all necessaries for supporting a long siege, and *Oliver de Clifton*, *H. de Leon*, *Tournemine*, *Jeffrey de Malestroit*, and *Guy de Lebeac* shut themselves up in the place. Soon after the town was invested, the King gave a furious assault which he continued for six hours, without intermission, and the garrison defended themselves with equal vigour. A little after the Countess came to visit his Majesty in his camp, and, having staid four days with him, returned to *Hennebon*. *Edward* in the mean time apprehending that *Vannes* would not be an easy conquest, and his army beginning to be in want of forrage, left the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* with five hundred men at

\* Some are of opinion that he died at *Hennebon*.

arms, to continue the siege, and taking with him the Earls of *Hampton* and *Gloucester* with a good many other nobility and 40,000 men, marched toward *Nantes* to besiege that place, or oblige *Charles de Blois* to give him battle.

Mean time, the siege of *Vannes* was carried on with great spirit, and no day past without an assault, or skirmishing before the gates. The garrison defended themselves with great bravery, and many great exploits were performed on both sides. As the besieged often opened their gates and sallied out to meet the enemy in the field, it happened one day, that *H. de Leon*, and *Cliffon*, seeing the Earls of *Warwick*, and *Arundel*, Lord *Stamfort* and *Mauny*, exposing themselves imprudently, redoubled their efforts against them, so that the *English* began to give way. The *Bretons* animated by this success prosecuted their advantage, leaving only six men to guard the gate; but the *English*, being reinforced, soon made the besieged retreat in their turn with some disorder, those who were left at the gate observing what passed, shut the gate so suddenly that *Leon* and *Cliffon* were excluded, and made prisoners by the *English*. Lord *Stamfort*, on the other hand, pushing forward with more courage than discretion was taken by the besieged, and all that were with him slain or made prisoners. After this skirmish both parties kept more upon their guard, and this was the last memorable exploit performed at this siege, which was the fourth the unhappy town of *Vannes* sustained in the short compass of a year. In the beginning of next year, viz. on the 19th of *January* 1343, a truce was concluded, by the mediation of two Cardinals, sent express by the Pope, for that purpose till Michaelmas next following \*, by one of the articles whereof it was a-

\* The two Cardinals were *Peter des Prez*, Chancellor of the Church of Rome, Bishop of *Frescati*, and *Annibal de Cecano*, Bishop of *Palestine*.

greed,



greed, that during this suspension of arms, the city of *Vannes* should be put into the hands of one or both of the mediating Cardinals till the end of the truce, to be then disposed of as they should think most reasonable. But here it is to be observed, to the honour of these two worthy mediators, that they had engaged by a writing under their hands, dated the day before the treaty was concluded, to give it to *Philip de Valois*. *Vannes* was restored to the Earl of *Montfort* in the year 1364. Since that time it was taken by *Guesclin* the Constable of *France*, in 1373, and restored to *John IV.* Duke of *Bretagne* in 1381. It was again taken by the *French* in the year 1487, and retaken the year following by *Francis II.* the last Duke of *Bretagne*.

The city of *Vannes* is an episcopal seat, and capital of the diocese of that name, comprehending a large country bounded on the north by the dioceses of *St. Malo*, *St. Brieuc* and *Quimper-Corentin*: on the east by that of *Nantes*, on the west by *Quimper-Corentine*, on the south by the sea. It is 20 leagues in length from east to west, and between 16 and 17 from north to south. It contains 160 parishes, and the bishop's revenue amounts to 16,000 livres a year: the soil produces corn and rye in great abundance, and several towns in it are happily situated for trade. *Vannes*, *Auray*, and *Hennebon* have harbours, to which small vessels have very easy access. Corn is the greatest branch of their trade, and in it they deal so considerably, that the country is enriched when this commodity bears a good price. The diocese produces in common years 6,000 tons of corn, and 9000 of rye, a great part of which the inhabitants export to *St. Sebastian*, sometimes to *Portugal*, and to *Bayonne*, *Bordeaux*, and *Rochelle* on the *French* coast. The returns from *Spain* are commonly very beneficial to the traders, and the country

in general, because they are in a great measure made in money. The merchants of *Vannes*, *Auray*, and *Hennebon*, likewise deal in bar-iron, with which they are supplied from the forges in the Province, and honey, which is the produce of their own country. They likewise drive a great trade in pilchards and Conger eels, for which there is a great demand at *Bordeaux*, *Rochelle*, *Nantes*, and *St. Malo*. We have already taken notice that this branch of commerce flourishes at *Port Louis*; at *Belle-Isle*, they also drive the same trade with great advantage. It is pretended that the inhabitants of this island fish every year to the amount of 10,000 or 12,000 barrels. The boats they use are from two or three tons burthen, and each of them carry four or five hands on board. Every boat carries to sea, at least a dozen of nets from twenty to thirty fathoms in length. The merchants buy the pilchards on the shore, and having salted them press out the oyl, which would otherwise spoil them, and dispose them into barrels. A barrel commonly contains 10,000 of these little fishes; and 30 or 40 barrels of fish generally yield but one barrel of oyl.

Near the mouth of the river of *Vannes* is the peninsula of *Quiberon*, about a league and a half in length and a quarter of a league in breadth. It is joined to the continent by a narrow neck of land about a league in length which the sea covers sometimes, when the tide rises high, and the weather happens to be stormy. A great part of this peninsula is uncultivated, the rest produces good oats. There are two harbours on the east side of it, one of which is called *Port-Haliguen*, and the other *Port-Orange*. They cannot receive vessels of more than forty tons burthen. There were formerly seven or eight batteries to defend these harbours, and the village of *Quiberon*, which are now in ruins.

ruins. There was here also a small fort, which was taken by General *Sinclair* before he returned from his expedition against *Port l'Orient* in the year 1746.

About four leagues from the point of the peninsula of *Quiberon* lies the island of

## B E L L E - I S L E.

NEITHER *Pliny*, nor any of the antient geographers have given this island a particular name, but comprehend it under the general title of the *insula Venetica*. It is the largest of all the *European* islands belonging to the *French* King, being between twelve and thirteen leagues in circumference. The middle of it lies in the latitude of 47 degrees 20 minutes north, and 3 degrees 10 minutes to the westward of the meridian of *London*.

The climate is so moderate that all the cattle winter in the fields, and are never shut up, but from Easter to the end of harvest, that they may be of no detriment to the fruits of the earth. The same clemency of the weather contributes to the fertility of the soil, which is so remarkable, that, in the memory of man, no harvest ever failed in this island, and on this account *Belle-Isle*, in time of famine is of vast advantage not only to *Bretagne*, but also to the whole kingdom. The grain generally sowed is wheat, and oats, which the island produces in great abundance, not only on account of the nature of the soil, which is excellent, but also because the inhabitants manure it plentifully with a kind of weed called *Gcesmon*, which the sea throws out in great plenty upon the shore, this fattens, and improves the land more than any other kind of manure, and costs the inhabitants nothing but the trouble of gathering it.

N° XLI.

The inhabitants are all farmers, and tenants to the proprietor of the island, except the merchants, and citizens of the city of *Palais*, and some others in the three country towns belonging to the island. All the farmers are employed in cultivating and improving the land, and have no liberty to apply to any other business or employment without the express permission and particular consent of the proprietor. They are also obliged to work for him, and employ their cattle and waggons in his immediate service, whenever he pleases, without wages or reward; only it is customary, on such occasions, to give each of them a pound and a half of bread per day. When they are not employed in cultivating the ground or working for the landlord they have leave to go a fishing pilchards, whereof about three thousand barrels are caught yearly in the whole island.

One of the privileges of the proprietor, is, that he has twelve sols paid him for every marriage in the island. It was formerly but six sols, but the original tax was a certain quantity of meat, bread, and wine, of old valued at six sols, but in modern times reckoned worth twice that sum. While the island was in the possession of the Monks, and a long time after, it depended, with regard to spirituals, on the bishop of *Rome*. Madam *Fouquet*, the widow of the superintendant of the Finances of that name, was the

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first



first that took proper measures to get it subjected to the bishop of *Vannes*.

It once belonged to the Earl of *Cornouaille*; afterwards *Jeoffry* Earl of *Rennes* seized it by usurpation, and gave it to the abbey of *Redon*, out of regard to his brother *Catuallon*, who was Abbé at that time. *Allan* the son of *Jeoffry*, and Duke of *Bretagne*, took it from the Monks of *Redon*, and restored it to the Earl of *Cornouaille*; who, sometime after, gave it to the abbey of *Quimperlay*, which he had founded sometime before. These different donations were the occasion of many controversies, law-suits, and violences, which continued for near sixty years thereafter, and at last were happily terminated in 1472, by an agreement concluded between the Monks of the two abbeys in the presence of two of the *Pope's* legates. In the year 1572, the Monks of *Quimperlay*, represented to the King of *France*, that it was not for the advantage of the state, that the property of the island should continue in their hands, because in time of war the enemies of the nation found means to fortify themselves in it, and in peace, it became the receptacle of pirates who did as much if not more hurt than foreign enemies. That it would therefore be proper his Majesty should take it into his own hands, and give them in exchange a revenue of equal value more suited to their circumstances and manner of life. Upon this representation the Marshal *de Retz*, the favourite of *Charles IX.* and at that time Governor of *Bretagne*; obtained from that Prince letters patent, authorising him to take the island to himself, and give the Monks the equivalent they demanded: on condition however, that the said Marshal *de Retz*, for the security of the island, should build a fortress at his own charge, and maintain proper officers and a garrison to defend it, reserving, however, to the King and his successors the right of re-

uniting the island to the crown when they should think proper: The King granted also an exemption from all sorts of taxes and other privileges to the inhabitants, on condition, that they themselves, without any military assistance, should guard the island against the enterprises of the enemies of the state. The Kings who succeeded *Charles* the IXth. confirmed these privileges, as far down as the year 1719; the islanders having during this whole period, taken arms upon all necessary occasions and opposed such enemies as attempted to make descents upon the island.

The Marshal *de Retz*, thus put in possession of *Belle-Isle*, built on it at his own expence a vast number of houses, so that in a little time it became very populous; and the houses as well as the lands being the property of the Marshal, and his successors, the inhabitants have scarce any thing that they can call their own. This perfect dependance which the farmers of *Belle-Isle* have upon their Lord is very singular, in so much that the general lease which is renewed every ninth year is granted to the farmers of the island in general, and the whole society is bound to answer for every particular member. In less than 30 years, *Belle-Isle* became so considerable that *Henry IV.* of *France* wanted to annex it to the crown, and give the Marshal *de Retz* other estates in exchange for it. A treaty was actually set on foot for this purpose, but the Marshal found means to prevent its being brought to conclusion. From this time the project of reuniting *Belle-Isle* to the crown was revived almost every reign, but never fully compleated and settled till the year 1726; when the Marquis *de Belle-Isle* finally yielded the island to the King and received an exchange for it, the County of *Gisors* with several other considerable estates.

The island contains one little city called *le Palais*, 3 country towns, 103 villages and about 5000 inhabitants.

All the houses were built at the charge of the proprietors of the family of *Retz* or of the name of *Fouquet*. The town of *Palais* takes its name from a castle belonging to the Marquis de *Belle-isle* in its neighbourhood, which is now converted into a citadel, and the *French* King keeps a strong garrison in it. There are here two magazines, one is called the higher magazine, and stands upon the tennis-court, near the parish church. It has two floors, and serves as a granary for the corn belonging to the proprietor of the island. The lower buildings are employed for pressing and salting pilchards, and consist of a long row of low buildings standing upon the sands near the shore. The ovens belonging to the proprietor are at the top of *Paladin* row, and lett, at the rate of six hundred livres a year, to a farmer, who is obliged to keep the pavements in good repair, and be at every other charge. The salt work lies at the end of the second basin belonging to the harbour, adjoining to the proprietor's kitchen garden. It is surrounded with a dike faced on the outside with stone, and on the inside with turf. It contains a hundred pits for producing salt, each of which is twenty four feet in length, and as much in breadth. And to let in and out the sea water, there is a causeway, and a bridge of cut stone with a sluice. At the mouth of the harbour there is a jettee or pier of cut stone about thirty feet in breadth, and two hundred in length. There are in the island three harbours; the two first, which are those of *Palais* and *Sauzon*, lie on the north, and north west parts of the island, from the point *des Poulains* to that of *Locmaria*; the third, called *Goulfard*, is on the south side. In the two first are the lesser and larger boats employed in the pilchard fishery which is the only branch of trade cultivated in the island.

Every one who is the least acquainted with maritime affairs, is sensible of the great advantages that would accrue

to trade from a harbour in this island, capable of receiving ships of burthen; because it is in effect the first land made by vessels coming from the east and west *Indies*, that are designed for the western ports of *France*, and sailors prefer it to all others; on account of the ease with which they can discover it at the distance of 30 or 40 leagues, as also because the coast of it is very healthy. Those ships that touch at this island lie in the road of *Palais*, where they have the best anchoring ground, but they are not willing to run this hazard in bad weather, because they always find there a high sea, which, together with the violence of the winds, often render it impossible for the boats and sloops to come out, and give them the assistance they may want; besides that if the wind happen to blow fresh from the north or north east, they are obliged to get out to sea, or run the hazard of being driven upon the coast. This has been the loss of many a good ship, especially in time of war, when these parts are infested with *English* and *Dutch* privateers, which would not be the case if there were any good harbour in the island.

The harbour of *Palais* would be the best for this purpose were it capable of great improvement, because it has the best road: it is also the principal place of the island, the most populous, and the best built; and the walls of the citadel, which stand upon a rock, contribute much to form the mouth of the harbour, but it is so far from being large enough for admitting vessels of considerable burthen, that sloops, of twelve or fifteen tons cannot enter it except at full sea, and these are dry at low water. The harbour of *Sauzon* seems to be more capable of improvement, for though it cannot admit vessels of above forty or fifty tons burthen, and these are also dry at low water, yet it is surrounded with very high hills which secure it from all winds; the



the sea there is also more calm, and nature seems to have almost formed docks for the building and careening of ships, which might be brought to perfection with very little expence, so that this harbour seems preferable to that of *Palais* in several respects, were it not that there are docks already established at the latter, and a good citadel to defend the mouth of the harbour, advantages which could not be easily obtained at *Sauzon*.

*Goulfard*, the third harbour we mentioned, and the only one that lies on the south side of the island is unknown to most sailors, though it is capable of admitting 50 gun ships every tide; because the entrance into it is so dangerous, on account of rocks, that those who know it best will scarce attempt to enter it, except in desperate cases, when there is no other visible means of avoiding shipwreck. It has this further disadvantage that it is not quite covered from south winds which are the most dangerous and most violent on that coast.

A hundred and fifty boats between two and three tons burthen are here employed every year in fishing pilchards. The fishing begins in the month of *June*, and commonly ends in that of *October*. Every boat is provided with masts, sails, helms, and oars, as well as ten or twelve nets which are commonly two and twenty fathoms in length, and two and a half in breadth, with a sufficient quantity of cork, disposed along one of the sides to raise that part of the net to the surface of the water, and a proportional weight of lead to sink the opposite side. They carry so many nets, because the meshes in different nets are of different sizes, and by that means they can always suit their nets to the several sizes of the pilchards. Every boat or sloop has a master and at least three sailors; they sail from *Belle-Isle* early enough to get to one or two leagues distance from shore by break of day, where they find

ten or twelve fathom water, there they spread their nets, and throw the proper bait in the water, which falling to the bottom sets the pilchards in motion, and engages them to rise towards the surface of the sea, on which the fishers are continually throughing this bait to allure them into the net\*. By this means they catch them in such numbers that it is no uncommon thing to see a sloop come in with 25 or 30,000 pilchards taken at one fishing. Almost all the sloops of the island belong to the merchants residing there, who furnish them compleatly rigged, and agree with the fishermen that are employed on board. They generally allow a master thirty livres and a certain quantity of wine, and ten livres to a common sailor besides their share in fishing. They also furnish the bait at a certain price agreed upon with the crews of the sloops, and the fish when they are caught are divided in the following manner.

Suppose a sloop after fishing a whole week has caught 100,000 pilchards, and sold them to the proprietor of the sloop, or any other merchant, at the rate of thirty sols the thousand, the price of the whole will amount to 150 livres, take away from this the price of the bait, which may amount to fifty livres, the neat produce of the fishery will be a hundred livres, which is divided into two equal parts, one to the proprietor of the sloop, the other to the fishermen. In common years a sailor may gain during the fishing, which generally lasts four or five months, eighty or a hundred livres, besides the customary gratuity of wine. A larger sort of sloops or boats, from three to six tons burthen, belonging to different places, come from *Belle-isle* and the river of *Vannes*, to purchase the pilchards of the fishermen. The owners of these sloops salt the fish they purchase with white salt, and

\* The bait used for alluring pilchards into the net is the spawn or eggs of small fishes.

carry

carry them in that condition to *Nantes*, *Bordeaux*, and other places along the coast, from the *Loire* to the *Garonne*, where they find vent for them. But the merchants of *Belle-isle* purchase the greatest part of them, and cure them in the following manner. First of all they salt them with great salt, and let them lye fifteen days in the pickle; after this they wash them in sea water and put them in barrels made of beech, with two bottoms, whereof the uppermost has a great many holes in it to let the water and oyl, which is in the fish, run off. To this purpose they press them with heavy weight for ten days, at the end of which they reckon the pilchards are entirely cleared from their oyl. The water and the oyl thus cleared are conveyed by a canal or into a vessel designed for their reception, whence the oyl is afterwards taken and prepared for use. Thirty or forty barrels of fish produce but one of oyl. The pilchards, thus cured are sent to *Bilboa*, *St. Sebastian*, *Bayonne*, and all the towns and villages along the *Garonne*; to the maritime places of *Poitou*, *Aunis*, and *Saintonge*, and to *Nantes*, whence they are sent to the other towns upon the *Loire*. As to the oyl, a part of it is consumed in the island in careening the sloops and other vessels, the common people also use it in their lamps. The rest of it is sent to *Bordeaux*, and *Nantes*. Upon the whole it is said that this trade brings to *Belle-isle*, in common years, from 140 to 160,000 livres.

The islands of *Houac* and *Hoedic* belong to the government of *Belle-isle*. The first lying about the distance of two leagues, from it, extends a league in length and half a league in breadth. The second is almost three leagues distant from *Belle-isle*, and not above half as big as the former. They both belong to the Monks of the abbey of *St. Gildas* on the *Isthmus* of *Rhuis*. They are each of them fortified with a good tower armed with cannons, surrounded with a large

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ditch, and garrisoned, in time of war, by a detachment of twenty four men, under the command of a Lieutenant from the garrison of *Belle-isle*. The great design of fortifying them was to prevent their being places of refuge to the privateers of *Jersey* and *Guernsey* who used to make descents upon them to lay in stores of water and provisions. These islands produce wheat only, a fourth part whereof is carried away by the Abbé and Monks of *St. Gildas*, the other three parts are scarce sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. There are about fifty men on the island of *Houac*, and thirty on *Hoedic*, who, notwithstanding a life of severe labour and hardship, retain the strength and vigour of the first ages of mankind, being exceeding well made, and almost all of a gigantic stature. They are generally employed in fishing Congre-eels, skate, and pilchards which they sell fresh. The inhabitants of *Houac* have seven small sloops, those of *Hoedic* four, on board of each of which they put six or seven men. There is no harbour in either of these islands; therefore it is their custom to run their sloops and boats a shore, and hawl them beyond high water mark.

The fleet that was sent from *England*, under Lord *Berkely*, to bombard the *French* coast in the year 1696, came to anchor on the 4th of *June*, about two leagues from *Belle-isle*, and the barges and pinnaces being manned made a descent upon the island of *Houac*, and having ravaged it, burnt the only town they found upon it. They served the island of *Hoedic* in the same manner, and brought off a great number of cattle. General *Sinclair* also in the year 1746, after raising the siege of *Port l'Orient*, having landed a detachment of his forces at *Quiberon* bay, a party of the sailors went on shore, and reduced the islands of *Houac* and *Hoedic*. But it is now time to return to the continent.

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About six leagues from the entrance into the *Morbihan*, or gulf of *Vannes*, is the mouth of the river of *Vilaine*, in Latin *Vicinonia*, *Vicino*, *Vicenonia*, *Viscon*, *Vison*, and *Visnonia*, one of the most considerable in *Bretagne*, except the *Loire*. It takes its rise above *Argentré*, passes from thence to *Vitré*,

*Rennes*, *Belle-Perche*, *Redon*, *Roche-Bernard*, and after receiving a great many smaller rivers in its course, empties itself into the bay of *Biscay*. This river separates the Bishoprick of *Vannes* from the country of the *Nantois*, of which latter the principal town is

## N A N T E S,

**I**N Latin *Condivincum*, *civitas Namnetum*, *civitas Namnetica*, *Namnetes*, *Namneta*, situated in the latitude of 47 degrees, 15 minutes north, and one degree 30 minutes to the westward of the meridian of *London*; lying 17 leagues almost south-west from *Angers*, 21 south from *Rennes*, 27 north from *Rochelle*, and about 80 south-west from *Paris*.

The town stands upon the *Loire*, *Ligeris*, the most considerable river in *France*; which takes its rise from the foot of Mount *Gerbier-du-Jou*, in the *Vivarez*, about five leagues from the town of *Puy*, near which it passes, then takes its course through *Forez*, and becomes navigable at *Roanne*; after which, it runs through the countries of *Bourbonnois*, *Nevernois* (which it separates from *Berry*) *Orleannois*, *Tourains* and *Anjou*, then empties itself into the sea, about twelve leagues from *Nantes*. In its course it waters many large cities, and presents them with one of the greatest conveniencies for trade. The most considerable of these are *Roanne*, *Bourbon-Lancy*, *Dezize*, *La Charité* (where there is an excellent bridge) *Gien*, *Orleans*, *Beaujency*, *Amboise*, *Tours*, *Saumur*, and *Nantes*. But if it enriches all these provinces, it distresses them sometimes with its inundations, occasioned by the want of sufficient depth of channel, and the vast quantities of water that are derived

to it by the dissolution of the snows on the mountains of *Velay* and *Forez*, through which it passes. To prevent the dismal consequences of these inundations, the inhabitants of those provinces are put to the charge of raising strong causeways, and high banks, which after all the impetuous torrent often breaks through. The principal rivers it receives in its course are the *Allier* about two leagues from *Nevers*; the *Cher*, and the *Indre* near *Tours*; the *Vienne*, near *Montfereau*, the *Starte*, the *Mayenne*, and the *Loir*, near the bridge of *Cé*, the *Sevre* and the *Ardre*, at *Nantes*.

Some of the *French* have the vanity to believe that this city had its name from one of the Kings of the *Gauls* called *Namnes*, who, according to them, laid the foundations of it, in the year of the world 2715; but most writers of that nation carry its antiquity no higher than the times of the *Roman Empire* in *Gaul*, before the end of which they will have it to have been a place of some figure and consequence, and in proof of this, they produce the authority of *Strabo*, *Cæsar*, *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. The town is very large, and surrounded with ramparts, defended by bastions, and some old works, with large and deep ditches. *Allan* surnamed *Barbe-torte*, Duke of *Bretagne*, built the castle, which stands on the bank of the *Loire*, flanked with some

some large round towers on the side next the town, and with half moons, on that next the suburb of *St. Clement*. The Cathedral church is dedicated to *St. Peter*, we find in the acts of *St. Felix*, that in the reign of *Constantine* the Great, there was a church built at *Nantes*, consisting of three vaults united together, which was standing in the time of *Clotarius*, the son of *Clovis*. *Eumelius*, at that time bishop of *Nantes*, laid the foundation of a more stately fabric, but this bishop dying before it was compleated, his successor *Felix* finished it, and it was consecrated with great solemnity in the year 568. This church was covered with block-tin, the great nave stood in the middle between two others of lesser size, and over it was raised a square tower terminating in a dome, and supported by several archers. The ornaments on the inside were very sumptuous, the roof was supported by a great number of pillars, with marble chapiters, of various colours. Altars of the finest marble were enriched with crowns of gold, vases of silver, and other precious ornaments. *St. Felix* placed over a marble pillar a large silver Crucifix with ornaments of gold and precious stones, fixed to the principal vault by a massy chain of silver, the pavement consisted of various sorts of marble, and on the top of a marble pillar was placed a large ruby, which illuminated the whole church in the night time. This magnificent church was destroyed by the *Normans*, but, after their fury ceased, there was a new one built in the same place. *John V.* Duke of *Bretagne* laid the first stone of that front of it which is still remaining, in the month of *April* 1434. It is built in the gothic manner, and flanked with two great square towers which enlarge it considerably.

There are five suburbs at *Nantes*, viz. the suburb of *Pilemel*, otherwise called *St. James's* suburb, the suburb of *St.*

*Clement*, and those of *la Fosse*, *Richebourg*, and *Machi*. The suburb of *la Fosse* is the richest of them all, because the merchants have their houses and magazines there. These five suburbs taken together are much larger than the town itself, and the whole town and suburbs are said to contain upwards of an hundred thousand inhabitants. The town house is a very large building. There are here several bridges remarkable for their length which is said to be a full quarter of a league.

*Nantes* is very happily situated for trade as it stands upon the bank of a large navigable river, within twelve miles of the sea. In former times, large ships could come up the river to *Cuiron*, within three leagues of *Nantes*; but the channel of the *Loire* being since spoiled with sand beds, vessels of an hundred tons and upwards cannot now get further than the town of *Painbeuf*, where they are obliged to unload their cargoes, and put them on board small barges, to carry them up to *Nantes*. It may be however said, without exaggeration, that there is no town in the kingdom of *France* where trade is carried on with greater life and spirit, or where merchants get sooner rich. The merchants of *Nantes* have commonly no less than an hundred and twenty vessels, from fifty to eighty tons burthen; and these are employed in trading to *Guinea*, the *French* islands in *America*, in the cod fishing, and foreign trade. Since the *India* company gave up to private merchants the *Negro* trade, for a certain term of years, eighteen or twenty ships have been fitted out every year at *Nantes* for that branch of commerce, and have transported at least three hundred blacks to the *French* colonies. When these ships set out for *Guinea* they take on board some of the commodities of *France* such as linens, musquets, iron, glass, crystal, hats, coral, brandy, &c. But they are obliged to take the best part of their cargoes from *Holland* and *England*, such as blue



and white cotton cloth, and utensils made of brass, &c. In exchange for the blacks which they carry to the west-Indies, they bring to *France* sugar, indigo, untanned leather, cotton, cocoa, ginger, dying woods, and other commodities and fruits of *America*.

The merchants at *Nantes* likewise fit out every year seventy two or eighty vessels, for the *French* islands in the west Indies, particularly *St. Domingo*, and *Martinico*. The cargoes of these vessels consist of all sorts of the necessaries of life; the only difference is that the greatest quantities of *Irish* salt beef are sent to *Martinico*. The returns to *France* by these ships are much the same with those they receive in exchange for their Negroes.

The sugars that come from *Martinico* are commonly refined; but those from *St. Domingo* are sent raw to *France*; these last are refined at *Nantes*, *Saumur*, *Angers*, and *Orleans*, where also the sugars refined at *Martinico* and *Guadaloupe*, are further purified. As the *French* colonies are now so much improved that old *France* cannot consume all the sugars they produce, the council of trade have for some years past granted liberty to their merchants to export some part of their sugars to other nations. So that now they furnish *Holland* with the sugars and syrups which they formerly used to have from *England*. They also furnish a part of the sugars which are consumed in *Spain* and *Italy*. Large quantities of indigo are annually sent from *St. Domingo* to *Nantes*, whence it is exported to *Holland*, *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*; and the *French* colonies, and now in condition to dispose of that commodity cheaper than the *Spaniards* or *Dutch* who were formerly in possession of the trade.

They also fit out at *Nantes* several vessels for the green cod fishery on the banks of *Newfoundland*, and bring home dry cod from the island of *Cape-Breton*. These vessels bring to *Nantes*

the fish, and oyl, the greatest part whereof is conveyed by the *Loire* to the different provinces of the kingdom. Before the cession of *Plaisance*, and the coast of *Newfoundland* to the *English*, by the treaty of *Utrecht*. The merchants of *Nantes* sent out a greater number of vessels than they do now, and some of these vessels carried their fish to *Spain*, and to the *Mediterranean*: but that cession together with the scarcity of cod for some years past, has greatly distressed that branch of trade, and will probably ruin it entirely, if the *English* exert themselves to get it into their own hands.

The merchants of *Nantes* likewise send out annually fifteen or twenty vessels from forty to a hundred tons burthen for foreign trade. A part of these vessels are sent, to *Ireland* to load with salt beef which they bring home to *Nantes*, and carry from thence to the *French* windward islands. Others trade to *England*, *Holland*, the *Baltic* sea, *Spain*, and *Portugal*. They carry to the north, wines, brandy, honey, syrups, and other commodities. To *Spain* they carry linens, stuffs, cocoa, sugar, &c. Their returns from the north are masts, planks, cordage, hemp, brass, steel, and lead, &c. Those from *Spain* and *Portugal* are made in iron, oyl, cochineal, tobacco, and other commodities which the colonies of these two kingdoms produce, and are not to be had in the colonies of *France*. The transportation of goods from *Painbeuf* to *Nantes*, and from *Nantes* to *Painbeuf* employs more than 286 sloops, barges and boats.

Besides the trade carried on by the ships and sloops belonging to the merchants of this town, vast numbers of ships resort to *Nantes* from other places. There are particularly upwards of 900,000 weight of green cod, brought yearly to *Nantes*, principally by the ships of *O'Lonne*, and when *France* is at war with *England* and *Holland* this importation

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is much more considerable; because of the risque the ships would run, by entering into the channel to go to *Rouen*, or *Havre de Grace*. On such occasions therefore *Nantes* is a kind of temporary magazine for the whole kingdom, and that commodity is dispersed from thence through all the parts of *France*. Besides this, the greatest part of the ships that are fitted out from other ports of the kingdom, either for the *French* islands in the west *Indies*, or the cod fishing in *America* commonly bring their returns to *Nantes*, except those belonging to *Rochelle*, and *Bourdeaux*; because all kinds of commodities find an easier vent at *Nantes*, than at other places.

Several vessels also from *Bayonne* come to *Nantes* loaded with *Spanish* wool, rosin, pitch, &c. and return to *Spain* with linen, sugar, small wares made of brass and iron, &c. A good many little barks from the ports of *Bretagne* and other places on the *French* coast resort to *Nantes* with corn and other goods, which they exchange for the commodities of that place; for it rarely happens that any vessel returns from it empty or in ballast. In former times, many vessels from *England*, *Holland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Hamburg*, and other northern countries frequented this harbour to load with the wines of *Nantois* and *Anjou*, brandy, salt, and various kinds of fruits; but the disadvantages attending the *French* trade, particularly the heavy duties imposed upon goods imported into, or carried out of that kingdom, have determined these nations to take the greatest part of their wines and salt from *Spain* and *Portugal*. After all, it is pretended, that more than fifty ships from foreign countries arrive yearly at *Nantes*, whereof those from *Holland* import cinnamon, spices, starch, lead, white lead, lead ore, copper, tobacco-pipes, planks, oak timber, masts, pitch, cordage, hemp, iron and brass wire, tanned leather, hogs lard,

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oil, whalebone, toys and mercery goods. In return they take wine, brandy, paper, prunes, and especially salt, with which they are furnished from *Bourneuf*, and *Noulinguen*. The *English* ships bring cargoes of lead, block-tin, copperas, and coals. They take their returns in the commodities of *France*, such as wine, brandy, &c. but as the goods they import are not very considerable, they are said to leave at *Nantes* a large ballance of money. There is a great demand at *Nantes* for the commodities of *Ireland*, and the *Irish* vessels supply that place with butter, hogs-lard, salt-beef, herrings, raw and tanned hides, and wool, when they can venture to carry it out off their own country. The *Hamburgers*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Poles* bring to *Nantes* the produce of their several countries, such as copper, steel, planks, masts, pitch, cordage, and hemp.

The merchants of *Nantes* carry on a considerable trade with *Bilboa*, *St. Sebastian*, *Corunna*, and all the coast of *Galicia*, but in this trade they employ only small vessels loaded with copper, linen, silks, gold and silver lace, sugar, small-wares, mercery goods, and earthen ware. In return for these commodities they bring home to *Nantes*, iron, *Spanish* wool, sheep skins, oranges, citrons, and a considerable ballance in gold and silver.

There is so great a connexion betwixt the merchants of *Nantes*, and those of *Bilboa*, that they have formed themselves in a kind of joint society, called the *Contractation*. This society is said to have subsisted more than a hundred years, and to be vested with a kind of Consular power. Those merchants of *Nantes* which happen to be at *Bilboa*, have not only a right to be present at the meetings of the *contractation* there; but also a voice in all affairs that come before it. The merchants of *Bilboa* have the same privilege at *Nantes*, and we are told, that in consequence of this

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particular connexion between the traders of these two cities, *Spanish* wool pays a very easy duty at *Nantes*, and the linens of *Bretagne* meet with the same indulgence at *Bilboa*. In former times the correspondence betwixt the merchants of these two places was carried so far, that they had ships in common, which traded for the general profit of the joint society; but this practice has been for some time discontinued. The merchants of *Nantes*, above thirty years ago, set up a manufacture of linen which they called *Toiles Coronades*, that has succeeded as well as one of the same kind established long before at *Rouen*, and, it is thought, will in time exceed it, because cotton and indigo are here to be had at a cheaper rate than at *Rouen*. To conclude all we intend concerning the trade of *Nantes*, there are two annual fairs at this city, one called the fair of *Nantes*, which begins on the day of St. *Donatian* and St. *Rogatian*, two Christian martyrs, said to be natives of *Nantes*, and patrons of the Diocese of that name; it lasts fifteen days, and sometimes more. The other, called the free-fair begins on the first of *January*, and lasts till the purification. During the continuance of it strangers may purchase wine and brandy, and carry it off duty free.

The *French* authors take notice of several curiosities at *Nantes*, particularly the tomb of *Francis II.* the last Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Dutchess his consort, in the Church of the *Carmelites*, curiously formed of white marble\*. The curious also see with pleasure the hermitage, which stands upon an eminence, about a league from the town, where there is a charming prospect of the city, suburbs, and all the places round them. Here the *Capuchins* have cut a

hermitage with a pretty little Church, and a garden out of the solid rock. At a small distance from the hermitage is an elevated part of the same rock, called the stone of *Nantes*. The surface of which is very smooth, slippery, and sloping downward, yet the children, for a little money, dance and jump upon it with wonderful art and agility to the great surprize of the Spectators. In the parochial Church of St. *Nicolas*, there is over the high altar, a plate of glass of extraordinary size, and the exquisite painting upon it is said to merit the attention of the curious. It contains a beautiful representation of the fifty six miracles of Jesus Christ; and it is observed that the fifty six pictures of our Lord which are on it have a great resemblance to one another. The *French* author adds, and are agreeable to the account of his person given by antient writers.

The reader will not wonder that in a town so populous and opulent, where trade produces money and luxury, there should be large swarms of lazy indolent ecclesiasticks, especially of the monastick and mendicant orders. The *Chartreux* monks have a Convent at the extremity of the suburb of *Richebourg*; the *Minims* one in the city; the *Dominicans*, *Cordeliers*, and *Carmelites* one each in the suburb of *la Fosse*, the *Capuchins*, besides their hermitage already mentioned, have a Convent in the same suburbs, and the *Jesuits* and several other orders have houses in the suburb of St. *Clement*. The societies of Nuns are also numerous. In the suburb of St. *Clement* are the Convents of the *Ursuline* Nuns, and the Nuns of the Visitation; in the city, the Nuns of St. *Clara*, St. *Thomas*, and the penitents; and in the suburb of *Machi* the Nuns of St. *Elizabeth*. There is here also a beautiful infirmary, and a general hospital, called *le Sanita*, into which foundlings and the children of the poor are admitted.

\* See a particular account of it, in the *Nouvelle Description de la France* par *Piganiol de la-Force*, tom 8. p. 2. 87, &c.

The city of *Nantes* is not more famous for extensive commerce and the arts of peace, than for the many revolutions it has undergone in former times, and the sieges it has sustained. About the year 1475, the *Saxons* under the conduct of *Odoacer*, invaded *Bretagne*, and having laid all the towns from the mouth of the *Loire* to *Angers* under contribution, *Nantes*, as well as the other places in those parts, was obliged to submit to the Conquerors, and give hostages to the Barbarians. This state of affairs did not continue long, the *Saxons* soon followed their General to *Italy*, and appeared not again in *Bretagne*, till about twenty years thereafter, when another swarm of them, under the command of *Chilon*, sailed up the *Loire* and besieged *Nantes*. The inhabitants of the town, after a vigorous defence for two months, begun to be dispirited, but when they were upon the point of giving way to despair, we are told, that all of a sudden the *Saxons* were seized with such a panic, that the greatest part fled with precipitation, tho' none pursued, and the rest, deserted by the bulk of their army, accepted of terms from the besieged, embraced the christian religion and settled at *Nantes*.

Thus the people of *Nantes* were delivered from the *Saxons*; but they found a more dangerous enemy in the *Normans*, who invaded them in the year 1483. This savage nation had ravaged some parts of the coast of *Bretagne* and *Poictou*, more than ten years before; but they had not till now ventured far from the shore, nor is it probable they would have done it, so soon, had they not been under the influence and direction of *Lambert*, who having usurped the government of the town and country of *Nantes*, had been a little before expelled by the inhabitants.

This, *Lambert*, who was originally a man of fortune in *Nantes*, and had been of very great use to *Charles*, surnamed

the Bald, of *France*, in his wars, having in return for all his services, demanded of that Prince the government of *Nantes* and the country annexed to it, had the mortification to see *Renand* Count of *Erbaugé*, who had also very great merit with *Charles*, preferred to him. This disappointment so sensibly affected *Lambert* that he retired from court in great rage, and meditated revenge. With this view he prevailed with *Nominoy*, then Earl of *Bretagne*, to lend him an army, by means whereof he might seize the government of *Nantes*, and expell his rival. *Nominoy* not only agreed to let him have the army he had already on foot, under the command of his son *Erispoy*, but also gave him leave to raise as many more troops as he thought proper, in his dominions. Meantime The inhabitants of *Nantes*, perceiving the storm which was ready to fall upon them, applied for assistance to their new Governor *Renaud*, who was, at that time, in *Poictou*. *Renaud* did not suffer them to wait long, but having by the assistance of his friends and relations drawn together a considerable army; passed the *Loire* without loss of time, and advanced to meet *Erispoy*, who, by this time, was making dispositions to pass the *Vilaine* at *Messac*. *Erispoy* had not passed above the half of his troops, when *Renaud* came up with his army in good order, and taking advantage of the present situation of the *Bretons*, immediately gave the signal for battle. The *French*, upon this, attacking their enemies with the impetuosity which is natural to them, slew a great many and put the rest to flight. Those of *Erispoy's* troops, who had not yet passed the river, did not wait for the coming of the enemy, but made the best of their way backward to join *Lambert*, who was waiting for a reinforcement of troops from the bishoprick of *St. Malo*. *Renaud*, elevated with the small advantage he had gained, marched his army backwards, and encamped for some time in the fields of *Blein*; on the banks of the river



river *Isaac*, despising the *Bretons*, and imagining he had nothing more to fear. It was not long before he was undeceived, his imprudence and security cost him his life, and the lives of the greatest part of his army; for *Lambert* having surprised the *French* in disorder, gave no quarter to any, but those for whom he expected a large ransom.

After a victory so compleat, *Nominoi* did not scruple to assume the title of King of *Bretagne*, and *Lambert* marched with his victorious army toward *Nantes*. The inhabitants of that city were in no condition to oppose his entrance; they therefore opened their gates to him, and he took possession of the government he had so ardently desired.

Though *Lambert* had reaped so great advantage from the imprudence of *Renaud*, he soon fell into a mistake himself, which was every way as great, and had like to have been as fatal; for after having rewarded his troops for their services, to gain the favour of the *Nantese*, he dismissed the greatest part of his army. He could do nothing more agreeable to the people of *Nantes* who failed not to improve the advantage he had given them over him; but *Lambert* did not perceive his error till it was too late, and he was obliged in a shameful manner to take to flight.

The despite and rage, which he felt, upon this severe affront, suggested to him the cruel resolution of abandoning his country to the Barbarians; the *Bretons*, he imagined, would not take a vengeance severe enough; he therefore applied to the *Normans*. With this view he went to the coast of *Normandy*, told them what rout they should take; assured them that the town was defenceless, and the more to excite their avarice made them believe that the Cathedral Church was quite covered with gold and silver, besides the immense riches which they would find in the other churches, and private houses. The *Normans* animated, with the hopes of

so rich a booty, embarked in great haste, and *Lambert* having put himself at their head, conducted them round *Bretagne*, as far as the town of *Baz*. From thence, he shewed them the mouth of the *Loire*, and left them, after he had given particular directions with regard to every part of their conduct. The *Norman* fleet consisting of 67 ships sailed up the *Loire* with a favourable wind, and in a little time appeared before *Nantes*, about thirty days after *Lambert* had been expelled. The whole people of the neighbourhood happened to be assembled that day to celebrate the festival of St. *John* the Baptist. The terror of the *Normans* had also determined those who lived in sight of the *Loire*, and saw them approaching to shut themselves up in the town, it was also full of Monks, who had brought with them all the relicts, and treasures of gold and silver belonging to their Churches; women, who had taken refuge in it to avoid the violence, and cruelty of the Barbarians, and of men, who had resorted to it, from principles of devotion, curiosity or fear; but there were no soldiers to defend the walls.

The *Normans*, as soon as they came up invested the town, almost without opposition, some planted scaling ladders at the foot of the walls, others applied themselves to break open the gates; so that the town vigorously attacked on all sides, and poorly defended, was soon taken by assault. As soon as the enemy got within the walls, all the people who could get into the great church, took refuge in it, and shut the gates, the rest were abandoned to the cruelty, lust, and avarice of the enemies; who, after they had pillaged, sacked, and filled the whole place with blood and desolation, attacked the great church. Here all the treasures and riches of the country were piled up. And the people within had nothing to defend themselves but their prayers, which the *Normans* disregarding, broke the windows

and gates, and discharged their blind fury indifferently upon all ages and sexes. When they were weary of killing, they began to spare some of the better sort, which seemed to belong to families possessed of wealth and riches; all the rest were sacrificed to their hatred and aversion to christianity. The clergy particularly, the Monks and the Bishop were put to the sword, and their blood mingled with their sacrifices. They then pillaged the Churches, and having carried off all the treasures and ornaments thereof put them on board their ships with a great number of prisoners; thereafter having embarked themselves, they fell down the river, having spent but one day in this expedition. Soon after a number of other *Norman* vessels arrived, and these new comers more hungry than the first, dispersed themselves round *Nantes*, throughout the countries of *Tiffauge*, *Mauge*, and *Herbauge*, where they set fire to the houses, and pillaged and burnt all the Churches; among others the monastery of *St. Philbert*, which the Monks of *Noirmoutier* had built after the first desolation of their own island, and that of *St. Ermeland*, in the isle of *Indre*. The infidels on this occasion, carried off a great many prisoners, and cruelly massacred all the rest that could not escape their fury by flight. At the end of ten days the whole *Norman* army retired at the isle *Noirmoutier*, where having divided their booty and slaves they embarked to return home. But in their passage, a storm arising, they were driven upon the coast of *Gallicia*, where they were so roughly handled by the *Spaniards* that out of eighty ships only thirty returned. These in their way from *Spain*, few as they were, could not abstain from ravaging the coast of *France* near *Bordeaux*, and spent so much of their time this way that they were obliged to winter in an island, near the coast of *Aquitaine*.

N°XLII.

*Lambert* after taking so severe a revenge upon the people of *Nantes*, found it no difficult matter to possess himself once more, of a city in ruins, and a country almost entirely laid waste. It was not yet known, that he had been the Author of this dreadful tragedy. He therefore came to *Nantes*, shed abundance of false tears over the ruins of the city, and told the few inhabitants that remained, that, by expelling him, they had deprived themselves of their Protector, and drawn these calamities upon their own heads; but in consideration of what they had already suffered he was willing to forget the wrongs they had done him, and compassion had extinguished in his heart all thoughts of resentment, and every desire of vengeance. The inhabitants of *Nantes* entirely employed in repairing their town, suffered *Lambert* to take possession of the government without opposition, and the latter, more cautious than he had been before, strengthened his interest with a strong body of troops. Moreover to engage the affections of the officers, he gave them estates in that part of the country of *Nantois*, which lies next to *Acquitaine*. About three years thereafter the inhabitants of *Nantes* discovered that *Lambert* had brought the *Normans* upon them, and thereby been the occasion of all the calamities they had suffered. This excited new animosities, in consequence of which *Lambert* was once more obliged to leave *Nantes* and never returned to it more.

In the year 853, ten years after the first invasion, the *Normans* took *Nantes* a second time, and renewed the scenes of barbarity and horror, which they had occasioned before. It was also taken and sacked by the same Barbarians in the year 874, soon after which they were defeated by *Allen I.* Earl of *Bretagne*, and entirely drove out of the country. This did not prevent their returning again in 919, when

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they not only sacked *Nantes*, but seized the whole province of *Bretagne*, and kept possession of it for several years, till at last they were defeated by *Allen Barbe-torte*, and again expelled out of the province.

Their last invasion of *Bretagne* happened in the year 952, when the *Loire* was seen covered with their ships, and all the provinces watered by that river trembled at their approach. As soon as they had landed their troops, they attacked *Nantes*, and in a short time made themselves masters of the town; but the castle which had been repaired and fortified by *Allen Barbe-torte*, still held out. The inhabitants, applied to *Foulques* Earl of *Anjou* for assistance, in expectation of which they held out eight days longer; but finding themselves disappointed at last, and that *Foulques* would not stir for fear of bringing the *Normans* upon himself, despair itself inflamed their courage, and animated them to encounter the greatest extremities of danger. They made frequent and vigorous sallies, and tired out the patience of the *Normans*, so that they were at last obliged to raise the siege and have recourse to their ships.

Besides the calamities brought upon *Nantes*, in these early times by the *Saxons*, and the frequent incursions of the *Normans*; it was taken and dismantled by *Nominoy* of *Bretagne* in the year 850; by *Conan II.* Earl of *Bretagne* in 981, and by *Foulques Nerra* Earl of *Anjou* in 692, but we cannot stay to be more particular, as we hasten forward to these revolutions wherein the *English* were immediately concerned.

Upon the death of *John III.* of *Bretagne*, in the year 1341, the greatest part of that province and the city of *Nantes* in particular, submitted to his brother *John* Earl of *Montfort* and swore allegiance to him, as the rightful Duke of *Bretagne*; but *Philip de Valois* of *France*, as sovereign of

that province, having, by the arrêt of *Gonflans*, decided the succession of the Duke of *Bretagne* in favour of his nephew *Charles de Blois*, sent his own son the Duke of *Normandy* at the head of a powerful army, consisting of ten thousand men at arms, besides the *Genoese* troops and the archers, to execute the sentence, and dispossess the Earl of *Montfort*. This latter not having a sufficient force, to meet the *French* army in the field, thought proper to shut himself up in *Nantes*, till his friends and allies should be able to come to his relief. Meantime the Duke of *Normandy* having assembled his army at *Angers*, and spent some time in taking *Chateau-Ceaux*, a place of considerable strength, sat down before *Nantes*, in hopes of finishing the war, by seizing the Earl of *Montfort* therein. There being but a small garrison in *Nantes* at that time. *John de Montfort* prevailed with the inhabitants to take up arms in his behalf, on this express condition, that if he could not get the siege raised in a month's time, he should shift for himself, and leave them to consult for their own safety.

While the *French* were employed in encamping their army and foraging, the *Genoese* in their service approached the gates of the town to skirmish, and the besieged made several successful sallies. Animated with these early advantages, two hundred of them, thought proper to attack a convoy of provisions going to the *French* camp escorted by sixty men. They found no difficulty in defeating the escort and carrying the convoy as far as the barriers of the town; but accounts of this exploit having reached the camp, the *Nantese* soon found themselves attacked by a number of enemies far superior to theirs. However, that the *French* might not recover their convoy, they took the horses from the carriages and drove them into the town. By this time great numbers of the citizens sallied out to the assistance of their friends,

friends, and the number of the *French* also encreasing every moment, the battle became very bloody; and many fell on both sides. At last *H. de Leon*, gave a signal for the citizens to retire to the town, which could not be done without losing a great many soldiers, and two hundred citizens who were made prisoners. This loss made a great impression upon the minds of the townsmen, they soon repented of their engagements, and were so weary of the war, that a considerable number of them entered into a secret agreement to deliver one of the gates of the town to the *French*, on condition that they would restore those of the citizens that were prisoners in their camp. *H. de Leon* is accused by some authors of having a hand in this conspiracy, but, be this as it may, it seems the execution of the plot was prevented; and it had no other effect, than to suggest to the Earl of *Montfort* a diffidence in the citizens of *Nantes*. He was more affected with an instance of the Duke of *Normandy's* severity or rather cruelty, which plainly shewed him what kind a composition he ought to expect, if he should be forced to submit after a long and obstinate defence.

The Duke of *Athenes*, having left the siege, together with *Robert Bertran* and five thousand men, to reduce the country round *Nantes*, had attacked the castle of *Valgarnier*. *Ferrand* to whom the place belonged went out to give him battle, and made *Sauvage* Lord of *Atigni* prisoner. The Duke of *Athenes*, grieved at the loss of this great man, applied for succours to the Duke of *Normandy*, who sent to his relief the King of *Navarre*, with a large body of cavalry. The Earl of *Montfort*, seeing such numbers marching away from the *French* camp, believed the enemies were raising the siege, and sallied out of the town to attack them, so that the Duke of *Normandy* was in very great danger; but at last the Earl was obliged to retire to the town. *Ferrand* on

the other hand, on sight so great an army marching against him, offered to release *Sauvage d'Atigni*, if the Duke of *Normandy* would agree to a combat between two hundred *French* Knights and an equal number of the Gentlemen of *Bretagne*. The Duke not only consented to the proposal, but chose to be one of the Champions himself, as did also the King of *Navarre*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Athenes*, the Great Chamberlain of *France*, *Robert Bertran*, and *Sauvage d'Atigni*. The champions of *Bretagne* had the misfortune to be defeated, and were all slain but thirty, who being made prisoners, and carried to the *French* camp were executed, by the Duke of *Normandy's* order, and their heads thrown by the machines into the town of *Nantes*, to terrify the inhabitants and the garrison. The Earl of *Montfort* finding that this instance of cruelty, had spread an universal consternation in the town, and having no great confidence in the affection of the citizens, obtained a safe conduct to wait upon the Duke in his camp, where he surrendered himself to him, on condition that his life should be safe and the town and country of *Nantes* submitted to *Charles de Blois*.

Next year, *Edward III.* of *England*, having arrived in *Bretagne*, at the head of a powerful army, to the assistance of the Earl of *Montfort*, marched from *Brest*, and having taken, in his way, *Faouet*, *Roche-Periou*, *Ploermel*, and *Ma-lestrois*, invested *Vannes*, where having continued some time, he left the conduct of the siege to the Earl of *Warwick*, with five hundred men at arms and six thousand archers, and advanced to *Rennes*, which a body of *English* troops had invested some time before. Being there informed that *Charles de Blois* was drawing together an army at *Nantes*, he marched towards that quarter, at the head of forty thousand men, intending to besiege the town, and if possible to bring *Charles* to a battle; but as he had not the command



mand of the river, he could only invest one side of the town. His troops in the mean time ravaged the country all round; but this insult not engaging the besieged to come out and give him battle, he drew up his army upon a hill in the sight of *Nantes*, and continued under arms till three o' clock in the afternoon, when seeing that *Charles* was not inclined to accept the challenge, he marched back to the camp he had possessed before, whence he sent his light troops to make incursions as far as the barriers of the town, and set fire to the suburbs. *Charles* from time to time acquainted the King of *France* with the state of the enemy's army, and their motions; and *Philip* let him know that he had already sent the Duke of *Normandy* to *Angers*, where he was drawing together an army with all possible expedition. *Edward* after this attacked the town several times, but finding, he could neither make himself master of it, nor bring *Charles de Blois* to a battle, he left the Earl of *Quenfort* and the Viscount of *Beaumont* with several other general officers to carry on the siege, at the head of six hundred men at arms and two thousand archers; then marched himself with the rest of the army, and having ravaged the country, till he came to a strong place commanded by *M. de Porte-bœuf*, laid siege to it. So that the *English* army, under the conduct of their King and his Lieutenants held four strong places in *Bretagne* invested at the same time. Meanwhile the Duke of *Normandy* marched from *Angers* about the end of *November*, with an army consisting of more than four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand foot. Those that formed the siege of *Nantes* were the first of the *English* that had notice of the Duke's march, and neglected not to acquaint their King with it. He first thought of raising the sieges of *Vannes* and *Rennes*, and of drawing nearer to *Nantes*; but it was represented to him, that he was better situated at

*Vannes*, because of the neighbourhood of the sea, and of *Hennebon*, it was added, that he might still continue the siege of *Rennes*, that place being near enough to *Vannes* to receive succours from it, when there should be occasion. Upon this advice, *Edward* recalled that part of his troops that were before *Nantes*, who, having raised the siege of that place, soon after joined the main army at *Vannes*.

In the year 1354, fifty *English* adventurers found means to scale the walls of the castle or new tower of *Nantes*, and made themselves masters of it, on the 7th of *February*, but they did not keep it long; for the governour of the castle who happened to be in the town when that fort was surprised, laid siege to it immediately, and the *English* were forced to yield after an obstinate defence, wherein the greatest part of them were slain.

After the battle of *Auray*, in 1364 the Earl of *Montfort*, having been acknowledged Duke of *Bretagne*, under the name of *John IV.* by the *French* King, concluded a treaty with him, and had for some time the possession of his dominions in peace, but this state of affairs did not continue long. *Charles V.* soon began to sow division between the subjects of *Bretagne* and their Prince, tried every art to bring over as many of that nobility to his party as he could, represented the Duke as an enemy to his country on account of the treaty which he had entered into with the King of *England*, and when he found the *Bretons* ripe for rebellion, without any previous declaration of war, sent *Bertran du Guesclin* Constable of *France* to invade him, with a powerful army. *Guesclin* having assembled his troops at *Angers* soon made himself master of *Rennes*, *Hennebon*, and several other places, and sat down before *Nantes*. Here he had little to do, the citizens seemed to be prepared to his hand; however as soon as the *French* army approached, they shut their gates, and sent to ask the reason

reason why he approached their town in a hostile manner, he answered, "that he came by the King's order to seize the dominions of *Bretagne*, which their Duke had forfeited, by entering into alliances with the King's enemies, and receiving foreign troops into his country." The *Nantes*, having obtained time to consult together, returned an answer, that could not be very disagreeable to the *French* general; They said, "they were very much surprised, the King should think of seizing the dominions of their master; especially as it was not long since he had ordered them to submit to him, and they had, in obedience to his order, sworn allegiance to *John III.* as their lawful prince; that their Duke had been a good and indulgent master to them, and they knew of no treasonable act he had committed against the King. They were however willing to admit the Constable into their city, according to his orders, on this express condition, that if their Duke should return to his duty, and become a good *Frenchman*, they might submit to him as their lawful Prince, and be liable to no prosecution or vexation on that account; and finally, the revenues belonging to the Duke should be sequestrated in their hands, until they should have more agreeable accounts, and the affair be brought to a conclusion." The Constable, without difficulty, took a solemn oath to observe these conditions, and was admitted into the town with his army.

The war continued in *Bretagne* with various success till the year 1380, when the Duke of *Bretagne*, in consequence of a treaty entered into with *Richard II.* of *England*, having demanded a body of the troops of that nation, the Earl of *Buckingham*, afterwards Duke of *Glocester*, was sent to his relief, at the head of three thousand men at arms, and an equal number of archers. But before they entered *Bre-*

*tagne.* *Charles V.* of *France* died, and was succeeded by his son *Charles VI.* This revolution in the affairs of *France* greatly embarrassed the Duke of *Bretagne*, who happened to be at this time at *Hennebon*; for having heard of the death of the King, who was his inveterate enemy, and not knowing whether his son would inherit his father's passions, he was afraid to make war upon the kingdom in the beginning of a reign which might otherwise be favourable to him; nor, having demanded the *English* succours, could he refuse to accept of them, especially as they had marched by land all the way from *Calais* to join him. Till he should have an opportunity to consult the nobility of *Bretagne*, and determine himself with regard to this important particular, he sent the Lord of *Montbouchier*, and several other men of quality, to meet the Earl of *Buckingham*, and conduct him and his army to *Rennes*, where the Duke of *Bretagne* promised to wait upon him in a short time. Mean while the *English* had advanced by the forest of *Graville* to *Vitré*, and from thence to *Chateau-Brient*, where they met the Duke's ambassadors, who received them with the greatest respect, and to whom the Earl of *Buckingham* expressed his surprise that neither the Duke of *Bretagne* nor his country were prepared to receive him and his army, after he had demanded them himself, and engaged them to make a very long march, in which they were exposed to so many dangers. The ambassadors, according to their orders, made the best apology they could for their master, and having delivered their commission returned to *Hennebon*.

The *English* army marched to *Rennes*, according to the Duke of *Bretagne*'s desire, and finding the gates shut against them, were obliged to quarter in the suburbs, excepting the Earl of *Buckingham* himself, with *Latimer*, *Knolle*, and five or six more of the principal officers, who were admitted into

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the city. Here they waited for the Duke a fortnight, and were not a little surprised that he kept not his appointment. At last the Earl of *Buckingham*, weary of waiting, sent Sir *Thomas Percy* and *Knolle*, with 500 lances and as many archers, towards *Vannes*, and having staid two days longer, marched himself with the rest of the army. The Duke of *Bretagne*, informed of his march, set out to meet him; and having excused himself for not waiting upon him sooner, by throwing the blame upon his rebellious subjects, especially the inhabitants of *Nantes*, who had almost entirely thrown off the mask, and broken out into open rebellion: the Earl answered, That it was in his own power to subdue his rebellious subjects by the assistance of the *English* troops which he had brought him, and those with which he might afterwards be supplied if there should be occasion. After a long conference, it was resolved that the *English* army, having refreshed themselves for some time at *Rennes*, should march to *Nantes*, and lay siege to it; and the Duke of *Bretagne* swore upon the gospels, that within a fortnight after the beginning of the siege, he himself should join them with a considerable reinforcement, that he would also procure a sufficient number of barks to sail up the *Loire*, and attack the place on the side next that river, and finally that he would never depart till the town should be taken.

Next day the Earl marched to *Rennes* with his army, and employed two weeks in making preparations for the intended siege.

By this time the inhabitants of *Nantes*, having early information of the designs of the *English* general, applied for assistance to the Duke of *Anjou*, who sent them six hundred men at arms; and the Governor of the New Tower admitted, with great joy, *M. de Châtel-Morant* and *le Barrois* who

commanded this reinforcement. There were also at *Nantes* *John de Clifton Morfouace*, *John de Malestroit*, the *Sieur de Tournemine*, and several other gentlemen of *Bretagne*, who took all proper measures to put the town in a posture of defence. The Earl of *Buckingham*, having made the dispositions necessary, marched from *Rennes* to *Chateau-brient*, from that to *Bain*, and in two days thereafter arrived in the suburbs of *Nantes*. He then posted his own division at the gate of *Sauvetout*; *Latimer* took his post at the gate of *St. Nicholas* with *Fitz-Walter* and the *Sieur de Basset*. *William of Windsor* and *Caverly* encamped above the Earl of *Buckingham*, between the river of *Erdre* and the gate of *Richebourg*, *Knolle* at a small distance from the former, near the Church of *St. Clement*, and *Harleston* near the *Loire*. The siege began about the first of *November*, and lasted two months.

The gentlemen of *Bretagne*, *Beauce*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, who were in the town, undertook the defence of the place; the inhabitants having little more to do than to be spectators of what passed on both sides. The night between the 11th and 12th of *November*, *Le Barrois* sallied out of the town, with *Chastel-Morant*, *Clifton*, and six hundred of their best troops. They attacked the lodgements of *Latimer*, *Fitz-Walter*, and *Basset*, having posted guards behind them to favour their retreat. The *English* were at supper when the enemy came upon them, and were at first put into some disorder; but having quickly armed, and drawn up in good order before their lodgements, the *French* were obliged to retire with some loss. On the 12th *Le Barrois*, having at break of day put two hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, on board six large boats, sailed up the *Loire* to surprise *Harleston's* quarters. The *French* began the attack with great fury, and at first carried all before them, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the *English*; and the latter would have been

been entirely routed, had not *Knolle* and *Windsor* come seasonably to their assistance. By this accession of strength the besieged were forced to give way in their turn and fly to their boats, leaving a good many of their number dead upon the banks of the river. *Le Barrois*, notwithstanding this check, sallied a third time, in the night between the 19th and 20th, with two hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, at the gate of *Sauvetout*, upon some companies of *Germans* commanded by *M. Algars* and *M. Thomas de Rode*; but the troops in the Earl of *Buckingham's* quarters, hearing the noise, came to the assistance of the *German* troops, and obliged *le Barrois* to retire. Many were wounded on both sides, and *M. de Rode* unfortunately received a wound in his head, by an arrow, of which he died three days after.

All this time the Duke of *Bretagne* came not to the siege, as he had promised. This gave great uneasiness to the Earl of *Buckingham*, who wrote to him several times, but never had any return, because all those who were employed to carry his dispatches to the Duke, had the misfortune to fall into the enemies hands and were put to death. The Duke, on the other hand, had a strong inclination to perform his promise, but the Lords of *Bretagne* absolutely refused to follow him. So far were they from joining the *English*, that they watched those of that nation whom they found straggling in the fields, and either put them to death, or made them prisoners, insomuch that when the Earl had occasion to send out parties to forage, he was obliged to detach such large bodies as very much weakened his army. Some of the *Grandeas* of *Bretagne*, particularly, the Sieurs de *Dinan*, *Laval*, and *Rocheport*, and even the Count de *Roban*, and several others who seemed to be sincerely attached to the Duke's interest, told him expressly, "That he was ill advised in bringing over the *English* troops to ravage his country, and that for their own part

" they were so little disposed to give him assistance, that, if he went to *Nantes* as he proposed, they would take up arms against him." The greatest part of them pressed him to propose terms of accommodation to the *French* King, offering to employ their interest in making his peace with that monarch, and advising him to consider, that the late King had many enemies, who were like to live in good terms with his son.

The Duke, who had as yet no reason to complain of the new King, was the more easily prevailed upon to treat with him, that he had reason to apprehend the continuance of the war for a very little longer might oblige him once more to abandon his country, and retire to *England*. He therefore sent five of his principal Vassals to *Paris* as ambassadors to *Charles VI.* with propositions of peace.

During the negotiation *Amaury de Clifton* and the Sieur d'*Amboise* sallied out at the gate of *Richebourg*, on the 8th of *December*, with two hundred lances to attack *Caverly's* quarters. The *French* at first forced one post, which was guarded by *William Guisenton*, and kept the advantage for some time, but *Windsor* and *Caverly*, having come to *Guisenton's* assistance with a large body of troops, obliged the *French* to retreat, and leave on the field several of their number, besides one Knight and ten men at arms, who were obliged to yield themselves prisoners. *Le Barrois*, who never was discouraged on account of the losses he sustained, sallied again, on the 20th of *December*, at the gate of *Sauvetout*, at the head of an hundred and twenty men at arms, and fell upon the Count de *Donnesiere*, who guarded the nearest post. They fought bravely on both sides, but at last the *French* were repulsed, and obliged to retreat into the town. The *English* had upon this occasion a Knight wounded of the name of *Titel*, who died soon after. The *French* officers



officers belonging to the garrison having formed a scheme among them, to make an attack upon the trenches on Christmas eve, *le Barrois*, and *Amaury de Clifton*, the *seurs d'Amboise*, and *d'Esfollet*, the Lord of the manor of *Clifton*, *Chastel-Morant*, and all the Captains that were at *Nantes*, sallied out at the head of six hundred men at arms, at the gate of *St. Nicolas*, and having divided themselves into two bodies, the one marched by the streets and the other through the fields to attack the lodgements of *Latimer* and *Fitz-Walter*, where *Yvon*, *Fitz-Warin*, and *William Traiton* were upon guard. The *French* gained the first post, and made the *English* retire to *Latimer's* quarters, where there was a brisk encounter. They intended to make themselves masters of that post, and would have succeeded, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of *Fitz-Warin*, and *Traiton*, if *Windsor* and *Caverly* with their troops had not come to the relief of their friends, supported by *Piercy*, *Trivet*, and *Basset*. Then the *French* began to retreat, and *Tristan de la Jaille*, having ventured too far, was taken by a gentleman of *Hainault* called *Tbierry de Sommain*: in other respects the loss is said to have been nearly equal on both sides. Some will have it that *Tbierry de Sommain* was killed at this time, together with one of the sons of the *seur de Maubeuge*, and the bastard of *Vertain* on the side of the *English*, and *Macé des Ymages* on the side of the *French*. It is also pretended that several *English* were made prisoners. On the *French* side *Macé de Jaille*, *Peter de Sury*, master of the household to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and *Robert Guy*, fell into the hands of the enemy; and next day the prisoners on both sides were exchanged. Four days after, *Boniface de Cbalant* Marshal of *Savoy*, got into the town with a reinforcement of thirty men at arms, which encouraged the besieged once more to attack the quarters of the Earl of *Buckingham*. For this purpose they concealed

four hundred men at arms, and three hundred archers in the town ditch, then made a vigorous sally with some other troops, who being supported by those secreted in the ditch made a vigorous impression on the *English* quarters. The *French* authors pretend, that no less than six *English* Knights, and a great many private men, fell on this occasion, nor do they disown that there was a good deal of loss on their own side.

At last, however, the *English*, discouraged with the length of the siege and the severity of the season, weakened also by diseases, and discouraged by the scarcity of forage and provisions, determined to raise the siege, and marched to *Vannes* to meet the Duke of *Bretagne*. The inhabitants of *Vannes*, informed of the approach of the *English* army, sent messengers to the Duke at *Hennebon*, to know how they should conduct themselves upon this occasion. They were told, "that the Duke was very much obliged to the *English*, and "that their troops intended no injury to his subjects, that "therefore the magistrates of *Vannes* should go to meet the "Earl of *Buckingham* with the keys of their town, and declare their readiness to receive him on condition he would "promise solemnly to leave them in fourteen days after they "should desire him to depart." The deputies from *Vannes* promised to obey the Duke's orders, and returned to their constituents. Meantime the *English* arrived at the village of *St. John* about two leagues from *Vannes*, where the Earl received a letter from the Duke; and next day, after hearing mass, marched at the head of his army, drawn up in order of battle, towards that city. After he had advanced about a league, he was met by the Duke of *Bretagne*, who received the Earl with the greatest marks of friendship and affection, and having put him on his right hand, returned with him to *Vannes*. The Earl complained modestly, that  
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the Duke had made him wait for him so long to no purpose at *Nantes*; the Duke excused himself in the best manner he could, and entreated the Earl to continue at *Vannes* with his troops till the month of *April*, in hopes that things would turn out more to his satisfaction in the spring. The Earl promised he would, and continued his march. When they approached the gates of *Vannes*, the principal inhabitants came out to meet them, as they were ordered, and the Earl promised with an oath every thing they required of him. This done, he had his lodgings assigned him in the castle of *la Motte*, and his troops in the city and suburbs. The Duke with his court retired to *Sucinio*, whence he came frequently to visit the Earl of *Buckingham* at his quarters. *Latimer*, and *Piercy*, with the vanguard, were afterwards sent to quarters of cantonment at *Hennebon*, and the rest at *Quimper*, where, being refused access to the town, they were obliged to lodge in the suburbs and the country, in which they were exposed to very great hardships. Their misery was such, that they were reduced to the greatest extremities for want of the necessaries of life; the most part of their horses died, and the garrisons of *la Cbeze*, *Josselin*, and *Montcantour* killed a great many of their men. Their condition would have been still more deplorable if the Duke had not exerted his utmost to relieve their wants, and expressed great concern, that it was not in his power to reward their services in a more agreeable manner. They received also some provisions from *Cornwall*, and the isle of *Wight*; and their afflictions were not a little alleviated by the hopes that in the spring they should have their revenge, and further supplies of troops from *England*, which were expected to land at *Cberburgh*, and to march by land to *Bretagne*; but these sanguine expectations were disappointed. For the Duke of *Bretagne* was, all this time, secretly

using his interest to forward the treaty of accommodation with *France*, which accordingly was concluded on the 15th of *January* 1388.

The reader may easily judge how much the *English* would be surprised and provoked to find that the Duke had treated with the *French* King without their knowledge and consent. The Duke however went to visit the Earl of *Buckingham* at *Vannes*, notwithstanding the reproaches he expected from him, and the rest of the *English* Lords. The truth is, the Earl could not conceal his vexation, nor dissemble his resentment; but the Duke, having heard all with patience, represented, that in his heart he preferred an alliance with *England* to that with the *French* King, and though, for the present, he was obliged to yield to the necessities of the times, he should still have a grateful remembrance of his obligations to *England*; and endeavour to find opportunities for making suitable returns. Soon after this conversation, the Earl embarked his troops at *Vannes*, and while he waited for the tide, the Duke of *Bretagne* accompanied with some of his nobility came to the harbour, and sent on board to acquaint him that he desired to speak with him. The Earl sent on shore *Latimer* and *Piercy*, who entered a close conversation with the Duke for three hours, and promised, at parting, to prevail with the Earl to grant him an interview: but the Earl would by no means consent to it, and therefore as soon as the tide rose to a proper height, set sail for *England*, after having been joined by the troops that were quartered at *Quimper* and *Hennebon*.

*Nantes* was once more besieged in the year 1487, by *Charles VIII.* of *France*. *Francis II.* at that time Duke of *Bretagne*, having no sons, *Charles* pretended to the succession of that Dutchy, in case the former should die without male heirs. The arguments with which he supported his claim

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were none of the strongest; but to add weight to his pretensions he kept an army on foot, ready to enter *Bretagne* as soon as *Francis* should leave the world. Some events however happened, which determined him to begin his operations a little sooner than he intended. *Peter Landois*, *Francis's* prime minister and favourite, having greatly oppressed the nobility of *Bretagne*, a party of them formed a conspiracy to cut him off; but having missed their blow, the conspirators were obliged to leave their country and take refuge in *France*. Having there met with a kind and agreeable reception, they entered into a treaty with the *French* court at *Montargis*, and engaged, upon certain conditions, to support the *French* King's claim to the succession of *Bretagne*. *Francis*, in resentment of this, invited the Duke of *Orleans*, who was at the head of the *French* malecontents, into *Bretagne*, and gave him assurance of all the assistance in his power. These measures on both sides produced a misunderstanding, which at length grew to an open rupture. In May 1487, *Charles* sent three armies into *Bretagne*, which having united at *Ploermel*, took that place by storm and pillaged it. From thence they marched to *Vannes*, to besiege the Duke of *Bretagne*, who had retired to that city, and must have been infallibly lost, if the Prince of *Orange* had not arrived by sea with some ships, in one of which the Duke embarked, and got safe to *Nantes*; while the inhabitants of *Vannes*, terrified by the Duke's flight, surrendered without resistance.

From thence the *French* army marched to lay siege to *Nantes*. It was a strong and well fortified city, for those times; the garrison was numerous, and the Duke put himself at the head of it, seconded by the Prince of *Orange*, the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Count de *Comines*, who also attended him, with many of the nobility of *France* and *Bretagne*; so that there was ground to expect the town would make a very vigorous defence.

A part of the *French* army invested the place from the castle to the back gate which opens to the river *Erdre*, under the command of the Lords of *Tremouille*, *Champerroux*, and *S. André*. The rest of their troops were posted on the other side of the *Loire* and on the bridges, under the direction of the *Seigneur de Bressuire*, *Gaston de Lion Seneschal* of *Toulouse*, the Viscount d'Aunoi, the *Seigneur de Malicorne*, and some other officers. That part of the town which lies between the river *Erdre* and the *Loire* was not invested, and the Duke could easily receive any sort of succours of men and provisions on that side. Notwithstanding this advantage, the *French* carried on the siege with great vigour, and the garrison made a brave defence.

The Duke, as soon as the siege was begun, left the castle, and took lodgings in the grand street of the city, while his two daughters *Anne* and *Isabel* fixed their residence in the *botel de la Bouvardiere*. Guards were set upon the Countess de *Laval*, who favoured the faction of the Barons that had joined the *French*, and upon the Bishop of *Nantes*, whose fidelity was suspected perhaps without ground. The Duke had been, not without reason, advised to leave the castle, for at the second cannon shot which the besiegers discharged against that fortress, the ball came in at the window of the chamber where the Duke used to lie, which probably did not happen by mere chance. The Marshal de *Rieux*, who on this occasion espoused the interest of the *French*, was offended that their army had laid siege to *Nantes*, as he had no expectation that this measure would be attended with success considering the strength of the place, and the bravery of the garrison; but the Count de *Dunois*, the friend and counsellor of the Duke of *Orleans*, was of another opinion, and did not imagine the place could hold out long without succours. For this reason, upon hearing that it was to be besieged, he

he undertook to go to *England* to solicit a supply of *English* troops. With this view he set out secretly from *Nantes*, attended by *Oliver de Coetman*, and a few others, intending to travel by land to *St. Malo*, and embark there. The apprehensions they had of meeting with strolling parties of the enemy, obliged them to travel all night through woods, and lonely places. *Coetman* says, in an account of this expedition which he left behind him, that one dark night, in a violent storm of thunder and rain, *Dunois* and he having lost their way in a forest, the Count being seized with a fit of the gout, was obliged to dismount on account of the excessive pain which he suffered: and sat down at the foot of an oak tree, crying for vexation and anguish. Some time after, however, recovering courage, they got safely to *St. Malo*, where finding a ship ready to sail for *England*, they went on board to prosecute their voyage. They had not sailed above four or five leagues when a furious tempest arose, and drove them back to the place whence they had set out. They reimarked two or three times, and as oft were drove back by the storm, once or twice to *St. Malo*, and another time to the castle of *Latte*, in which, at last, they concealed themselves several days, till they had a more favourable opportunity to continue their voyage.

Beside the succours from *England*, assistance was expected from other quarters: the Duke had wrote to the Lord *Albret*\*, giving him hopes of obtaining his eldest daughter in marriage, if he could bring him a seasonable supply of troops at this time. *Nicholas de Dicastille*, one of the Duke's

\* *Allen* by some authors called *sieur*, by others *seigneur d'Albret*, surnamed the Great, Count of *Gaure*, *Piregord* and *Costres*, Viscount of *Limoges* and *Tartas*, the representative of a noble family, was descended from *Amanieu* *sieur d'Albret*, who flourished about the middle of the 11th century. In the year 1470, he married *Francis* of *Bretagne*, Countess of *Piregord* and *Limoges*, lady of

ministers, was sent to *Spain*, and *Henry VII.* of *England* and the King of the *Romans* were solicited with equal warmth to prevent the destruction of their ally. The Duke however received no foreign succours on this occasion but from the King of the *Romans*. Whatever difficulty this Prince had in supporting his son against the enemies which the French King had spirited up against him in *Flanders*, *Hainault*, *Brabant*, and other places; he found means to assemble fifteen hundred men, which he sent to the assistance of the Duke of *Bretagne*, under the conduct of *Baldwin* the bastard of *Burgundy*.

The Count *de Dunois* assembled at *Rennes* about ten thousand men, mostly of the common sort, who were determined to march to the Duke's assistance, but wanted a proper person to lead them. The Count put himself at their head, and introduced them, together with the German auxiliaries into *Nantes*, in sight of the French army, who durst not attack them.

Meantime the King of *France*, that he might have the earlier notice of the transactions of the siege, had advanced to *Ancenis*, together with Monsieur, and Madam *de Beaujeu*, and the Admiral *de Graville*, who took care to send every thing necessary for carrying on the siege. At the same time the Lord *Albret*, and, by his interest, the Queen of *Navarre*, who had married his son, having assembled about three or four thousand men, took the field, to come to the Duke's assistance, in hopes of obtaining in marriage his eldest daughter, according to the Duke's promise under his hand

*Avenis*, eldest daughter and heiress of *William de Châtillon*, called *William* of *Bretagne*, and *Elizabeth de la Tour*, by whom he had *John* *sieur d'Albret*, King of *Navarre*, and Count of *Foix*, in right of his spouse *Katherine* Queen of *Navarre*, whom he married in the year 1484, and by whom he had *Henry II.* King of *Navarre*, the father of the famous *Jane d'Albret* Queen of *Navarre* the mother of *Henry IV.* of *France*.

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and seal, confirmed by the Countess *de Laval* and the Counts of *Dunois* and *Lescun*. The Duke of *Orleans* was the only person, who would not give up to him his pretensions to the heirs of *Bretagne*. To say the truth, it is more than probable, that, except the Lord *de Commynes*, all of them intended from the beginning to deceive the Lord *Albret*; at least this was certainly true of the Count *de Dunois*, who only wanted to employ *Albret's* assistance to extricate the Duke out of his present distress, not doubting but he should afterwards find means to prevent the marriage of an old man, who had a numerous family, with a young Princess that deserved a better fate.

The French King, apprized of Lord *Albret's* design, sent orders to the nobility of *Guienne* and *Poitou*, to attack him upon his march; in consequence of which *Candale*, *M. de Beaujeu's* Lieutenant in *Guienne*, took the field, and uniting his forces with those of the nobility of *Poitou*, joined Lord *Albret* at *Chateau de Nantron*, upon the confines of the *Angoumois* and *Limousin*, and so beset him, that he had no part left but to submit. He promised to take up arms no more against King *Charles*, and to renounce all alliances contrary to his service. *Candale* thought proper to accept of this submission, and having received hostages, undertook to get this treaty ratified by the King. But *Charles* was not very well satisfied with the capitulation, he expected *Candale* would have made himself master of Lord *Albret's* person, and was ravished with the thoughts of having a man in his power, whose infidelity he had more than once experienced. However, out of regard to the promise made by *Candale*, he was at last prevailed upon to ratify the capitulation. *Albret* immediately dismissed his army, and retired to his own estate. Some time after, upon his earnest application, the King granted him the command of an hundred lances: but he soon forgot his engagements; the advantage of marrying the heiress

of *Bretagne* was so great and so important, that it engaged him to sacrifice every thing in hopes of attaining it.

The Duke of *Bretagne* was extremely grieved that Lord *Albret* could not come to his relief. He was very apprehensive, the French would at last make themselves masters of the place. His fears were so great, that he made a solemn vow to offer at the Church of *Notre Dame de l'Annonciade* in *Florence*, the model of the city of *Nantes* in wax, as soon as the siege should be raised. The substance of this vow was of no great moment; but it was thought extraordinary, that he should promise to send the model so far. After the reinforcement of *Germans* and *Bretons*, already mentioned, got safe into *Nantes*, the garrison often sallied out upon the besiegers, so as make them weary of continuing the siege; and the King, losing all hopes of taking by force a place which the Duke of *Bretagne* had been fortifying ever since his accession to the Ducal Crown, ordered the siege to be raised on the 6th of *August*, after it had continued six weeks, and the army to advance farther into *Bretagne*. The people of *Guerrande* distinguished themselves at this siege by their zeal and courage. About five hundred volunteers came from that place to hazard their lives for their Duke. Each of them had an upper garment marked with a cross of black cloth, after the ancient custom of the *Bretons*, who used in their wars to distinguish themselves from other nations by this badge. During the siege, these inhabitants of *Guerrande* passed the *Loire*, and fought a part of the French army on the plain of *Biece*, with such bravery and success, as gained them great applause, and engaged the Duke to reward their services.

The raising of the siege of *Nantes* was succeeded by negotiations during the winter season. The Duke of *Bretagne* entered into a new treaty with the Lord *Albret*. He sent

sent also to *England* to sound the inclinations of *Henry VII.* who did not seem very forward in his interest: he sent, however, the Count *de Comines* to *France*, with proposals of peace, which were rejected: but he had better success with the Marshal *de Rieux*, and some other Lords of *Bretagne*, who finding that the *French* King intended to make himself master of the whole province, reconciled themselves with their Duke, this was a stroke of great importance, and wonderfully changed the posture of the affairs of *Bretagne*. The Marshal *de Rieux*, to give a proof of his reconciliation with the Duke, joined his troops to those of the Duke of *Orleans*, and recovered several of the towns which the *French* had seized, particularly *Ancenis*, *Chatteau Brient* and *Vannes*. At the same time, Lord *Albret* arrived by sea with some vessels he had hired at *Fontarabia*, and brought with him four thousand men. As soon as he came to *Nantes*, his company of fifty men at arms, that were in *Bretagne* among King *Charles's* troops, deserted, and came to join him; but notwithstanding these advantages, the unfortunate battle of *St. Aubin*, plunged the Duke of *Bretagne* into great distresses. It was fought on the 28th of *July* 1487, between the Duke of *Orleans*, at the head of the troops of *Bretagne*, and those of the *French* that followed his fortunes, and the Lord *Tremouille* at the head of the *French* army consisting of twelve thousand men. The fight was obstinate, and the infantry of *Bretagne* behaved well; but the horse abandoned them upon the first charge, which secured the victory to the *French*. Five thousand five hundred *Bretons* fell upon the field, and fifteen hundred *French*; but the most unhappy circumstance of all, was the loss of the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange*, who were made prisoners at the head of the infantry, where they both fought on foot.

*La Tremouille* took care to improve his victory, *Dinan* surrendered without striking a stroke, and *St. Malo* after a few days siege. Several other small towns were also reduced, and the affairs of the Duke of *Bretagne* put into so great disorder, that he had thoughts of repairing to *England*; but his age and infirmities determined him to stay at *Nantes* whatever should happen. In consequence of this resolution, he sent ambassadors to King *Charles* to sue for peace; and a conference on that subject was held at *Verger*, a castle of *Anjou*. Here *Charles's* right to the succession to *Bretagne* was mentioned, but the discussion of it put off to another time, and an accommodation concluded on terms much to the disadvantage of the Duke of *Bretagne*; such as, that he should immediately dismiss all the strangers which he had sent for, to make war upon the *French* King, viz. Lord *Albret's* troops those of the King of the *Romans*, and some *English* that had gone over to *Bretagne* by the King of *England's* bare permission. That he should not dispose of his daughters without the agreement, and express consent of the said King; and that the *French* King should continue in possession of *St. Malo*, *St. Aubin*, *Dinan*, *Fougeres*, and some other towns which he had taken in *Bretagne*.

This treaty is said to have broke the heart of the Duke of *Bretagne*, who died eleven days after the conclusion of it. Nor was it any wonder, that he should have a very deep sense of the hardships put upon him on this occasion. It was extremely hard he should be obliged to dismiss all strangers, that is, the greatest part of those he could depend upon for the defence of that portion of his dominions he had still left; in short, that he should give up a great part of his inheritance to his enemies, and leave the other naked and defenceless, to be invaded at their pleasure. Nor was it less grievous not to have the disposal of his daughters,

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without the express agreement and consent of the inveterate enemy of his family, who left no means unattempted to deprive them of their whole inheritance.

The Duke of *Bretagne* by his will had left the Marshal de *Rieux* guardian to his two daughters, he had also named the Count de *Comines* for an assistant to him, and charged both to pay a great regard to the Count de *Dunois's* advice. This was the best method he could take, considering the merit of the persons, the posture of affairs in *Bretagne*, and the melancholy situation in which he left his two daughters, the youngest of whom died in a short time after. But the eldest, with so good a council, had neither money, nor troops, nor allies to assist her; and several Lords, had already turned their views to the court of *France* which they saw in a condition to make what attempts it pleased upon *Bretagne*. Meantime the *French* King considering the distress, and the defenceless state of that country as a charming opportunity for him to exert himself; notwithstanding the treaty he had lately entered into, sent orders to his troops in that province, and those upon the frontiers to seize upon all the towns they were able to force or surprise. His orders were punctually executed, most of the towns of lower *Bretagne* surrendered, *Conquest* and *Brest* were in this number.

All the hopes of the young dutchess, who had scarce any troops on foot, lay in the diversions which she endeavoured to bring about, and the succours promised her by the King of *England*, who by this time had plainly discovered King *Charles's* intention of seizing the whole Dutchy of *Bretagne*. The King of the *Romans* at the request of the Dutcheß of *Bretagne*, surprised *St. Omers*, and the *French* King, upon information that the King and Queen of *Castile* were raising an army, was obliged to march his troops towards *Fontara-*

*bia*. The King of *England* had offered his mediation for accommodating matters between *France* and *Bretagne*, but this negotiation not succeeding, he sent to the Dutcheß's assistance six thousand men, who arrived at *Guerrande* in *March*, before King *Charles* was able to take the field, and obliged him to abandon several of the small towns he had seized; but the Dutcheß having no artillery, they could not attack the strong towns, and therefore were obliged to spend a great part of the summer in making irruptions into the plain country, the worst of all was that the Dutcheß having no money, they were discouraged for want of pay, and provoked that the nobility of *Bretagne* would not admit them into their castles, therefore towards the end of the campaign a great part of them returned to *England*. Soon after a treaty was concluded between the King of the *Romans* and *Charles VIII.* of *France*; one of the principal articles, whereof was the security of the Dutcheß of *Bretagne*, who was to be restored to the possession of all the towns in the hands of the late Duke her father, at the time of his death; as it was agreed on the other hand that all the *English* should depart out of the dominions, but with regard to the execution of this treaty, several difficulties were afterwards raised. Nor was this to be wondered at, as *Charles* never intended to perform his part of the convention, but proposed it only as a stratagem to divest the Dutcheß of the small remains of strength that were left her, and lull her fast asleep, till he should have an opportunity to give her a sure and fatal blow. The Dutcheß had sent home the greatest part of the *English* troops before she perceived the snare that was laid for her; but refused to dismiss the rest, and leave the towns in her possession entirely unguarded, untill *Charles* should evacuate those which were to be given up, in which he had large garrisons, and such as she had great reason to be afraid of,

of, but with this reasonable proposal the *French* monarch would not comply, and hostilities began afresh.

Whilst *Charles* thus employed every kind of means to get possession of the dominions of *Bretagne*, others aspired to the sovereignty of that dutchy by the marriage of the Princess *Anne*. We have already taken notice of the pretensions of Lord *Albret*, and the Duke of *Orleans*: They had a formidable rival in the King of the *Romans*, who now began to pursue his marriage with that Princess more briskly than ever, the Marshal de *Rieux* openly countenanced the Lord *Albret*; but *Montauban* chancellor of *Bretagne*, and the Counts of *Comines* and *Dunois* combined together to exclude him, in which they acted agreeably to the Dutchess's inclinations, who protested, that the engagements she had entered into upon that article were extorted from her, and that she had rather be a Nun than marry him. The Duke of *Orleans* had been prisoner in the castle of *Lusignan*, ever since the unfortunate battle of *St. Aubin*, and was not delivered from captivity, till he came entirely into the measures of the *French* King; so that the King of the *Romans* only remained, whose interest was greatly forwarded, by the Princess's avowed inclination to espouse him, as the most advantageous choice she could make, to support her against the *French* King, and the only match she could think of with pleasure. The negotiation therefore was openly carried on, and at length in *March* or *April* 1490, Count *Nassau* and *Voltan de Palheim* publicly married her as proxies for the King of the *Romans*. The Lord *Albret* was extremely irritated by this marriage, and in resentment of it, having found means to surprise the castle of *Nantes*, and seize the Duke's treasures that were therein, delivered it up with the town, to the *French* King, upon great and solemn promises from that Prince, which he never intended to perform.

Meantime, of all the pretenders to the Princess of *Bre-*

*tagne*, the King of the *Romans* was the least agreeable to the court of *France*; he was master of the *Low Countries*, and had he been also possessed of *Bretagne*, he would have kept *France*, as it were besieged by the two extremities; and seconded by the Kings of *England* and *Castile*, who were both concerned to prevent the growing greatness of the *French* King, must have been able to distress *Charles* exceedingly, and even to shake the foundations of his monarchy. Notwithstanding all the advantages the *French* had hitherto gained over *Bretagne*, they were still far from making an entire conquest of it, and had this been the case, there was very little probability of their being able to maintain themselves, in possession of it by violent measures, in opposition to so many Princes, whose interest it was to prevent such an accession of power and strength to that crown. *Charles* having taken all these difficulties into serious consideration, could think of no proper expedient to secure the possession of *Bretagne*, but that of marrying the heiress of it himself. In order to this, he found means to gain over to his interest the Prince of *Orange*, the Count de *Dunois*, the Marechal de *Rieux*, and some others that had the principal share in the Dutchess's confidence; but it was no easy matter to get the better of her own inclinations. She hated the *French* in general, but of all the men in the world, she abhorred their King, who had been an enemy so violent and implacable to her and her family. She had also religious scruples, and declared her conscience would never suffer her to break through a marriage that she had contracted openly in the face of the church, with a prince whom she sincerely loved, to give up herself to one that was the object of her aversion. *Charles's* agents in *Bretagne*, not being able to get the better of her obstinacy, sent him notice, that he must speedily enter *Bretagne* with a powerful army, before the King of *England*, could be in a condition to send fresh suc-

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cours thither. *Charles* was in perfect readiness, his army marched expeditiously, and came in sight of *Rennes*, where the Princess then was: there was no prospect of assistance timely enough to deliver her, and the chief of her council represented it as the greatest rashness to resist any further, as she could hope for nothing from it, but the ruin of herself and her subjects. The poor unhappy Princess upon this, having again heard the opinions of her council, the principal men of which were either the proposers of the marriage, or gained over to it, yielded to their desires, and though with great reluctance submitted to marry the person she hated most, and with the greatest reason. There was one difficulty still remained, the Dutchess as we have already seen, had been publickly married to the King of the *Romans*, and *Charles* himself had entered into a solemn engagement with *Margaret* of *Austria*, daughter to the King of the *Romans*, their marriage having been concluded on several years before, at the late treaty of *Arras*; so that two marriages were to be made void, to make way for one; but as a *French* author \* justly observes, "dispensations are easily obtained at *Rome*," the Pope, who never fails to punish the transgression of his own laws with inhuman rigour and severity, is easily prevailed upon to dispense with those of God and nature. The King of the *Romans* is blamed by some authors, that, after he had espoused the Princess by proxy, he did not come to *Bretagne*, at any hazard, and consummate his marriage; on supposition that in that event, the Pope would not have ventured to annul it. But these little consider the power which this haughty priest claims, or at least has exercised upon many occasions. We need not go far for instances of this, the history of this very Princess furnishes us with a noted one. She was again for-

\* Mezeraye.

ced, in consequence of her contract with *Charles VIII.* to marry his successor *Lewis XII.* during the life of his first wife *Ann* of *France*, the daughter of *Lewis XI.* with whom he had been twenty years married. His holiness in complaisance to the most christian King, having dissolved the former marriage to make room for the latter. It is true four reasons were alledged for the nullity of *Lewis XII.*'s marriage with *Jean* of *France*, viz. affinity in the fourth degree; spiritual relation, *Lewis XII.* having been godson to *Lewis XI.* The violence, which is pretended *Lewis XI.* used, to oblige *Lewis XII.* then Duke of *Orleans* to submit to that marriage; and lastly, want of consummation. And to blind the eyes of the vulgar, the formality of a trial was used. But those who peruse the extracts of that famous process published by *M. Duclos* \*, will plainly see that these pretences were either ridiculous in their own nature, or notoriously false and groundless, and be fully convinced how little scrupulous the Bishops of *Rome* are in such cases, and from the consideration of this and other instances of the same kind, that are well known, will be concern'd to find the best and purest religion in the world, prostituted; by the wickedness of those who call themselves the ministers of it, to sanctify treason, murder, perjury, incest, adultery, and other crimes, the most enormous in their own nature, and that strike most directly, not only at the happiness, but even at the root of civil society. But to return from this digression.

*Nantes* became famous towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, by the edict granted by *Henry VI.* to the Protestants of *France*, which from its being prepared in this city, is commonly call'd the edict of *Nantes*. No people ever deserved better of their country than the Protec-

\* See *M. Duclos*, hist. of *Charles XI.* vol. II. page 88. et seq.

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tants of *France*, during the wars of *Henry IV. of France* with the partisans of the Catholick League, as they called themselves. It was principally owing to their valour and steadiness; together with the heroick courage and conduct of the brave Prince under whose command they fought, that the royal cause prevailed at last, and that the kingdom was not ruined and torn in pieces between a powerful foreign army and a desperate faction of its own natives; yet those of the Popish party, who were engaged with them in the same interests, and fought under the same standards, paid no regard to their services, nay so far were they from a disposition of this sort, that they held them in the greatest contempt and aversion, took every method to mortify them, treated them with reproach, and every sort of injury but open violence\*. This was their situation during the war; but should the cause of the King and kingdom at last prevail, this revolution, so much to be wished on other accounts, was like to be attended with dangerous consequences to them; the united force of the whole Popish party might be turned against them, as it had been formerly, nor could it well be expected to be otherwise, considering the genius of that cruel religion. The former severities, persecutions and massacres might probably be revived. The King,

\* The Duke de Sully gives the following instance, which happened during the siege of Rouen, of the irreconcilable aversion of the Roman Catholics in the royal army, to their fellow soldiers of the Protestant persuasion. — “Animated by their zeal (says he) they formed a design of taking up the Huguenots, who had been interred indiscriminately with the Catholics, and leaving their carcases a prey to the crows. Two things” continues he, “hindered this design as contrary to religion as to nature itself: the difficulty of distinguishing the bodies, and fear lest the Protestants, who composed two thirds of the army, should think their honour engaged to revenge upon the living Catholics an outrage, which, through a zeal for religion, exceeded all others.” *Memoirs of Sully*, B. 2. p. 191.

who by this time had been reconciled to the church of *Rome*, might forget their services, and if he did not, might find it difficult to protect them, and the ruin of the party of the *League*, which was now the object of their most ardent desires, might in the end, prove to them the renewal of sorrows. In this situation of their affairs, it was natural for them to think of the most promising means for preventing these evils, and therefore, in the year 1567, during the siege of *Amiens*, while their former services were well remembered, and their further assistance still necessary to the royal party, they began to concert measures, for obtaining an edict in their favour, such as might give them some legal security for the free and undisturbed possession of their religion.

The King having certain information, that such councils were in agitation, was much grieved on account of them; he was apprehensive, that such a motion, in such a critical time, might breed a division between the Protestants and Papists in his army, and thereby be extremely detrimental, if not ruinous to his affairs. He therefore took care to have it properly represented to the heads of the chief men of the Protestant army, that the King had the same sentiments for the Protestants as formerly, and would take care of their interest, if they did not prevent the effect of his good intentions, by precipitating matters unreasonably; but if in the mean time they met with any injustice from the Catholics, he was not to blame for it, since he had equal reason to complain of them himself. That to insist upon an edict in their favour at a time so unseasonable, would be to their own disadvantage, since the Roman Catholics, always more powerful than they were able, not only to prevent it for the present; but might also find means to render it difficult for

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the King to grant them at a more proper season, what in so unfavourable a conjuncture they wanted to anticipate by a kind of force. In short all the effect which an unsuccessful attempt at this time would produce, would be to create a distrust of them in the Catholick party, and put them upon their guard against it.

The greatest part of the Protestants were satisfied of the justice of this representation, and willing to leave it to the King's goodness and prudence, to find a proper opportunity for removing their grievances, and securing their religious liberties. Nor was their confidence in him misplaced; for as soon as the city of *Amiens* was retaken from the *Spaniards*, and the enemy driven out of the kingdom, he spent some time at *Monceaux*, in digesting the materials of the edict he intended to grant in favour of his protestant subjects. In the beginning of the year 1598 *Schomberg*, the president *de Thou*, *Jeanin* and *Calignon*, were employed to assist in drawing up the articles of it, and it was signed on the 13th of *April*. By this edict, the rights of the two religions were clearly explained and solidly established. It was provided that the *French* Calvinists, who till then had been only privileged by truces, resumed and continued, from time to time, should have a fixed and durable establishment. They were indulged in the free and open profession of their religion, and declared capable of all employments civil or military. All that now remained to be done, was to get this edict registered and confirmed by the parliaments, and to begin with that of *Paris*; but this was put off to the next year, after the peace with *Spain*, that the kingdom being in perfect tranquillity, and the Protestants entirely in the King's power, there might be no handle to pretend that the edict was extorted by force or necessity. When it came before the parliament of *Paris*, they made several remonstrances to the King to excuse their

confirming it; but in the last audience, his Majesty gave their deputies upon this subject, he spoke to them with so much force, made it appear by such evident reasons, that this edict was not only necessary for the tranquillity of the state, but also for the good of religion itself, that they submitted, and after the example of that of *Paris*, the edict was registered by all the other Parliaments in the kingdom.

Many encroachments were afterwards made upon this constitution, but it continued in force till the year 1685, when *Lewis XIV.* after having for a long time trampled upon it, and oppressed the Protestants, in opposition to the standing laws of the kingdom, thought proper at last to give them the fatal blow, by the revocation of this and every other edict in their favour, and setting on foot a cruel persecution against them, which has not as yet ceased \*. The Protestants filled all *Europe* with their complaints, and were pitied by every benevolent and unprejudiced mind, nor could any thing, consistent with truth and reason, be offered in justification of such an arbitrary and tyrannical measure. We have just now seen, that this was not a temporary expedient, but a perpetual standing law, and considered by *Henry IV.* and the Parliaments which ratified and confirmed it, as a part of the *French* constitution. It could not be pretended, that it was a law extorted by force, for the reasons we have just now suggested †. Nor finally can it be said, that the necessity of the state, or the general interest of the kingdom, urged *Lewis* to such a severe and cruel measure, since by the expulsion of so many

\* Such was the gratitude of *Lewis XIV.* to the people who had the principal hand in putting the Crown upon his Grandfather's head, and without whom, neither he himself, nor probably any of his family, would have ever found the way to the Throne of France.

† See *Memoirs of Sully*, book 9th p. 460, and *Mezeray's Histoire de France*.

thousands of industrious useful subjects as were obliged, on this occasion to fly their native country, and carry their arts and manufactures into foreign lands; *France* sustained a loss, which it has not recovered to this day, nor is it easy to say when it will.

*Nantes* is the capital of the country of *Nantois*, which is almost of the same extent with the diocese of *Nantes*. It is bounded on the North by the diocese of *Rennes*, on the East by *Anjou*, on the South by *Poitou*, and on the West by the diocese of *Vannes*. The *Loire* divides it into two parts, both of which abound with corn and wines, and cattle of all sorts. Its principal rivers are the *Loire*, the *Seure*, and *Erdre*; and its most considerable towns *Guerande*, *Croisic*, *Pornic*, *Bourgneuf*, *Ancenis*, *Chatteau-brient*, *Machecou*, and *Roche-Bernard*. The first four are small sea port towns, and carry on a considerable trade to the *French* islands in the *West Indies*, and to the cod fishing on the banks of *Newfoundland* and *Cape Breton*. *Bourgneuf* and *Pornic* employ the greatest number of ships in these branches of trade, they send out yearly about fifteen vessels, from 60 to 110 tons burthen. These two small sea-ports and some others in their neighbourhood; have also about 65 small barks, from 10 to 60 tons burthen constantly employed in the coasting

trade. *Croisic* has five or six ships from 50 to 80 tons, employed in trading to the *American Colonies*, and near an hundred small barks in the coasting trade. We only add that the town of *Guerande*, was formerly a place of considerable strength, and has sustained several sieges. It still has a castle, though of no great importance, the rest are entirely naked and defenceless.

Thus we have travell'd over the coast of *Bretagne*, one of the largest and most populous provinces of *France*; so that the Earl of *Montfort* justly said of it, that it was the brightest jewel in the *French* Crown. We now proceed to *Poitou*, where we are not like to be long detained; the principal cities, particularly *Poitiers*, the capital of the province famed for the glorious victory obtained by *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, commonly called the *Black Prince*, who at the head of 12000 *English*, entirely defeated the *French* army consisting of 60000 men, under the command of their King *John*, and made that Prince, and his Son prisoners, in the year 1356, lying at a considerable distance from the shore, and therefore not coming within our plan, which confines us to the coast, where we meet with nothing worth notice till we came to

## The SANDS of O L O N N E,

IN Latin *Arenæ Olonenses*, and *oppidum Sabulonense*, a town in the diocese of *Lucon*, about eight leagues distant from that city, and eleven to the North North West of *Rochelle*,

in the latitude of 46 degrees 32 minutes North, and 1 degree 40 minutes to the Westward of the meridian of *London*, containing between 7 and 8000 inhabitants. It was once the



the property of the house of *la Trimouille*, and from it passed into that of *Châtillon*, (*Montmorency*), Its harbour is the only one in *Poitou*, that can admit vessels of 150 tons burthen, by means whereof it has the advantage of a flourishing trade, which has drawn to it almost all the inhabitants of the antient town of *Olonne*, lying at a small distance from it towards the bottom of the bay. The town is the capital of an election, and has a board of Admiralty and a board of trade. There are also in it two parish churches, one dedicated to the *Virgin Mother*, and another to *St. Nicholas*; together with a Priory, a convent of *Cordeliers*, another of *Capuchins*, and a third of *Benedictines*. There was also here formerly a castle to defend the harbour, which was demolished in the war that begun in the year 1689. From this harbour several ships are sent to the cod-fishing in *North America*, which at their return unload their cargoes at *Nantes*, *Bordeaux*, and *Rochelle*. They have also a number of small vessels which they employ in fishing for pilchards. Some small vessels from *England* and *Bayonne*, resort to this harbour with sea coals, rosin, and some other commodities, which they exchange for salt. There are no less than seven other harbours on this coast, and all of them in the election of *Olonne*, viz. *Noirmontier*, *Beauvoir*, *la Barre du Mont*, *St. Gilles*, *le Jard*, *St. Benort*, *la Frauche*; but they are of very little importance, as they can admit no vessel above the size of a boat or small bark, which are commonly employed in fishing, or in transporting corn, wood, and cattle to the isle of *Rhee*, and to *Nantes*, and wine from *Bordeaux* to the coast of *Bretagne*. Ever since the year 1736, the *French King* has maintained a professor of Hydrography, who is obliged to reside the whole year, at the Sands of *Olonne*, and teach navigation gratis.

The commerce of *Poitou* in general is not very considerable, owing principally to the want of harbours and navigable rivers, and in a great measure also to the oppression of the farmers, whose exactions are so heavy, that few care to enter into trade. However the climate produces abundance of grain, part of which is exported to several other provinces of *France*, and several manufactures are carried on, in different parts of the province. In *Poitiers*, for instance, there are manufactures of stockings and caps; in *Châtelleraud* abundance of clocks, watches, knives, scissars, and other hard ware are made for exportation; in the election of *Niort* they prepare shamoy skins which come to good account, and have some manufactures of druggets, ferges and other woollen stuffs, as also in the election of *Tbouars*. A great many parts of the province also abound with good pasture ground, and in consequence of this abundance of cattle of all sorts, a considerable part whereof are bought by the merchants of *Auvorgne*, *Lions*, *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, &c.

On the coast of *Poitou* are several islands, the most considerable whereof is *Noirmoutier*, about three leagues in length, and seven in circumference. That part of it which lies next to *la Barre du Mont*, is very narrow; but it grows broader towards the town of *Nourmoutier*. It belongs to the diocese of *Lucon*, and the generality of *Poitiers*. The whole island contains two parishes, one called the parish of *S. Philibert*, comprehending the town of *Nourmoutier* in the North part of the island, in which there are about 2500 persons. The other is called the parish of *St. Nicholas*, in which is the village of *Barbastre*, containing about 1800 persons, so that the inhabitants of the whole island taken together, amount to about four thousand three hundred.

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In the way from *Barbaste* to *Nourmoutier*, you meet with many salt marshes, and a great many fields of arable land, the greatest part of which are cultivated and sown alternately with wheat, barley, and beans, without being ever allowed to ly fallow. It produces also some wine, which is none of the best; there is little pasture land in it, and consequently but few cattle. It is very happy in this respect, that taxes have never been levied in it; for the inhabitants neither pay the *taille*, nor *head-money*, nor the *tenth-penny*, nor any other kind of subsidy, but the duty imposed upon stamp paper, and some other trifling dues. Too much ease and idleness, however, make them so restless and quarrelsome, that they are always at variance with one another. This island was for a long time the property of one of the branches of the house of *Tremouille*; but in the year 1720, the Princess *Des Ursins* sold it to the Duke of *Bourbon*. It brings in to the proprietor yearly about 16000 livres of revenue. We need only further observe, that this island had its modern name from the *Monks* of the Abbey erected in it, who always wear black; for before this monastery was built, it was called *Herius*, and *Hors*. It was sacked by the *Normans* in 833, and 845, and the *Dutch* made themselves masters of it in 1674.

At a small distance from *Nourmoutier*, between it and the continent of *Poitou*, lies the island of *Bouin*, separated from the *Dutchy* of *Rets* in the province of *Bretagne*, only by an

arm of the sea. It belongs to the bishopric of *Nantes*, and is considerable for nothing but a village of the same name which stands in it. It was the property of *Hierom Phelypeaux*, Count *de Pontchartrain*, secretary of state to *Lewis XIV.* who purchased it of the widow of the *Marechal* of *Clerembaut*, and obtained letters patent in the year 1714, whereby it was ordained that in all time coming the isle of *Bouin* should observe the customs of the province of *Poitou*, and be subject to the same jurisdiction; though it had been formerly subject to the jurisdictions of *Bretagne* and *Poitou* indifferently. According to an old *French* Author, the *Normans*, who so much infested *Bretagne*, made their first descent upon the isle of *Bouin* in the year 820. There is another small island near the coast of *Poitou*, called isle *Dieu*, of which *French* Authors take very little notice: it has an harbour, and is principally inhabited by fishermen, and the King maintains a professor of Hydrography, who is obliged to teach navigation alternately, six months at isle *Dieu*, and six months at *Nourmoutier*, and *Bouin*. An *English* fleet being, at that time, in the bay of *Quiberon*, some of the sailors made a descent upon isle *Dieu*, about the end of *December* 1759, and carried off all the live cattle they found in it. The garrison of the principal plan in the island, consisting of thirty men, surrendered without firing a gun.

About eleven leagues from the Sands of *Olonne* stands the city of

## R O C H E L L E,

THE capital of the country and government of *Aunis*. Its ancient *Latin* name was *Portus Sanctonum*, because it was considered as a part of *Xaintonge*, and the best harbour in

it. Its more modern name is *Rupella*. It lies in the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes North, and 1 degree 10 minutes to the Westward of the meridian of *London*; be-

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ing but two leagues distant from the isle of *Rbé*, and four from that of *Oleron*. It owes its rise to *Vauclair* castle, built to oppose the descents of the *Normans*, on the spot which is now called *la place du chateau*, and *le petit bois*. After the ruin of *Chastel-Aillon*, whereof nothing now remains but an old tower, about two leagues distant from this place, a great many houses were built near *Vauclair*, so that in a short time they formed a considerable town, and a place of great trade. What principally contributed to make it rich and flourishing, was the goodness of its harbour, in which vessels lay in great safety. But about the middle of the last century the tide deposited in it so much rubbish and stones, that the *Rochellers* were obliged to labour two full years in cleaning it, during which time they cleared it of more than five foot depth of mud; but after all, the work was left imperfect, so that in the year 1729 the harbour was as much filled up as ever, and they were obliged to begin their work anew. At this time however they took their measures better, and almost a million of livres was laid out upon it, to such purpose, that the harbour is now in a very good condition, and ships can come almost to the quays.

The great trade, which is carried on at *Rochelle*, occasions a considerable circulation of money through the cities, country towns, and villages of the province of *Aunis*. The principal branches of its trade are those carried on with the *American Islands*, *Cayenne*, the coast of *St. Domingo*, *Senegal*, *Canada*, *Cadiz*, *Portugal*, and *Azores Islands*. The *Swedes*, the *Danes*, the *English*, and the *Dutch* send also yearly a great many vessels to *Rochelle*, to be loaded with wines, brandy, salt, paper, the linnens of *Barbeseux*, and the serges of *Poitou*.

The *Rochellers* send to the *American colonies*, every thing that is necessary for the maintenance and clothing of the

inhabitants, and receive from them in exchange, sugar, indigo, cocoanuts, tobacco, *racou*, skins, brazil and campeachy wood, and several trifling commodities more curious than useful. The *Rochellers* bring also from the coast of *St. Domingo*, cochineal, cocoa, pearls, emeralds, &c.

The Northern colonies of *America*, furnish the *Rochellers* with dry and green cod, stock fish, salmon, and salted eels, fish oil, all sorts of furs, and masts for ships, &c. The commerce which the *Rochellers* carry on to the coast of *Africa* supplies them with elephants teeth, tann'd leather, wax, several sorts of gums, and some small quantities of gold dust. They import from *Portugal* muscadell, brazil, tobacco, chocolate, citron-bark, and oranges, &c. In time of war *Lisbon* might serve as a temporary magazine for all the commodities of *Spain*, *England*, and *Holland*; but the taxes imposed at that place, upon goods exported or imported are so exorbitant, that they eat up almost the whole profit of the trade. The principal manufactures of the country of *Aunis*, are the sugar refineries at *Rochelle*. There are also linnen manufactories erected at *Rochefort* and *Barbeseux*. The art and industry of the inhabitants of this country have prepared a sort of rum, extracted from sugar, which is distilled at *Rochefort* in a better manner than in any other place; the fennel-water of the isle of *Rbé*, is also in great estimation, and the *sal polychrestum* of the sieurs *Signette* is known and valued all over *Euroupe*.

It is observed by a *French* author of great credit, that in early times the *Rochellers*, and all the inhabitants of the country round it, were in a kind of subjection to their Lords, little better than downright slavery, insomuch that they could not so much as marry their daughters, nor dispose of their goods at their death, without the consent of their tyrannical superiours. But in process of time they obtained pri-

vileges from their Kings, which not only exempted them from that slavery, but encouraged them to improve their harbour, and fortify it for the defence of the coast against Pyrates and the enemies of the state. We are told that about the year 930, they equipped some vessels, with which they scoured the seas of the Pyrates which about that time infested the coast of *Acquitain*. *Elbe de Mauleon*, and *Godfrey de Rochefort*, at that time Lords of *Rochelle*, to reward them for this service, bestowed on them several privileges, and in particular, authorised them to bear in their arms a ship, instead of a flat boat which they had borne before.

In the year 1140 *William IX.* the last Earl of *Poitou* and Duke of *Acquitaine*, made himself master of this place by force, and having enclosed it with walls, raised it to the rank of a city, added new privileges to those it enjoyed before, and gave it, together with other very considerable estates, to his daughter *Eleonora*, when she married *Lewis VIII.* of *France* in the year 1137. *Lewis* having divorced this Princess, she married *Henry II.* Earl of *Anjou*, who afterwards became King of *England*. By this marriage *Rochelle*, and the whole Dutchy of *Acquitaine* became subject to the crown of *England*; and *Henry*, with the consent of the Princess his consort, gave the lands of *Benon* to the Seigneur de *Manleon*, in exchange for *Rochelle*, which her father, the Earl of *Poitou*, had violently taken from him. This Prince also having confirmed the privileges formerly possessed by the *Rochellers*, added new ones, and empowered them to elect annually a Mayor, a Deputy, twenty four Aldermen, and seventy six Common Councillors, for the government of their town. This institution took place in the year 1199, by the election of *Robert Montmirail*, who was the first Mayor of *Rochelle*; and continued without interruption till the year 1628. We must also add that this of-

fice was in time thought so honourable, that several persons of very high rank in the kingdom, did not think it below them to accept of it.

*Rochelle* continued still in the hands of the *English* till the year 1224, when it was besieged by *Lewis VIII.* of *France*, who made himself master of it, and annexed it to his other dominions. This Prince confirmed all the privileges that had been conferred on the inhabitants before; and the Kings of *France*, his successors, continued in possession of it from this time to the treaty of *Bretagne* in 1360. By this treaty it was restored to the *English*, together with three millions of crowns of gold, as the ransom of King *John* of *France*, who had been made prisoner at the battle of *Poitiers* in 1356. *Edward III.* of *England*, soon after gave it to his son the *Black Prince*, who took possession of it in the year 1363; but this posture of affairs did not long continue.

*Guesclin* constable of *France*, having in the year 1371, gained several advantages against the *English* in *Guienne*, and the neighbouring provinces, marched into *Xaintongue*, and with the assistance of a fleet sent by the King of *Castile* to block up the town by sea, laid siege to *Rochelle*. When *Edward* received this news, he immediately sent the Earl of *Pembroke* with 40 ships to throw succours into the town. This precaution seemed sufficient to save the place; but for some time nothing had prospered with the *English*. When the Earl of *Pembroke* was just going to sail into the harbour, he was met by the *Spanish* fleet, commanded by Admiral *Bocanegra* a *Genoese*, who fell upon him with great fury. The battle lasted two days, and ended at length in the entire defeat of the *English* fleet, the Admiral, and many officers being taken, and sent prisoners to *Spain*. *Rochelle*, however, might have still held out, had it not been for the treachery of the Mayor. This Magistrate, who held intelligence with the



the besiegers, found means to get the garrison drawn out of the castle, under pretence of a muster, and by means of a forged order from the King, which the governour, who could not read, believed to be real. When the garrison were come out, the Mayor shut the gates, and would not suffer them to re-enter. Whereupon the town capitulated, and obtained such advantageous terms, that it seemed to have gained greatly by the change of masters. For the Mayor being now master of the Citadel, did not immediately think proper to let in the *French*, but sent notice to the Constable that he was now master of the castle; and that the town was ready to return to the obedience of the King, on condition he would invest the Magistrates with the power of coining money, in the same full manner that the city of *Paris* enjoyed that privilege; and that the town of *Rochelle* should be always under the King's immediate protection, so as never to be thenceforth detached from the crown. The constable did not think himself authorised to grant them such terms, and therefore having given the deputies a safe conduct, sent them to the King. The *Rochellers* were very well received at court, and obtained more than they asked; for besides the terms proposed to the Constable, the King ordered, that, in all time coming, the Mayor, and Aldermen of *Rochelle*, should have the rank of Noblesse by virtue of their office, and that this honour should descend to their families. The deputies soon after returned with these agreeable accounts, and the constable took possession of the town.

In the reign of *Francis I.* about the year 1543, the *Rochellers* revolted against the government, on account of the rigorous exaction of the gabelle or salt tax, and because the governor of *Aunis* had quartered some troops in their town; which they thought inconsistent with their privileges. The court took no notice of this insurrection for some time, the

King's forces being otherwise employed, but at the end of the campaign, *M. de Jarnac* had orders to march with a body of troops to *Rochelle*, and disarm the inhabitants. This done, the King entered *Rochelle* himself, about the beginning of *January* at the head of his troops, and the inhabitants expected to be severely punished; he thought proper however, only to shew them the rod, and published a free pardon to all those that had been concerned in the late insurrection; but such as were accused of heresy were treated with great rigour.

This severity did not prevent the encrease of Protestants at *Rochelle*; the doctrines of the Reformed were so successful in that city, that the Protestants in a few years became more numerous than the Partizans of the church of *Rome*. At first they held their meetings in the night time, and with the greatest secrecy; but when their numbers encreased greatly, it was not so easy to conceal their sentiments, nor their meetings. This drew a persecution upon them from the government and their Popish neighbours, which at last determined them to stand upon their defence, and to concert measures for making themselves masters of the town.

With this view the Count *de la Rochefoucault* several times endeavoured to get possession of the place, but without success. Some time after, one Captain *Taget*, having some intelligence with the Protestants of the town, found means to be introduced into it, and to raise an insurrection of six hundred men, by whose means, he made himself master of the tower, which commands the chain that shuts up the harbour, and the gate of *St. Nicholas*: this gate they endeavoured to break down to let in a body of horse which waited to come to their assistance, commanded by *Bajol de Tontenay*; but before it could be effected, the Mayor recovering from the fright, into which the first alarm had thrown him, fal-  
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lied out upon them from a place in which he lay concealed, and assisted by a considerable number of the Popish inhabitants, dispersed the mob within the gate, and made *Bajot de Fontenay*, *Chenet*, and several others prisoners; whereof some were hanged, and others banished. *Bajot* himself had his hand cut off, and *Chenet*, whose trial was put off for some time, escaped a capital punishment by the edict of pacification, which was published soon after.

The toleration granted to the *Calvinists* by this edict, authorised them to hold public meetings for divine service, according to the manner of the reformed churches; but the Papists often disturbing and interrupting them upon these occasions, they, in their turn, committed some excesses against the persons of the Priests, and the ornaments of the established churches. To put an end to these disorders, the Duke of *Montpensier*, with *M. de Candal* and *de Charvigni*, &c. at the head of seven thousand men, arrived at *Rochelle* some time thereafter.

*Charles IX.* of *France*, having restored tranquillity to the kingdom, by his edict of the 19th of *March* in the year 1563, visited several of the great cities, and *Rochelle* among the rest. He entered the town in great pomp on the 14th of *September* 1565, attended by the Queen Regent, his Brother Duke of *Anjou*, the Princess *Margaret*, and a great number of the Nobility. The reception he met with from the *Rochellers* gave him great satisfaction, and he did not leave their town till the 18th of that month. Soon after his departure, the number of the Protestants continually encreasing, he began to be apprehensive of new commotions there. This determined him to make *M. Jarnac* governor of the town, and give him the command of the two great towers, with all the artillery and warlike stores of the place; but in a little time, the Magistrates prevailed with the King to

restore their artillery, and put the government of the town into their hands.

Notwithstanding the surprising increase of the Protestants at *Rochelle*, the Mayor of that city had, hitherto, always been devoted to the Court of *France*, and of the Popish persuasion; but in the year 1568, *Francis Pontard de Treuil-Charais*, by others called *Trucharez*, a man of very different principles, was elected. He was a person of great courage, an enterprising genius, and entirely devoted to the Admiral *de Coligni*, by whose advice he put the town in a state of defence, and in a short time thereafter, delivered it up to the Prince of *Condé*. From that time, if we may use the expression, *Rochelle* became the metropolis of the *Calvinists* of *France*, the sanctuary of those who were persecuted for conscience sake, and a formidable bulwark against the persecuting party, who wanted above all things entirely to extirpate the reformed religion.

Therefore in the year 1572, *Charles IX.* having as he thought, given a mortal wound to heresy by the inhuman and detestable massacre of *Paris*, that he might more effectually prosecute this fatal blow, resolved, at any rate, to ruin *Rochelle*, which he considered as the head of the monster. Accordingly the *Mareschal de Biron* was sent to invest the place in the month of *November* 1572; and the Duke of *Anjou* the King's Brother, at the head of a powerful army, formed the siege in the month of *February* following. It would require too much time, to give all the particulars of this memorable expedition; we shall therefore only take notice of some things that were most remarkable.

Almost the whole force of *France* was employed against this single town. The Duke of *Anjou*, who commanded in chief, was attended by the Duke of *Alençon*, his brother, with a considerable number of the first quality of the king-

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dom, and most of the officers who had any reputation in arms. The Duke at first thought to bring the *Rochellers* to a submission by way of treaty, and therefore proposed that they should send some deputies to meet with a like number of his nomination, to see whether some means might not be fallen upon to accommodate matters, and save the effusion of blood. He proposed this method because he had a great dependence upon *la Noue*, who commanded in the town, and, he doubted not, would do his utmost to bring the inhabitants to a submission. But the *Rochellers* absolutely refused to grant any interview, or receive proposals but in writing, because, they said, they had come to an unanimous resolution among themselves, never to consent to any other method of treaty; and that they had often observed, that interviews and conferences, had no other effect but to surprise or corrupt some of the deputies. After all, at the earnest solicitation of *la Noue*, whose integrity they did not suspect, they agreed that he should have an interview with the Abbé *Gadagne*, each of them bringing with them two persons to be witnesses of their conversation. The articles of capitulation proposed by *Gadagne*, being laid before the assembly of the citizens, in the town house, were rejected by a great majority: in consequence of which, some days being employed in assaults on the part of the besiegers, and sallies on the side of the besieged, *la Noue* prevailed with the citizens to enter into a second treaty, which succeeded no better than the first.

All hopes of accommodation being thus cut off, the Duke began to press the siege with greater vigour, and batter the town furiously in several places at once: but nevertheless, *la Noue* ceased not to use his best endeavours to bring about an accommodation, though to little purpose; his arguments were all lost, the *Rochellers* became daily more ob-

stinate, and some of them began to suspect his fidelity. While, on the other hand, the Count *de Rais* called upon him to perform the promise which, it seems, he had made to some of the royalists, either to abandon the *Rochellers* or bring them to submission. It is not easy to express how much *la Noue* was distressed to find himself suspected by both parties; however, seeing that he could no otherwise extricate himself out of his difficulties, he resolved to abandon *Rochelle*, and therefore taking the opportunity of a fall, went over to the camp of the besiegers with a few officers who followed him. The Duke of *Anjou* expected the *Rochellers* would be greatly surprised when they found themselves deserted by their leader, and so they were indeed; but this astonishment had not the effect he expected: instead of disposing them to a treaty, it only determined them to elect six Captains instead of the one they had lost, and confirmed them in their resolution to defend the place to the last extremity.

The besiegers, to straiten the place the more, had built a number of forts round it; they had also sunk a long line of ships across the mouth of the harbour, and been at vast pains to raise upon this foundation a barricade, which they hoped would effectually prevent succours from being conveyed to the place by sea. They had eighty pieces of cannon, with which they battered the walls with so great fury, that in the space of three weeks, they fired thirteen thousand cannon balls into the town. At the same time, they had prepared several mines in different places to blow up the bastions; but, either by the ignorance or malice of the Engineers, they often did greater hurt to the besiegers than to the townsmen. On the other hand, the *Rochellers* laboured with incredible activity within the town. Before the besiegers could make a breach in the wall, they generally had

had a double retrenchment compleated within it; yet notwithstanding this industry within, their troops were almost continually without, attacking the besiegers in their trenches, surprizing some quarter of their camp, destroying their works, and setting fire to their barricade.

The women also, upon every occasion, strove to equal the men in courage and resolution; they mixed with the latter upon the walls, some with a design to fight, others to bring refreshments of wine, and cordials for the wounded, others to spoil the enemies that were killed, and others standing in the breaches, did no less execution than the men, by throwing among the enemy melted pitch, bricks and stones. Thus the civil wars of *France* were attended with such rage of the opposite parties against one another, that even the women, laying aside the softness of the sex, put on the rougher passions of the men, and became quite unconcerned about their own safety if they could hurt the enemy. We have already met with instances of this kind in the women of the *Low Countries*, about the time of the battle of *Gravelines*, and in those of *Rouen*, at the siege of that place by *Charles IX.* and such as will make themselves acquainted with the history of those times, will meet with many more.

The courage of the besieged was greatly supported by the expectations they had of succours from *England*. The Earl of *Montgomery* had sent them notice, that he would sail before the end of *March* to their relief with forty five ships of war, fifteen or sixteen store ships loaded with provisions, and a good sum of money which the *English* were to lend them without interest; but some accidents having happened to detain him some time, he at last got together a fleet of between fifty and sixty sail, whereof forty were vessels of war, but, except ten, none of them exceeded fifty tons burthen.

On this fleet were embarked about eight hundred *French* musketeers, four hundred *English* archers and pike-men, and eight hundred sailors; who being surer footed, more nimble, and handy, are more proper for debarkations than land soldiers. With this force *Montgomery* having sailed from *Plymouth* and *Falmouth*, came in sight of the bay of *Rochelle*, on the nineteenth of *April* about ten o'clock in the morning. The *French* fleet, consisting of nine large ships and six galleys, was lying under a high shore, that defended them from the East wind which blows furiously on that coast. It was very ill provided with sailors, and therefore the Duke of *Anjou* had ordered the Admiral not to go out to attack any enemy that should approach, but continue in that place, where he was protected by the cannon of the besiegers. *Montgomery* imagined that the *French* fleet, not apprised of his approach, would not be provided with soldiers, and therefore it would be easy for him to surprize and defeat it, before it could be put in a proper posture of defence; and had this method been taken, he certainly would have had an easy conquest; for though the *French* had particular information of his intentions before he left *England*, yet their fleet was by no means in a proper condition to receive him; but whatever orders he gave, whatever signals he made, when he intended to begin the attack, he found himself only attended with fifteen *Norman* vessels, all the rest had slackened sail, and could not be brought within a league of the enemy: so that for fear of being surrounded he was obliged to stand off, and anchor at a considerable distance from the bay. Meantime the Duke of *Anjou* sent some of the best of his troops on board the *French* ships, and made a proper disposition for the reception of the *English* fleet if they should return again to the charge. *Montgomery* after this made himself master of *Belle-Isle*, resolving to wait there till he should have



have a favourable opportunity for succouring *Rochelle*; but his measures were disconcerted, the greatest part of his ships left him, and he was obliged to return to *England* without success.

The *Rochellers* thus disappointed of the succours and provisions they expected from *England*, had likewise the mortification to see the besiegers reinforced with 24 companies of excellent troops from *Guienne*, and a body of six thousand *Swiss*; yet they were not discouraged, nor entertained the least thought of a capitulation. Meantime, the besiegers, elevated with this new accession to their strength, and the discouragements the enemy laboured under, resolved to prosecute the siege with the utmost vigor. Therefore five days after the arrival of the *Swiss*, they sprung three mines very nigh to one another, whereof the two first had no great effect, the third laid open a hundred paces of the wall, and blew up one hundred and twenty men, who came to repair the breaches. After this the town was thrice assaulted by the regiments of *Gas*, *Goas*, and *Poillac* one after another; while the regiment of *Lude*, in the mean time, having planted scaling ladders, were endeavouring to get upon the wall. This produced a fierce encounter, wherein the contending parties fought hand to hand for more than two hours together; the besiegers sometimes pushing the *Rochellers* from the top of the breach into the retrenchment they had made below, and sometimes being themselves pushed to the bottom of the ditch. The besieged also fell upon a contrivance, which served them in great stead; they raised a black and thick smoak, like a dark cloud, which in some measure covered themselves, but out of it issued a continual rain of boiling tar and oil, musquet balls as thick as hail, artificial fires, and dreadful thunder from the mouths of the cannon, which killed, tore in pieces, scorched and destroyed all that

came near. So that at this time twelve hundred of the besiegers were killed or mortally wounded, and the rest obliged to make a precipitate retreat.

From this day the Duke of *Anjou* lost all hopes of reducing the place, while on the other hand, the *Rochellers* were confirmed in their expectation that they should at last oblige their enemies to raise the siege. Two things, however, had like to have been fatal to their affairs; one was, the misunderstandings, and differences that happened between the gentry and the citizens, the former thinking it hard that the merchants should be always put upon a level with them, and even sometimes have the preference; the latter continually entertaining suspicions of the gentry and nobility, and charging them with inconstancy and a secret attachment to the court. The other was the secret practices of the richest citizens, who fearing the loss of their goods, or a famine, which the common people began already to feel, wanted to bring about an accommodation, without minding of what sort it might be for the general interest, provided it should turn to their own private advantage. This occasioned a good many wrong steps, and misunderstandings, and obliged some of the bravest of their gentry, as they are commonly most easily provoked, to desert the cause; and go over to the besiegers. With regard to provisions, they had not much corn nor flesh, but to supply that defect, they had large quantities of salt fish, and plenty of wine. The Magistrates also had reduced the soldiers to a short allowance of bread in the month of *April*; and the sea, as it were in favour of the city, which it had raised from small beginnings to great wealth, provided it with vast quantities of several sorts of shell fish, which the tide left upon the shore. This was the more remarkable, as the like had never been observed before, and it ceased as soon as the siege was

was at an end. It was also observed, that, during the whole siege, there were very few people in the town that did not enjoy perfect health. The besiegers, on the contrary, laboured under all sorts of inconveniences; for want of good management, a scarcity of provisions and forage began in the month of *April*, and continued till the end of the siege. They were also infested with distempers, which, by the heat of the summer, became infectious, if not pestilential. But the greatest misfortune of all was, that divisions sprung up in his army, the grandees and principal officers were split into factions, and there was no good understanding between the Duke of *Anjou*, and his brother the Duke of *Alençon*. These divisions at last grew to such a height, that the King, apprehending some dangerous consequences from them, wrote to the Duke of *Anjou*, to make all possible haste to finish the siege of *Rochelle*, because he had occasion for his troops elsewhere. In consequence of these orders, the Duke assaulted the town to very little purpose, and thereby lost vast numbers of men, which greatly oppressed the spirits of the assailants and raised those of the besieged. It was also apprehended, that the *Rochellers* had friends in the camp of the besiegers, who gave them notice of all the designs that were formed against them, and thereby enabled them to render all the projects of the enemy abortive. In short, matters came to such a pass at last, that the Duke of *Anjou* knew not whom to trust; his orders were neither readily nor punctually obeyed, and even his person was in great danger; so that he knew not what to do, nor to what hand to turn.

While the Duke of *Anjou* and even the King himself were in this state of distress and uncertainty, ashamed to raise the siege, and give the enemy an occasion of triumph, yet afraid to prosecute it, for fear of some greater misfortune,

it happened luckily that news was brought that the Duke of *Anjou* was elected King of *Poland*. The King received these accounts as a message sent him from Heaven, in time of great perplexity; and, on pretence, that he would not wish the Ambassadors of *Poland*, when they came to wait of his brother, should find the *French* in arms against one another, sent orders to the Duke of *Anjou*, to conclude a treaty with the *Rochellers* at any rate, if he could but prevail with them, to make some appearance of submission, and save the honour of the crown. In consequence of which order, a treaty of peace was concluded on the eighteenth of *June* 1573; whereby, among other things it was agreed " that the King should  
" look upon all those of the reformed religion as his good  
" and faithful subjects, set at liberty those of them who  
" were detained in prisons, or in the galleys, and put them  
" in possession of their goods and estates. That the Catho-  
" lick Religion should be re-established wherever it had  
" been intermitted, and the Priests, and Ecclesiasticks in ge-  
" neral, restored to their functions and benefices. That li-  
" berty of conscience should obtain in private houses or fa-  
" milies throughout his Majesty's dominions; and gentlemen  
" might have baptisms and marriages celebrated in their  
" houses, provided that no more than ten persons should  
" assemble together on such occasions at one time. That  
" there should be a full and free exercise of the reformed re-  
" ligion in the towns of *Rochelle*, *Nismes*, and *Montauban*,  
" and these cities should be acquitted of all the public mo-  
" ney fruits and revenues, they had seized, and indemnified  
" for all the acts of hostility they had committed since the  
" twenty fourth of *August* 1572; that the said cities should  
" be confirmed in all their privileges, and not obliged to re-  
" ceive any garrison, nor suffer any citadel to be erected to  
" keep them in awe. That each of the said towns in token



“ of their submission, should give four of their principal  
“ citizens as hostages to the King for two years, and finally  
“ that all the forts erected on both sides since the beginning  
“ of the siege should be demolished.”

While the commissaries on both sides were treating, the Duke of *Anjou* thought himself obliged in honour to continue the attacks; some new mines were also sprung with good effect; and a hundred gentlemen mounted one of the breaches, but durst not attack the retrenchment. The Duke of *Guise*, who furiously attacked the bastion of the gospel, was followed by some of the nobility and gentry, but the infantry would not stir one foot to support them; at which the Duke of *Anjou*, was so enraged, that he broke sixty companies of them with marks of disgrace, together with their inferior officers and captains. At last the Commissaries having agreed upon the articles of the treaty, a truce was granted for six days. In consequence of which, the Duke of *Anjou* retired to the isle of *Oleron*, till the treaty should be approved and signed by the King, to whom it was sent for that purpose. As soon as the ratification came from court, the Marechal de *Biron*, entered the town at the gate of *Cognes*, with four trumpets, and a herald at arms, and proclaimed the peace in all the most public places. Then the persons of highest rank in the city, went out to offer their service to the new King, who, having dismissed his army, went on board some galleys with his favourites, to visit the neighbouring islands, and came ashore at *Nantes*, whence he set out for the court, being received by all the towns through which he passed in the quality of a King.

Thus was raised the siege of *Rochelle*, which in the space of seven months, cost *France* more blood than any of the three preceeding wars. For at this siege, twenty four thousand men of the royal army lost their lives, either by

the sword or the camp disorders. And among them more than a hundred officers, and a vast many gentlemen volunteers. The Duke d' *Aumale*, standing behind a gabion not sufficiently filled with earth, was killed by a cannon ball, the Colonels *Clermont*, *Tallard*, *Coffeins*, *Goas*, and *Poillac*, by the musquetry, and the viscount d' *Uzas*, died of the pestilence. The Duke of *Anjou* himself was oft in great danger; one time particularly, about the end of the siege, as he was going to see a mine, one of the garrison, who lay concealed within the town, discharged at him a musquet loaded with ball and shot; but his Equerry, of the name of *Vins*, having perceived the match fall upon the powder, generously threw himself before his master, to cover him with his own body, and received the ball in his belly; so that the Duke had only a few light scratches in the neck, arm, and hand by some of the shot.

Soon after the siege of *Rochelle*, *Charles IX.* died, and was succeeded by his brother *Henry III.* This prince had some differences with the *Rochellers*, in common with the other professors of the reformed religion, but no considerable attempt was made upon their city in his time. During the wars of the *League*, the *Rochellers* warmly espoused the interests of the King and kingdom, till that furious faction was entirely crushed, and *Henry IVth* obtained peaceable possession of the Throne. During the reign of this great and heroic Prince, the *Rochellers* not only enjoyed the sweets of peace, they were even held in great respect and esteem, but a dreadful storm was waiting for them under the next reign. Cardinal de *Richlieu* was no sooner advanced to the dignity of Prime Minister, than he conceived the design of ruining the reformed interest of *France*. He had already taken several steps this way, and laid siege to *Montauban* without success; but his great ambition was to reduce *Rochelle*, which he considered

dered as the great bulwark of the northern heresy in that Kingdom, and accordingly made great preparations for this favourite expedition, long before he intended to put it in execution. King *James I.* of *England*, a little before his death, had promised to lend the King of *France* five or six ships to be employed against the *Genoese*; this was the pretence on which they were demanded, but afterwards, *Lewis XIII.* wanting these ships for the siege of *Rochelle*, prevailed with *Charles I.* by the Duke of *Buckingham's* means, to let him employ them where he pleased; and accordingly they were sent to *Dieppe*, under the command of Vice Admiral *Pennington*. The masters of these ships discovering that they were to go against *Rochelle*, weighed anchor and sailed back to *England*. *Pennington* having informed the Duke of *Buckingham* of it, received an express order, confirmed by another from the King himself, to return to *Dieppe* with the ships, and put them into the hands of the *French*, which was done accordingly; but all the sailors deserted, and obstinately refused to serve against *Rochelle*. Such measures were extremely disagreeable to the generality of the *English*, there was nothing in them, however, inconsistent with the known character of the Duke of *Buckingham*, nor the disposition of the *English* court at that time. But not long thereafter a strange alteration happened in the councils of that court, at least with regard to the affairs of *France*; for in little more than a year, that is in 1627, *Charles*, with the advice of his Ministry, resolved to make war upon that kingdom, under colour of supporting the *Hugonots*, who were oppressed and threatened with utter destruction. Historians are greatly at a loss to account for this change in the *British* councils, considering the character of the King, of the favourite, and of the ministry, and can hardly be persuaded that the support of the Protestant religion, such as it was in *France*, could be the motive of a measure so little expected. The King and his whole court

mortally hated Presbyterians; the Duke of *Buckingham* had properly no religion at all, but his public and private connections inspired him with great aversion to that of the *French* Protestants; others of the Ministry were Papists, and *Laud* and *Neele* thought it impossible to be saved out of the church of *England*. How then can it be imagined say they, that all these men who were the Kings most intimate Councillors, should combine their support in *France*, a religion which they held in the utmost contempt.

Whatever was the matter, for we intend not to enter into the conjectures which were formed on this occasion, the King determined to send a fleet to *Rochelle*, under pretence of relieving that place, at this time, threatened with a vigorous siege. This affair had been managed at the court of *England*, by the Duke de *Soubise*, and Monsieur de *St. Blancard*, a gentleman of *Languedoc*, without the knowledge or consent of the *Rochellers*; which gave occasion to suspect, that the real intention was to betray the town into the hands of the *English* on pretence of saving it. Be this as it may, the fleet consisting of above a hundred ships, under the command of the Duke of *Buckingham*, having seven thousand soldiers on board, sailed from *Portsmouth* on the 7th of *June*, and on the 20th of *July* appeared before *Rochelle*. At the Duke's approach, the *Rochellers* shut their gates for fear of a surprize, as having no notice that an *English* fleet was to come so near them. Presently after were seen to arrive the Duke of *Soubise* with Sir *William Beecher*, who acquainted them from the Duke of *Buckingham*, that the King of *England*, out of compassion to their suffering, had sent a fleet and army to their assistance, that if they refused his aid, he declared he was full quit of his engagement of honour and conscience for their relief. The Mayor replied in the name of the inhabitants, that he most humbly thanked his Majesty for



for the care he had of them; but that being in strict union with all the Protestants in the kingdom, they could not receive into the city, the offered succours, without consulting their friends, and without the previous consent of the whole body of the *Hugonots*. The Duke of *Buckingham* finding by this answer, that it would not be easy to get his troops admitted into the city, directed his course to the isle of *Rhée*, intending to make himself master of the town of *St. Martin*, and the whole of that island; we shall very soon see with what success.

All the effect of this appearance of the *English* in favour of the *French* Protestants, was to draw upon them the calamities of war, a little sooner than they might otherwise have expected. *Lewis XIII.* extremely provoked that the King of *England* had moved his dominions, in favour of his own rebellious subjects, as he called them, without so much as previous declaration of war, resolved to take a speedy vengeance upon the latter, and therefore ordered the siege of *Rochelle* to be immediately formed. Accordingly the Duke of *Angoulême* invested the place on the 10th of *August* 1627, and on the twelfth of *October* following, the King himself arrived in the camp.

This was one of the most famous sieges mentioned in history, as well on account of the vigorous resistance of the besieged, as the constancy of the besiegers, the many battles that were fought, the attempts that were made to relieve it, the prodigious pains that were taken both by sea and land, to compass the design, and the great number of Princes, Lords and Gentlemen, who assisted at the siege, and signified themselves upon the occasion. For besides the King who attended in person, there were present at the siege, Monsieur the King's brother, and the Count de *Soissons*, with the Dukes of *Guise*, *Angoulême*, and *Nemours*, Cardinal *Richelieu*,

the Marechals de *Schomberg*, *Bassompier*, and d' *Etrees*, and besides these, seven other Dukes, and upwards of sixty Counts and other nobility, with almost all the officers of distinction.

It is by no means our intention to enter into the particulars of this famous siege, which was continued for no less than fourteen months, and so full of incidents and important events, as might afford a subject for a large volume, we shall therefore only take notice of some remarkable circumstances.

The *French* King had for some considerable time been making preparations for this important expedition. He had obtained a small fleet from *Spain*, under the command of Don *Frederick de Toledo*, to join with what ships he had of his own in blocking up the place by sea \*. The Marquis de *Spinola*, at that time ambassador extraordinary from *Spain*, one of the greatest commanders of the age, who had rendered himself famous by the management of the siege of *Ostend* in the year 1603, attended the King at *Rochelle*, to give his advice with regard to the direction of the siege; and the works were directed by *Pompey Targon*, the most celebrated engineer of his time, who also raised his reputation, by his surprising performances on this occasion. On the other hand, the *Rochellers* made choice of the Duke of *Roban* on their head, and depended on the assurances of succours which they had from *England*.

The reputation the *Rochellers* had acquired for valour, was so considerable, and the fortifications of the town so strong, that *Lewis*, notwithstanding his numerous army, had no great hopes of reducing it, unless he could effectually prevent

\* These ships were so ill rigged, and in every other respect in so bad order, that they could be of little or no service to the French.

all kind of supplies by sea. He had also reason to apprehend, that the naval force he had got together, was not sufficient to prevent the *English* fleet from throwing supplies of men and provisions into the town, if they should attempt it, as he did not doubt but they would. He was therefore impatient to find some effectual means for shutting up the canal of *Rochelle*, so that no ship could possibly enter it. *Targon*, the principal Engineer, at first thought to effect this by means of a barricade composed of pontoons and large logs of wood fixed together with strong chains and bars of iron; but his labour in constructing machines of this kind soon appeared to be fruitless. A violent storm, which arose soon after the barricade was compleated, broke it in pieces, and laid open the bay of *Rochelle*. Disappointed in this first attempt, he projected the famous mole, carried quite across the bay, which for some time withstood the force of the winds and waves, and entirely cut off the communication of *Rochelle* with the sea. This stupendous mole was upwards of four *French* toises broad at the platform on the top, almost three times as much at the foundation below, and extended in length 747 toises, that is about 4780 *English* feet. It was composed of large stones mixed with great logs of wood, fixed together with strong bars and bolts of iron. The *Rochellers* at first made a jest of this undertaking: they imagined the first storm would effectually ruin the costly fabrick, but when they saw it stand the force of the waves and tides, they began to be a little concerned; however they doubted not but the *English* fleet would come to their relief, long before the communication of the bay could be compleatly cut off. The *English* fleet did indeed come, as they expected, but was far enough from bringing that relief with which they flattered themselves.

A large squadron of fifty sail was assembled at *Plymouth* in the spring, and a considerable body of marines embarked, under the command of the Earl of *Denbigh*, who sailed from that port on the 17th of *April* 1628, and came to anchor in the road of *Rochelle* on the first of *May*. The Earl on his arrival, found twenty sail of the *French* King's ships riding before the harbour, and being much superior to them in number and strength, he sent advice into the town, that he would sink the *French* ships as soon as the wind came about to the West, and made a higher flood. About the 8th of the month the wind and tide served accordingly, and the *Rochellers* imagined the time of their deliverance was come; but the Earl, without embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor, and sailed away, suffering four of the *French* ships to pursue, as it were, and drive away the *English* fleet, with which he arrived at *Plymouth* on the 26th of *May*.

This favourable opportunity being so unaccountably lost, the representations of the *Rochellers*, and the clamours of the people, prevailed with the *English* court to make another effort. Accordingly in the month of *August* following, a fleet was got ready at *Portsmouth* for the relief of the *Rochellers*, and was to have been commanded by the Duke of *Buckingham*; but he having been assassinated by *Felton* on the 23d of that month, when he was just ready to embark; the fleet sailed on the eighth of *September* following, under the command of the Earl of *Lindsey*, and about the end of the month appeared before *Rochelle*. They found the mole compleatly finished, and made several unsuccessful attempts to break through it. On the 4th of *October*, particularly, having the wind and tide in their favour, they attacked the mole, and continued the assault with great vigour for a considerable time; but at last were obliged to retreat without success.



cess\*. The *French* were aware of their approach, and had made great preparation for their reception. The King himself was upon one of the batteries that defended the mole, and was so active that he pointed and discharged several of the cannon against the *English* ships with his own hand.

The *Sieur de Pontis*, who commanded one of the *French* gallies upon that occasion, and had been for some time in disgrace with his King, had the good luck after the battle, to find a part of the gilded prow of a ship, with the *English* arms upon it; on sight of which, he immediately thought of a scheme for recovering his Majesty's favour. He went directly to the King's quarters, and with a grave composed countenance told him, that one of the *English* vessels was much disabled, and he had found a great part of her prow, which he thought it his duty to bring away, that his Majesty, if he pleased, might see it. He said no more at first, not doubting but the King would be apt enough of his own accord, to attribute to himself the glory of disabling the *English* ship. The King said he would go and look at it, and asked *Pontis* by the way, where he found it. The other answered, by describing the place which lay most exposed, the King's battery. His Majesty, who passionately desired it might be thought his own, doing was pleased with the answer, and replied, that at one of the shots, he discharged from that battery, he saw one of the *English* vessels fall off, and did then believe she had received some damage. Upon this, *Pontis*

\* A French author, speaking of this attack, says "A prodigious number of cannon was fired on both sides. There was nothing to be heard but peals of thunder, nor to be seen but lightening, in the midst of a dark smog, that covered the whole sea. It was a fine sight to see those monstrous vessels, like floating castles, advancing, one after another, in very graceful order, and giving broadsides at our mound, of fifty or threescore cannon shot at a time." *Memoirs of the Sieur de Pontis*, p. 135.

began to confirm his Majesty's opinion by several circumstances; which was matter of great joy to that vain Prince, who valued himself highly upon being a good marks-man. He took great pride in shewing this prow to his Courtiers, telling every one that came, that it fell off at a shot which he discharged, and appealed to *Pontis*, who was always ready with his attestation, and by his complaisance effectually recovered his Majesty's favour.

Meantime the poor *Rochellers* despairing of all relief, and reduced to the greatest extremities, found themselves under the necessity of accepting of such terms as their King offered them, and gave up the town in the sight of the *English* fleet, which was not able to help them. They had suffered so much by famine and otherwise during the siege, which lasted upwards of fourteen months, that out of fifteen thousand, not quite four thousand remained; and to compleat their misfortunes, and carry their mortification to the highest pitch, the very night after the city was surrendered, the sea made so great a breach in the mole, that the largest ship of the *English* fleet might easily have entered the harbour.

The conduct of the *English* court during the siege occasioned great speculation. The besiegers were five months and eight days, that is from the second of *December* 1637, to the tenth of *May* following, employed in raising the mole which blocked up the canal; and all this time a moderate fleet from *England* would have been able to destroy the works, supply the place with every thing that was wanted, and keep open the communication with *Rochelle* by sea. It was particularly surprising that the Earl of *Denbigh*, who came before *Rochelle* time enough for this purpose, made no attempt of this kind, especially as he had a naval force greatly

greatly superior to that of the enemy, had it been twice as considerable as it was. Had he exerted himself upon this occasion, which was like to be the last favourable one for relieving the place, as the stupenduous mole was compleated soon after his retreat, there is little ground to doubt but he must have stopped the progress of that mighty fabrick, and effectually obliged the *French* to raise the siege\*. In such circumstances as these, and others already mentioned, it was no great wonder, that the *Rochellers*, as well as some zealous Protestants at home, entertained suspicions of the sincerity of the *English* Ministry on this occasion; since a late *French* author, who could not be carried away by the prejudices and passions of those times, though at the same time, he cannot be said to be a very accurate historian, gives strong hints, that the *English* court, by their armaments at that time, were far from intending the relief of *Rochelle*†.

Be this as it may, for we would assert nothing in a matter of this kind, *Lewis XIII.* entered *Rochelle* in triumph on the 4th of *November* 1628, and to punish the inhabitants for their resistance, ordered their fortifications to be razed, deprived the town of its privileges, and re-established the Mass and the other ceremonies of the *Roman Catholic* religion, which had been suppressed there for some considerable time.

Thus matters continued till the reign of *Lewis XIV.* who in the year 1689, intending that *Rochelle* should be again made a place of considerable strength, ordered new fortifications to be built, under the direction of the celebrated

\* “ Richelieu, in imitation of Alexander, laid a boom across the sea, and entered *Rochelle* like a conqueror; but had the sea been a little more turbulent, or the *English* a little more diligent, *Rochelle* might have been saved, and Richelieu called rash and inconsiderate.” *Age of Lewis XIV.* vol. II.

P. 5.

† See *Nouvelle description de la France*, par M. Piganiol de la Force, vol. VIII. p. 409, 410.

*Marechal de Vauban.* These consist of nineteen large bastions and eight half-moons, surrounded with a good ditch and covered way. The circumference in general is faced with a good stone wall, and the side next the harbour secured by a thick rampart, on which there is a small bastion. The remaining parts are flanked by round towers after the old fashion, which are made use of as magazines. The harbour is defended by two horn works, whereof that of *Tadon* has its gate covered with a half-moon, and two entrenchments. The other horn work, which stands near the entrance of the harbour, is covered only with a small work in form of a battery, at the flanked angle of the demi-bastion of the side next the sea. *Lewis XV.* restored also the town council and magistracy, by a declaration made in the year 1718, ordering that in all time coming, the place should be governed by a Mayor, four Aldermen, ten common-counsellors, and a procurator syndic, reserving the nomination of these officers to himself for the first time only. There are several gates at *Rochelle*, but the most remarkable is that called *la Porte du Gros Horloge*, which formerly consisted of two narrow arches, the one designed for carriages, and the other for foot passengers, separated by an enormous pillar that bore the weight of the whole fabric. In the year 1672, an ingenious workman found means to take away the pillar, and unite the two into one beautiful arch. Over it is placed the arms of *Lewis XIV.* with a sun instead of a crest, and a very vain inscription.

About three leagues from *Rochelle*, on the coast of *Aunis*, lies the isle of *Ré*, in *Latin*, *Rea insula*, and *Reacus*, which seems to have taken its name from its having been formerly a place to which state criminals were banished. It is between four and five leagues in length, and about a league and an half in breadth; it produces plenty of salt, and an indifferent



ferent fort of wine, which, however makes very good brandy and fennel-water. It yields neither corn, nor hay, and there is scarce a tree to be met with in the whole island; but it is well situated for trade, and abundantly populous. It pays no *taille* or land tax, but there is a board for receiving the duties upon salt; and for the direction of ships that happen to be upon the coast, there is a light house, in which a large fire is kept during the whole night.

The principal town of this island is *St. Martin*, a place not considerable in itself, but on account of its fortifications, which are very good, and constructed after the method of the *Marechal de Vauban*. They consist of six large bastions, and five half moons, with a very good dry ditch, and a covered way cased with stone. The flanks are remarkable because they are double, the outer one being raised only a little above the bottom of the ditch. The citadel commands the harbour, the town, and the country round it. It is a regular square, defended by four bastions, three half moons, and a demi counter-guard, the whole surrounded, except on the side next the sea, by a dry ditch and covered-way cased with stone; as are all the other parts of the fortification. In the ditch of the citadel, there is an uncommon fort of work, called a *cuvette*, or little ditch full of water, very well kept, and very regular. Before three of the curtains of the citadel, there is a fort of *fausse-braye*, a kind of work seldom met with in other fortresses. The fourth side fronting the sea, has the harbour before it, and the quay runs along the faces of the bastions.

Besides the town of *St. Martin*, there are three forts in the island, viz. fort *de la Prée*, fort *de Samblanceau*, and fort *du Martray*. The first is intended to defend the *Pertuis Breton*, and is a square perfectly regular, composed of four bastions, having the curtains which join them a little arched

on the inside. The three fronts toward the country, are covered with equal number of half moons, one whereof is opposite to the gate; and one of the bastions is covered by a large counter guard; all these works are cased with a good stone wall, and surrounded by a ditch, covered way, and glacis. The front next the harbour is enclosed with a little ditch, beyond which is a small half moon, with a plain parapet of stone. It serves not only to defend the harbour, but also to cover a small sluice, which supplies the ditch with water at pleasure.

The design of *Fort de Samblanceau* is to defend the passage called the *Pertuis d'Antioche*. It stands upon a rock almost at the point of the island; and is a well built regular square, with a parapet cut out into several embrasures. The gate on the side next the land is covered with a half moon, a ditch, and a covered way. At the extremity of its glacis, is a large ditch cut out of the rock, which entirely separates the fort from the island. The front which is opposite to this last, is covered by a ditch, a covered way, and a glacis. The two other sides are on the brink of the rock. To join the point of the island with the fort, there is an advanced redoubt of earth, defended by a communication or large retrenchment, lying between the flanked angles of two of the bastions of the fort. These retrenchments run along the rock upon the sea side.

Fort *du Martray* lies upon the coast, and is an oblong square nearly regular, having its longest sides fortified with salient angles in the form of half moons, and those half moons are so many batteries. The shortest sides are fortified with demi-bastions, and curtains; the gate is covered with a large half moon; and these two fronts have before them ditches, covered ways, and a glacis. Beyond the glacis, on the front in which is the gate, is a large entrenchment of earth, fortified with two redoubts, with their angles opposite to

to one another cased with stone walls, and surrounded with a dry ditch. In the center of all, is a large square redoubt of stone, having subterraneous passages, communicating with the ditch of the place.

The isle of *Ré* was formerly the property of the house of *Mauleon*, from which it passed to the family of *Amboise*, and from them to that of *la Tremouille* and *Bevil*. The inhabitants obtained very considerable privileges in the reign of *Charles VII*. In the civil wars on account of religion, the *Rochellers* made themselves masters of it; but *Lewis XIII*. having recovered it from them about the year 1625, restored the Roman Catholick religion. We have already seen that the Duke of *Buckingham* being refused admission into *Rochelle*, in 1627, turned his course to the isle of *Ré*. He landed his troops there on the last day of *July*, not without strong opposition from the *French* governor, whom he forced to retire, though with some loss. Upon his first entrance into the island, he committed a gross error, in neglecting to seize the fort of *la Prée*, which covered the landing place. This oversight was the more unaccountable, as the *French* in their flight had neglected to secure it, so that it might have been taken without any trouble; and it was a place of such consequence, that if it had been in the hands of the *English*, it would have prevented the *French* from introducing supplies. The court of *France* was at first exceedingly alarmed; but their terrors wore off, when they found the Duke had no great capacity in military affairs, and was too proud to be advised. The *English*, however, soon reduced the town of *St. Martin*, and the Duke invested the citadel; but gave evident proofs of his want of military skill in carrying on the siege. At first, he quartered his troops without intrenching, which at last, however, he was glad to

do. Then he entered into conferences with the governor, and refusing to communicate the substance of them to his officers, discouraged his own people, and enabled the *French* to deceive him by a sham treaty, during which the fort received supplies. The expectation of succours from *England*, and some other motives, engaged him to continue so long before this fortress, that his troops were much diminished. At length, on the sixth of *November* he made a general assault; but finding he had not strength enough to carry the place, was obliged to retire. By this time Count *Schomberg* was approaching to the relief of the place with 6 or 7000 men, and had landed his troops in the island, without opposition from the *English* fleet. Upon his approach the Duke raised the siege with precipitation, and resolved upon a retreat, which was as ill conducted as the rest of the expedition. It was made in the sight of an enemy, as strong in foot, and more numerous in horse, than the *English* army, over a narrow causeway, with salt pits on each side; yet there was no precaution taken by erecting a fort, or throwing up an intrenchment to cover the entrance of the passage; by which oversight the troops were so much exposed, that numbers of brave men were killed. And being pursued all the way to the sea-side, it was with great difficulty that he embarked those of them that survived that disaster. The best accounts make the loss upon this occasion to amount to fifty officers, thirty volunteers of note, and two thousand soldiers. And upon the whole, it is said, that out of seven thousand men the Duke brought from *England* with him, near five thousand perished in this unfortunate expedition; though it was given out by him and his friends, that the loss did not exceed fifteen hundred.



## R O C H E F O R T.

## REFERENCES to the Plan of ROCHELLE.

- A. Retrenchment of St. Nicholas.
- B. Hornwork of the Digue.
- C. Redent of the Stacado.
- D. Redent of the New Gate.
- E. Bastion of St. Louis.
- F. Bastion of the Capuchin Fryars:
- G. Bastion.
- H. The King's Bastion.
- I. Bastion of Burgundy.
- K. The Dauphin's Bastion.

- L. Tower of Morcilles.
- M. Hornwork of Taddon.
- N. Bastion of Taddon.
- O. Bastion of Gabus.
- P. Tower of St. Nicholas.
- Q. Tower of the Boom.
- R. Tower of the Lanthorn.

About six leagues to the South East of *Rochelle*, stands the city and port of

## R O C H E F O R T,

**I**N *Latin Rupi-forlium*, upon the river *Charente*, which takes its rise in *Poitou*, on the frontiers of the *Limosin*, passes through the *Angoumois*, and directing its course by *Angoulême*, enters into *Xaintonge*, watering the towns of *Xaintes Taillebourg*, and *Tonnay-Charente*; then having received the waters of the *Boutonne*, passes by *Rochefort* and *Soubise*, to empty itself into the sea of *Guienne*, opposite to the isle of *Oleron*. It begins to be navigable by boats at *Angoulême*. Its waters are clear; and it forms several islands. It abounds with fishes, and some pearls are said to be found in it, as beautiful as those that come from the East.

The coasts of *France* that lie on the ocean, are naturally so difficult of access, and the roads so dangerous, that, in

the middle of the last century, there were scarce any except that of *Brest*, where large vessels could lie in safety. *Lewis XIV.* having caused experiments to be made for that purpose, found that a good harbour might be made at the mouth of the *Charente*, and that the river had depth enough to admit the largest ships. This Prince first cast his eyes upon *Soubise*, and having even begun to send his ships to that place, abandoned the project on a sudden, because *M. de Roban*, the Lord of *Soubise*, refused to sell him the ground necessary for a town and harbour. Though this place was exceeding proper for his purpose, being neither too near nor too far from the sea, the opposition of *M. de Roban* made him think of looking out for some other on

the same river. *Tonnay-Charente*, which lies a good way higher up, was next fixed upon. The situation of this place was still better than that of the former, the water there is excellent, and all the conveniences for forming a good harbour were found in the neighbourhood. Here then an establishment was begun, a spot marked out for the park of artillery, the foundation of the magazines were traced, and on the twelfth of July 1664, the King's ships entered the river, some ships were also laid up, and others fitted out there. The marine was even in a flourishing condition, and *M. de Apremont* had laid up there a squadron consisting of twelve ships of war. But *M. de Mortemart*, the proprietor of *Tonnay-Charente*, having scrupled to sell any part of his ground, the King gave up this project also, and cast his eyes upon *Rochefort*. That he might not be disappointed in this also, he purchased, in the year 1665, the small castle of *Rochefort*, from a gentleman who held it by a kind of mortgage from the crown. A space, as large as that upon which the city of *Bordeaux* stands, being set apart for the town, proper places were assigned for the arsenal and the King's magazines, and the rest of the ground disposed of to those who were willing to build houses, at a very easy rent.

*Rochefort*, then, stands about three leagues from the mouth of the river *Charente*, in the latitude of 45 degrees 58 minutes North, and about 00 degrees 50 minutes to the West of the meridian of *London*. The town is very regularly built, the houses convenient and airy, the streets straight, and in every respect, among the most beautiful in the kingdom of *France*. The town wall supports a rampart, which is not flanked with bastions, but by redents, and therefore would probably make but a poor defence, in case of a vigorous attack on the land side. It has a dry ditch to the South and North, as also on the West side, which is the longest

of all, except that next the river, without any outworks, covered way, or glacis; whereby it would be in great danger of being carried by assault, or surprise, if there were an enemy in that part of the country. Round the rampart, however, are planted two rows of large trees, which is a considerable ornament to the place, and in good weather affords a very pleasant walk.

The arsenal is the largest, the most beautiful, and most magnificent in the kingdom. It consists of a most beautiful dock for building ships, three others for refitting and careening, and very grand magazines, wherein is reposed every thing necessary for arming and fitting out ships. Near the gate of *Martrou*, is a stately building called the barracks, because it was originally intended as a habitation for the marine guards, but its destination has been since changed, it being now employed to accommodate some independent companies, together with their officers and the inspector. The Capuchins have a convent in the most beautiful spot in the whole town; the large public square, or place of arms, has its name from these Monks. It is very large, and regular, surrounded with houses very well built, and almost entirely uniform. The King's palace, in which the intendant resides, stands upon the side of the river, and has an agreeable prospect into a charming meadow, three or four leagues in length, and some beautiful rising grounds. To this palace belong several kitchen gardens, parterres, and a court beautified by three large alleys of trees. The avenue before the gate, is formed by two rows of elm trees more than two hundred yards in length. The royal hospital is very grand, and stands in a line with the magazine of provisions. There is here also a seminary for chaplains to the King's ships, who are under the direction of the fathers



thers of the mission. The *French* King has granted several valuable privileges to this place; particularly annual fairs, established by letters patent in the year 1669, and the advantage which the inhabitants enjoy by having all the commodities consumed in the place free from every kind of duty. The Magistracy of *Rochefort* having been suppressed in 1717, the King by a declaration published next year, granted a town council, consisting of a Mayor, two Aldermen, and six Common Counsellors. The gates of the town are guarded by the inhabitants, who also patrol through the city the whole night on horse-back, to prevent robberies and other disorders. The air of *Rochefort* is very unwholesome in the months of *August*, *September*, and *October*. This inconvenience is supposed to be owing to two causes. The first of these is, its being too closely covered from the North wind, which in that country is reckoned the wholesomest of all; the second proceeds from the badness of the water, there being but one fountain in the place, which is almost continually out of order; the inhabitants are often obliged to use the water of their draw-wells, though they are of an unwholesome quality.

That which gave rise to the town at first, and continues to support it ever since, is the harbour, which is said to be one of the best and most convenient in the Kingdom. It lies in the *Charente*, and the largest vessels are always afloat in it; that river, during the lowest tides, being in the middle twenty two feet, *Paris* measure, in depth, as far up as the rock of *St. Clement*. Ships in it are secure from hurricanes, and are never seen to be tossed by the highest winds. They are also out of danger of any insult from hostile shipping, as bomb vessels cannot come near enough to reach them. There are here no worms to damage them, as in other harbours, particularly in the Southern seas, where the vermin

sometimes eat their way through the bottoms of ships: on the contrary, it is pretended that when worms are brought from the *American* islands, the muddy water of the *Charente* effectually destroys them; and if there are any instances of ships damaged at *Rochefort*, it has been owing to the badness of the wood \*, not the nature of the water or climate.

The river is sometimes, tho' seldom, frozen over, when winters happen to be very severe; but this has not been found to be of any great detriment to the shipping in this harbour. On the contrary, in the year 1670, the *Charente* at *Rochefort* was quite covered with ice for fifteen days in the month of *January*, so that people could easily walk over it; and the ice was so strong, that 15 or 16 persons danced and played on the middle of it, round a barrel of wine, till they drank it quite up; yet at this very time there were more than thirty ships in the harbour, and none of them received the least injury by the frost.

The port of *Rochefort* is exceeding convenient, as it is easily supplied with every necessary for arming and equipping ships. The neighbouring provinces of *Angoumois*, *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, *Perigord* and *Limosin*, furnish it with corn, wine, brandy, beef, mutton, pulse, and every thing necessary for victualling fleets. These commodities are easily conveyed to it by the *Charente*, and by the same means it is easily provided with artillery from the forges of *Angoumois* and *Perigord*.

The harbour of *Rochefort* is also very well secured from danger, at least by water, by a chain of forts on each side of the river; for besides the fort of the island of *Aix*, the mouth of the river is guarded by the redout of *Isle-Madame*, covered by a ditch, covered way, palisades, and a glacis, the

\* See l'Histoire de Rochefort, à Paris 1733 pag. 207.

fortress of *Fouras*, and the *Fort of the Point*. About a league above the mouth of the river, and two below *Rocheport*, stands fort *Lupin*, on the South side of the river, being a redout with loop-holes, surrounded with a circular battery of twenty two guns, to fire to the right and left, and directly cross the river. At *Vergerou*, about half a league from *Rocheport*, there is also a fort, which for some time past has been out of repair, but might be soon put in order again. To conclude, the *Charente* might be further secured occasionally by chains, and booms, as has been formerly practised in times of danger. We shall conclude our account of the harbour of *Rocheport* with this observation, that, with all its advantages, it is attended with one great inconvenience, common to almost all harbours lying on rivers, by means of the mud and sand which the *Charente* brings down and deposits near its mouth, so as to form banks, that in time may become large enough to ruin its navigation entirely, if great care is not taken to destroy them before they come to any considerable height.

The foundations of the town of *Rocheport* were laid in the year 1666, and it prospered so remarkably, under the care and good conduct of *M. Colbert de Terron*, its first intendant, that in 1673, it contained near twenty thousand inhabitants. Next year the *Dutch* formed a design against it, and sent their Admiral *Van Tromp* with a powerful fleet, to burn, if possible, the ships in the harbour, and spoil the navigation of the *Charente*, by sinking large ships in the mouth of it. This fleet came before *Belle-Isle*, on the 24th of *June*; but the *French* being apprised of their danger, had put the whole coast about *Rocheport* in a proper posture of defence. *M. de Gordagne*, governor of *Rochelle*, drew strong intrenchments round the village of *Fouras*; the governor of *Brouage* took the same method to secure the post of *Chapus*; and all those

places of the isle of *Oleron*, where descents could be made, were strongly fortified. *M. de Terron*, who still continued governor of *Rocheport*, built on this occasion the *Fort of the Point*, opposite to the *Port des Barques*, fort *Terron* at *Vergerou*, and planted several pieces of cannon to defend the barricade of chains and booms laid cross the river.

Several bodies of men were posted along the coast from *Rochelle* to *Rocheport*; one at *Angoulin*, one at *Chatellallion*, and one at *Yves*. The post at *Fouras*, was put under the command of *M. de Saint Colombe*, and fortified with strong lines and plenty of cannon; the fort at the *Point* had fifty cannon mounted upon it, and a guard of four hundred men. And, as if all these precautions had been thought insufficient, a camp was formed at *Vergerou*, consisting of six hundred marines, the gentry and militia of the provinces of *Xaintonge* and *Angoumois*, and of the towns of *Rocheport*, *Tonnay-Charente*, and *Brouage*. Admiral *Van Tromp* appeared, the fourth of *July*, before the isle of *Ré* with sixty five large ships of war, and attempted to make a descent, but without success. Being disappointed on the isle of *Ré*, his intention was to have proceeded to *Rocheport*, but finding the whole coast so effectually secured against any attack, he thought proper to sail homewards without effecting any thing, except that in his return, he landed some of his men on the island of *Noirmoutier*, and laid it under contribution.

In 1675 the fortifications of *Rocheport*, such as they are, were built by *M. de Demuin* the second intendant of that place, according to a plan given him by *M. de Clerville* engineer and governor of the isle of *Oleron*. But in this *M. de Demuin's* conduct was much disapproved by the court, and it is pretended to have been one of the reasons why he soon after lost his place; for it was the King's intention that the town



should be enclosed with a plain wall only, and *M. Colbert*, the prime minister at that time, was against its being at all fortified on the land side; for fear it should be garrisoned with regular troops, which he apprehended would be a source of continual quarrels and divisions between the marines and land soldiers. It is added, that as *M. Colbert* was not in very good terms with *M. de Louvois*, at that time minister of war, he did not chuse that the latter should have any concern at *Rochefort*, which must have been the case had any part of the army been sent to garrison that town.

The project for registering seamen, and disposing them into classes, begun at *Rochefort*, and was carried a considerable length by *M. Arnou*, the third intendant of that place. A war breaking out between *England* and *Holland* in the year 1665, *Lewis XIV.* thought it his interest to support the latter, and intended to equip a fleet for that purpose; but as there were no established rules for raising seamen, he published an ordinance on the 17th of *December*, authorising the *Sieur Colbert de Terron*, intendant of *Aunis*, *Brouage*, and the adjacent islands, to enroll all the sailors belonging to the maritime places of his department: and at the same time empowered the *Duke de Beaufort*, general superintendant of the navigation and commerce of *France*, to shut up all the ports of *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, and the countries of *Aunis*, *Brouage*, and *Rochelle*, that no sailor might get out of the kingdom. These precautions were necessary, but they became troublesome, the shutting up of the ports being a great interruption to commerce. To prevent this inconvenience, in 1668 the King published a new ordinance dated at *St. Germain en Laye* on the 22d of *September*, by which he ordered the proper officers to take the number of all the sailors on that coast, and distribute them into three classes, to serve alternately, in ships of war and trading vessels. But even

these last regulations did not seem entirely to answer the ends proposed by them: wherefore the King found it necessary to publish, in the month of *August* 1673, the edict of *Nancy*, ordering new registers to be made, for the more easy levying of seamen; proposing privileges to engage them to the service, and extending the laws which had been already made with regard to the ports on the coast near the *Charente*, to all the sea ports of the kingdom.

In consequence of these different regulations, means were found to assemble sixty thousand sailors; twenty thousand to serve on the King's ships, twenty thousand in trading vessels, and twenty thousand more to be at their own disposal. On this success, according to the custom of that vain reign, a medal was struck representing a sailor on the sea shore, leaning upon the ruins of a pillar, and holding in his hand the helm of a ship charged with flower de lys, with the legend, *Bello & Commercio*: in the *Exergue* *Sexaginta millia nautarum conscripta*, and the date 1680. But in the year 1726 the classes were put into a new form, by order of *M. de Maurepas*, minister of state for the department of the marine, and under the direction of *M. de Beaubarnois*, the eighth intendant of *Rochefort*. A general review was taken of all the sailors, and a new and distinct order established in the marine office, whereby, with the assistance of nine registers, the situation and circumstances of every particular sailor might be immediately known; and in consequence of this order, *Lewis XV.* published an ordinance ascertaining the limits of the intendance of *Rochefort*, and dividing it into five departments. These five departments are further divided into fifteen districts, containing in all 367 parishes, lying in the provinces of *Bordeaux*, *Toulouse*, *Xaintes*, *Aunis*, *Lower Poitou*, and on the banks of the *Charente*.

Hither-

Hitherto the houses built at *Rochefort* were little and low, owing in a great measure to the poverty of the first settlers; the streets were not paved, and the dirt and nastiness that abounded in them, sent forth noxious steams, which had a very unfavourable effect upon the health of the inhabitants. The vast numbers of people that resorted to this new colony, either in hopes of impunity for the crimes they had committed, or of making their fortunes in this new establishment, being ill provided with lodging, victuals, and other necessaries, and crowded together in little houses where the air was already too close and confined, rendered it still more corrupt and unwholesome. Add to this, that the soldiers of the independent companies of marines that were then quartered in the town, crowded the houses still more, and increased the evil; so that about the year 1688, during the government of *M. Begon*, the fourth intendant of *Rochefort*, all these concurring causes united to produce an infectious and epidemical disorder at *Rochefort*, and threatened the new town with desolation. *Begon*, alarmed with this awful appearance, procured a decree of the King's council for raising the houses higher, and to give them more light and air. This order at first was but ill observed; he found the proprietors but little disposed to be at the expence necessary for this purpose; however, by his moderation and judicious conduct, the intendant at last got the better of their obstinacy. The eyes of the inhabitants were in time opened, they parted with their money to secure their health, and their houses were made more airy and convenient.

As this improvement was not alone sufficient entirely to remove the calamity, *M. Begon* obtained from the court the necessary funds for paving the streets; but *France* being then at war with the *Empire*, *Spain*, *England*, *Holland*, and *Savoy*, it was necessary to apply these funds to other purposes, and

the streets lay unpaved for three years longer. At last the magistrates of *Rochefort* were empowered to lay a duty upon all the wine retailed in the town and suburbs, which enabled them not only to pave their streets, but also to build barracks for the independant companies of marines, and the citizens were relieved from the burthen of quartering them. By these prudent expedients, the air became more pure, the mortality ceased, and *Rochefort* became a more wholesome habitation.

We shall conclude our history of *Rochefort* with a short account of the armament sent against it by *Great Britain*, soon after the declaration of this present war. The *French* at this time had drawn the far greater part of their troops out of their own country, to fall upon *Germany* with their whole force: *Mareschal Richelieu* was in possession of *Hanover* at the head of an army, that had marched out of *France* above ninety thousand strong; whilst the *Prince de Soubise*, with another of thirty thousand, was endeavouring to force his way into *Saxony*. By this means there could not be a sufficient number of troops left in *France* for guards and garrisons; and in fact, we are assured, that there were not above ten thousand regulars from *St. Valery* to *Bordeaux*. The *French*, by so great an exertion of strength in a foreign country, did not seem to make proper provision for the safety of their own, especially of the maritime parts, which were thereby evidently exposed; but they seemed to have no apprehensions, that the *English* would venture a descent upon their coasts, or attack any of their fortified places. In this however they were greatly mistaken: vigorous councils prevailed in *England*. An expedition was secretly set on foot, to make a diversion in *Germany*, and at the same time distress the enemy by striking a blow in their most sensible parts. To answer these ends, an attack upon  
one



one of their chief arsenals was thought most effectual. Private intelligence, as well as the well known posture of things, determined the choice of *Rochefort*; and the conjuncture was particularly favourable for the enterprise. Accordingly a fleet consisting of eighteen men of war, six frigates, six bomb ketches, two fire ships, two hospital ships, and forty four transports with ten regiments on board, making about nine thousand men, sailed from *Spithead* on the eighth of *September* 1757. Sir *John Mordaunt*, General *Conway*, and General *Cornwallis* commanded the army; and Sir *Edward Hawke*, with the Admirals *Knowles*, and *Broderick*, the fleet. The destination of this armament continued a secret, except to a very few, till the 14th, when by bearing down into the bay of *Biscay*, it became evident that some part of the coast of *France* was to be attacked. On the 19th, about eight of the clock in the evening, the whole fleet was surprised by a signal from the Admiral to ly too, the wind being fair, the night clear, and the fleet upwards of twenty leagues from the land a-head. Thus it continued eight hours before the signal was made to sail. However, on the 23d, about eight in the morning, the van of the fleet stood towards the island of *Aix*, which lies in the mouth of the river leading up to *Rochefort*, the rest of the ships anchoring at the distance of two leagues from that island; Captain *Howe* in the *Magnanime* led the van. About noon the *French* fired at him from their fort, but for some time to no purpose. He continued his course with the greatest composure, without firing a single gun; till having gained the length of the fort, he bore down, and drop'd his anchors as close to the walls as the ship could come: he then began to return their salutations; and so incessant was his fire, that in less than a minute, his ship seemed one continued flame.

After his first broad-side they fired but very few shot from the fort; it was, however, near an hour before they struck their flag. The *Barfleur* also pointed a few guns, but she was at too great a distance to do much execution.

Part of the land forces were put on shore to take possession of the island; where they found six iron guns mounted, *en Barbet*, two brass ones on the top of an old tower, and two mortars. Near five hundred men, part sailors, and part soldiers, were made prisoners of war on this occasion. Of how little importance soever this conquest might appear, at first sight, yet considering it as an omen of farther successes, it gave great spirits to the whole fleet, in so much, that had the troops been landed that night, or even next morning, there was reason to suppose every thing would have succeeded that could have been expected from such a force. But, from the time the fleet had been first seen hovering off the *French* coast, eight days were spent in doing little, besides holding councils of war, and founding along the shore. However, on the 28th of *September*, an order came for the troops to be ready to debark from the transports into the boats at twelve of the clock at night. At this time the fleet was at least four miles from the shore, on which they were intended to land, and it might have been expected the enemy had ere now made some dispositions for their reception. It must also be remembered, that, for two or three days past, two distinct encampments were said to have been observed at a little distance from the sea\*. Wherefore, should every thing be supposed to be carried on with the greatest expedition possible, the first debarkment, making about 1200 men, must have maintained their ground at least six or seven hours, before

\* It has not been as yet ascertained what encampments these were, or whether really such or no. See *Treatise on Conjunct Expeditions*, p. 205.

they

they could have been assisted by a second debarkation, and without the least hopes of a retreat, as the boats were immediately to row back to fetch the rest of the troops. These difficulties were too obvious to escape the observation of the most unattentive soldier of the fleet. And though the landing at this time, and in this manner, bore great resemblance to a forlorn hope; yet it is owned to the honour of the army, that not the least sign of fear could be discovered among the troops. On the contrary, things were carried on with so much alertness and expedition, that the boats were filled at least an hour before the time appointed. The night was very cold, the sea rough; and the men continued in the boats thumping each other, and beating against the sides of the ship for the space of four hours, at the expiration of which, the troops were ordered to return on board their respective ships.

The two following days were spent in blowing up the fortifications of the island of *Aix*, in doing of which a few of the soldiers suffered. On the first of *October*, the fleet with the army on board sailed homewards, and on the 6th day of the same month arrived safe at *Spithead*. When this armament first sailed, it carried with it an air of conquest, and so elevated the minds of those that wished well to their country, that at its return without effecting any thing, but the demolition of the fort of *Aix*, they were greatly grieved and discouraged. However, upon this occasion, no medium was observed. There were others who pretended to be astonished at the contrivers of this vain romantick project; and wondered that any success should be expected from it. But the clamour of the nation was so great, as at last to bring the commander in chief of the land forces to a court martial, in which he was acquitted; though even this was far from putting a stop to the murmurs of the people. Thus we have given a short account of the principal facts relating to this

unsuccessful expedition; but it is by no means our intention to enter into the disputes that have been raised about it. Those who want further information may consult the pamphlets that were wrote upon that occasion, or if they have not leisure for this, they may see the arguments for and against the conductors of it fully and fairly stated, with modest and judicious remarks upon the whole, by a late author, from whom we have taken this account\*.

What we have hitherto said, relates to the plan of *Roche-fort* in plate LIII, which represents the state of that place at the time of the expedition just now mentioned. In plate LIV is another plan of *Roche-fort* drawn since that time, wherein some additional works are proposed for securing the place against such attempts in time to come; *viz.* a kind of imperfect hornwork, with its ditch, covered-way, and glacis; about the grand magazine, sluices for filling one half of the town ditch with water; for even according to this scheme the other half of it will be still dry, and a rampart with redents opposite to the town on the other side of the *Charente*. Whether any or all of these improvements have been actually made since the year 1757 we cannot pretend to say.

About three leagues almost South West from *Roche-fort*, lies the little town of *Brouage*, in *Latin Broasum*. It stands in the middle of marshes; the sea at high water rises up to its walls, and proceeds a league further into the country. *M. de Valois* thinks this is the *portus Santonum* mentioned by *Ptolemy*; but it seems not to be of so old standing. It was originally called *Jacquerville*, from the name of *Jacques du Pons* its founder, and fortified by *Hardouin du Villiers*, it was for some time in the possession of the *Calvinists*; but taken from them by the Duke de *Mayenne*, after a vigorous

\* See Molyneux's *Conjunct Expeditions*, p. 206, &c.



and bloody siege, in the year 1577. After the reduction of *Rochelle*, the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, fortified *Brouage* anew, and took the government of it into his own hand: he was afterwards succeeded in that charge by Cardinal *Mazarin*. *Brouage* is noted for the goodness of the salt that is made in its territory. It is so strongly fortified by nature and art, that some have boasted of it as impregnable. It has commonly a garrison of 5 or 600 men, out of which detachments are sent to keep guard in the forts that depend upon it. Its harbour was formerly very good, but it is now filled up, in a great measure, by the mud and sand which the tide deposits in it. In the year 1688, the French King granted letters patent for the restitution of it, and measures were concerted for that purpose, but the project has never yet been put in execution. There is now little or no trade carried on there, but by the barks which are loaded with salt for the farmers general. This produces a considerable revenue to the King, and several of the nobility, who have grants upon the salt made in this district. The town consists of six or seven streets, and the whole may contain between 6 or 700 inhabitants. *Fort Chapus*, which stands at a small distance from the town, has a Governor of its own, but its garrison is a detachment from that of *Brouage*.

Along that part of the coast of *Aunis* which is situated betwixt the mouth of the *Charente*, and the bay of *Brouage* lies the isle of *Oleron*, in *Latin Uliarus*, being five leagues in length, two in breadth, twelve in circumference, and containing about eleven thousand inhabitants. Its soil is very fertile, and produces corn, wine, and salt, &c. It is defended by a castle on the East side of the island, which

is well fortified, and garrisoned by five or six hundred men. The inhabitants of *Oleron*, have been always famous for their dexterity in the art of navigation, and from their usages Queen *Eleonora* Dutchess of *Guienne*, is said to have composed those regulations for sea faring people, which commonly go under the title of *Jugemens d' Oleron*, and were by her called *Rolls d' Oleron*. From them also it is pretended the French Kings took the first regulations for their marine. There are six parish churches in the island, and the inhabitants have begun to fortify the village near the castle, expecting it will in time, become a considerable town. There are in it two hospitals, for the soldiers of the garrison, and another for the sailors. The Grey Sisters have the direction of the latter, and keep school for the young girls of the town, and the villages about.

The tower *de Chaffiron* is a light house standing on that point of the island which juts out farthest into the sea, intended to direct vessels to the entrance into the *Pertuis d' Antioche* \*. There is a large fire of wood kept in it every night. It has two fire places, one above another, that sailors may easily distinguish it from the tower of *Cordouan*, at the mouth of the river *Gironde*. A little to the South of the island of *Oleron*, lies the island of *Arvert*, in which there is little remarkable: there is in it a town of the same name; the whole island, contains near three thousand inhabitants, and is bounded on the South by the *Garonne*, which separates it from the province of *Guienne*.

\* The name commonly given to the narrow sea between the isles of *Ré* and *Oleron*. See the chart of that coast.

## REFERENCES to the Plan of ROCHEFORT.

- A. The Capuchin Friars.
- B. Foundry.
- C. Little Hospital.
- D. Old Dock.
- E. The King's House, the Residence of the Intendant.
- F. The Parish Church.
- G. New Dock.
- H. The Castle in which is the Prison.

- I. The Barracks.
- K. The Great Powder Magazine.
- LL. Forges.
- M. Private Magazines.
- N. N. Powder Magazines.
- O. Store-house for Casks.
- P. Mast House.

## REFERENCES to the Plan of BROUAGE.

- A. Royal Bastion.
- B. Bastion of the Sea.
- C. Detach'd Bastion.
- D. St. Luke's Bastion.
- E. Bastion of Hyers.
- F. Bastion of Richelieu.
- G. Bastion of the Breach.

- H. Bastion of the River.
- I. The Parish Church.
- K. The Recollets.

About twenty five leagues from the mouth of the river *Garonne*, and on the right hand side stands the famous city of

## B O U R D E A U X,

**I**N *Latin* *Burdigala*, and *Burdegala*, famous for its great antiquity, as well as on other accounts; for by the testimony of *Strabo*, it was a town of some consideration, when the *Romans* made their first appearance in *Gaul*. The *Garonne* on which it stands, is one of the four great rivers of

*France*. It takes its rise from the *Pyrenees*, on the confines of the country of *Comenges*, in the bottom of the valley of *Aran*. It is strong enough to bear floats at the little village of *Cettes* in *Spain*, where there is a harbour for logs of wood, of the oak kind, which are cut down in that valley. It



It traverses the country of *Comenges*, the dioceses of *Rieux* and *Tboulouse*, and waters the towns of *St. Bertrand de Comenges*, *Tboulouse*, *Castle-Sarazin*, *Agen*, *la Reole*, and *Bordeaux*. The tide rises sensibly in the *Garonne*, to *St. Macaire*, eight leagues above *Bordeaux*, that is about thirty three leagues from the sea. The *Garonne* separates the antient country of the *Aquitani*, mentioned by *Cæsar*, from that of the *Celtæ*; the principal rivers it receives to encrease its stream, are the *Nesle*, the *Arriege*, the *Tarn*, the *Gers*, the *Baize*, the *Lot*, the *Drot*, and the *Dordogne*; who all mix their waters at the *bec d' Ambez*. After which they form a kind of arm of the sea, or large bay, called the *Gironde*. It enters *France* above *St. Beat*, whilst it continues to float upon rafts, goods, and marble, brought to it from *Bigorre*. Between *St. Bertrand*, and *Montrejan*, it receives the river of *Nesle*, which comes from the valley of *Aure*, and bears floats from *St. Larry*. Great quantities of wood and marble, are conveyed down this river from the valley of *Aure*, particularly masts of ships, and oars for the arsenals of the marine; after this the *Garonne* is enlarged at *Martory*, by the river of *Salat*, which comes from *Conserans*, and becomes strong enough to bear floats at *Bonrepos*, and begins to be navigable at *Casette*. It was once proposed to make the *Garonne* navigable by boats as far as *Montrejan*; but the rapidity of the river, so long as it runs among mountains and rocks, presented unfurmoutable difficulties.

After the *Garonne* has passed to *Tboulouse*, it parts the two generalities of *Bordeaux* and *Tboulouse*, till it arrives at *St. Nicholas de la Grave*, where it receives the *Tarn*, and takes its way through the generality of *Bordeaux*, into which it enters near *Valence*, whence taking its course between the *Agenois* and *Lomagne*, it waters the town of *Agen*, the port of *St. Mary* and *Aiguillon*, where it receives the *Lot*.

After this it takes its course by *Marmande*, *St. Baseille*, *la Reole*, *Langon*, *Gadaillac*, *Riom*, and *Bordeaux*; whence it passes to *bec d' Ambez*, where having received the *Dordogne* about five leagues from the last of these towns, and its waters being encreased to such a pitch as to be able to bear large ships, it takes the name of *Gironde*, and empties itself into the sea, about twenty leagues lower, at the place where the tower of *Cordouan* is built, to serve as a guide to ships by night and by day. The bridges upon the *Garonne* are, for the most part, of wood.

This great river brings a vast number of commodities to the province. Its navigation is of such importance, that it may be said to be the sole means of all the commerce carried on in *Languedoc*, the two *Guiennes*, and all the countries that lie near the *Pyrenees*, the commodities and manufactures whereof it conveys to *Bordeaux*, and to other provinces, by means of the canal of *Languedoc*, by the assistance whereof it forms a communication between the two seas.

The city of *Bordeaux* is situated in the North latitude of 44 degrees 51 Minutes, and 00 degrees 28 minutes to the West of the meridian of *London*. Several conjectures have been offered to the public concerning the original of its name, but they are all so fanciful, that they deserve not to be mentioned here. The town is one of the most considerable in the whole kingdom of *France*: the form of it is almost triangular, the longest side is that next the river, which is not straight, but represents the arch of a circle, or a bow, whereof the *Garonne* is the chord, or string. The city has twelve gates, but the streets are narrow, that called the *Chapeau-rouge* being the only one that is considerable. Of all the squares in the place, that which is before the town house, that where the market is kept, and the square before the palace,

palace, are the most remarkable. The town and suburbs are said to contain five thousand houses, and near forty thousand inhabitants. In the year 1733, a large square was formed in the suburbs of *Chapeau-rouge*, at the expence of the town, according to a plan drawn by *M. Gabriel*, principal architect to the *French King*. This square, commonly called *la place-royale*, is adorned with magnificent buildings, which take up the greatest part of the ground on which the suburbs of *Chapeau-rouge* formerly stood. In the middle of the square, the magistrates have erected an equestrian statue of brass, at the charge of the town, representing *Lewis XV.* The statue is between 14 and 15 feet high, and was erected in the year 1743. The first stone of the pedestal was laid on the 8th of *August* 1733, with great ceremony, by the magistrates of *Bordeaux*, with the intendant of the province of *Guyenne* at their head.

The town pays no *taille* or land tax, and is not comprehended within the extent of its election. The metropolitan church, dedicated to *St. Andrew*, is one of the most beautiful in all *France*. The nave is spacious, and has a large cornice round it; the archiepiscopal palace is a very handsome building, and particularly remarkable on account of its exceeding large and beautiful hall. The church of *St. Michael* is taken notice of on account of its steeple, from which there is a large prospect over the whole town, and a very beautiful country; the church yard of *St. Surin* is very curious, on other accounts, but particularly famous for a tomb of stone, raised upon four pillars, from the top of which drops of water continually fall, which are said to encrease from the change to the full of the moon, and to diminish from that time to the next change. The college of the *Jesuits* is very beautiful, and agreeably situated. The convent of the *Chartreux* is very handsome, and has a magnificent

chapel. The altar is covered with fine polished glass and crystal, under which they preserve a vast deal of trash which they call *relicts*. This Monastery is a monument of the munificence of Cardinal *de Sourdis*, Arch-bishop of *Bordeaux*, who lies buried in the chapel. There are in the town of *Bordeaux* about a hundred families of *Jews*; but they have no synagogue, nor any mark of distinction.

There are several remains of antiquity at *Bordeaux*, which prove the town itself to be of very old standing. The famous *M. Spon* at his return from *Greece* and *Italy*, thought them very worthy of his attention. The *Porte Bassé* is a monument of antiquity, which, by the solidity of its construction, appears to be the work of the Augustan age, when building seemed to be contrived to last for ever. The *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Saracens*, and the *Normans*, when they destroyed the town with fire and sword, spared this beautiful fabrick. The palace of *Tutela* was a temple consecrated to the *Tutelary Gods*. The ancient inscription found upon it invincibly proves it to have been a place of worship of this kind. This temple was standing, and almost entire in the year 1700, before *Lewis XIV.* demolish'd it, to make room for an esplanade before *Chateau-trompette*: it was a peristyle, with four right angles, 87 feet, *French* measure, in length, and 62, or 63 in breadth. This temple had six pillars at each end, and eight on each side, making in all a colonade of twenty four pillars of the *Corinthian* order, eighteen whereof were standing when *Vinet* published his notes upon *Ausonius*. It is also observed concerning them, that they were considerably higher than the most stately buildings in the town. The demolition of such a remarkable monument of antiquity, was greatly regretted by the antiquaries of that time, and is said to have drawn tears from the famous *M. Spon*.



The palace of *Gallienus* still bears the name of that Emperor, in whose reign it was built. And behind the church of *St. Surin*, there are still to be seen some remains of an amphitheatre, which the inhabitants of *Bourdeaux* formerly called the *Arena*. It was two hundred and twenty seven feet in length, and one hundred and forty in breadth. The fountain called the *Duge*, or *Audege*, yields so great a quantity of water, that it forms a rivulet of great service to the tanners of the suburbs through which it passes. This is the fountain \* celebrated by *Ausonius* in one of his poems. The town-house has nothing grand about it; it is the place where the mayor assembles the six aldermen, and some other officers who compose the town council.

The city of *Bourdeaux* is inclosed within an old wall, with some square and round towers, and defended by three forts, viz. *Chateau-trompette*, the castle of *Haa*, and fort *St. Louis*. *Chateau-trompette* stands at the entrance of the quay, and commands the harbour. It is an old citadel, the foundations whereof were first laid in the year 1454; but repaired and much improved in the reign of *Lewis XIV.* by the *Mareschal de Vauban*, who added to it, a covered-way, two half-moons, and a large counter-guard; the citadel itself is composed of six bastions, three whereof are on the side next the river. The governor's house is in the middle bastion; it is embellished by a parterre, according to the *English* fashion, in the middle of which is a summer-house, exceeding pleasant on account of its neatness, its elevation, and the beautiful prospects it affords of all the country round. The castle of *Haa*, is an old building, the foundations of

which were laid about the same time with those of *Chateau-trompette*. It is an oblong square, flanked at the four angles with so many round towers, according to the old fashion. It has also two square towers on the side next the country, one on each side of the gate, which is besides covered with a work in the form of a horse-shoe, and another round tower through which there is a communication between the castle and the town. To conclude, this castle is situated on the side next the Archbishop's palace, near a place called the *Orme*, which was very famous in the time of the civil wars. The garrison of this castle, consists of a company of infantry, detached from that of *Chateau-trompette*, and is changed every month. The fort of *St. Louis*, or of the *Holy-Cross*, stands also near the river, at a considerable distance from *Chateau-trompette*. It was built by order of *Lewis XIV.* in the year 1676, and is commonly garrisoned by two companies of foot, sent also from *Chateau-trompette*, and changed every month.

There are two colleges at *Bourdeaux*, intended for the instruction of youth, in the *belles-lettres*, philosophy, and the liberal arts. The one is that of the *Jesuits*, founded in 1573, by the liberality of the *Sieur de Beaulon*, Counsellor of the parliament of *Bourdeaux*. The other, from the name of the province, is called the college of *Guienne*, and so famous in literary history, on account of its antiquity, and the learned men who have been professors in it, that we cannot help taking more particular notice of it, than of other establishments of this kind. Whatever researches have been made into remote antiquity, it has not yet been possible to discover its origin. Some carry it so far back, as the time of the *Druids*, concluding that because the *Saronides*, a particular sect of these philosophers, were constantly employed in the instruction of youth, and are known to have had schools erected

\* Salve Fons ignote ortu, facer, alme, perennis,  
Vitree, glauce, profunde, sonore, illimis, opace,  
Salve urbis genius, modico potabilis haustu,  
Divona Cektarum lingua, Fons addite Divis.

erected at *Marfeilles*, *Narbonne*, *Lyons*, and *Chartres*; they must likewise have had some seminary at *Bordeaux*, which was then one of the principal towns of *Gaul*. To confirm this conjecture they likewise produce the authority of *Ausonius*, who speaking of one of the professors of the college of *Guienne*, calls him a descendant of the *Druids*. Others pretend that *Julius Cæsar*, being at *Bordeaux* and finding a school there, which had been formerly very famous, but at that time had lost its ancient lustre, founded it anew, and conferred upon it great privileges; but these conjectures are of very little solidity. All that can be depended upon, is, that this seminary must have been in a very flourishing condition in the third century, because *Ausonius*, who was made consul at *Rome* in the fourth, had formerly taught grammar and rhetorick in the college of *Guienne*, and mentions several of its professors; some of whom had been his masters, and others had died before his time. The reputation of these professors must also have been very great, since their fame, not confined to *Gaul*, had reached as far as *Rome* and *Constantinople*, the two principal towns of the world, to which some of them were invited by the Emperors, as we are informed by the same *Ausonius*, *Eusebius*, *St. Hierom*, and *Sidonius Apollinaris*. Be this as it may, the reputation of the college of *Guyenne* seems to have continued so long as the *Romans* were masters of *Gaul*; but after the *Visigoths* prevailed in the country, barbarity spread insensibly among the natives, and the wars, in the times of ignorance which followed, ruined all seminaries of learning. We meet with nothing concerning the college of *Guienne*, either in the records of *Bordeaux*, or any other archives till the year 1534, when the magistrates of *Bordeaux* restored that seminary of learning and called *Andrew Goveanus* from *Paris*, to make him principal of it. This choice did great honour to these magi-

strates, and rendered their college the most famous in *Europe*, for the new principal brought with him *Anthony Goveanus* his brother, *Marthurius Corderius*, *Claud Budin*, *John Costa*, *George Buchanan*, *Nicholas Grucbius*, *James Tevius*, *Elias Vinet*, and sometime after *Julius Scaliger*; so that it might be justly said, that the college had for its masters at that time, some of the most learned men in *Europe*. *Buchanan* went to *Bordeaux* in the year 1539, and was one of the masters of this college in the month of *December* that year, when the Emperor *Charles V.* arrived at *Bordeaux* in his way to *Flanders*. He presented that Prince with an excellent piece of *Latin* poetry, \* and during the three years he continued at *Bordeaux*, he composed his three *Latin* tragedies, which were acted upon the theatre of the college of *Guienne*. This seminary continued in great reputation for sometime, but afterwards it began to decline, so that in the year 1670, it was proposed to make it a school for the instruction of young sailors in the principles of navigation. But *M. Henry Daguesseau*, who was then intendant of *Guienne*, could not bear the thoughts of seeing so famous a college ruined. As he was himself a man of letters, and *Bordeaux* was the place of his nativity, he thought he could not do greater service to his country, than to re-establish a seminary of learning, which had been formerly one of its greatest ornaments. He prevailed with the magistrates to elect new masters, and since that time the college has recovered some part of its antient lustre and reputation.

The harbour of *Bordeaux* is in form of a crescent, having at one end of it the town, at the suburb *des Chartrons*, and *Chateau-trompette* between the town and that suburb. We

\* This poem is the first of that collection which he calls his *Sylvarum*. See *Buchanan's poetical works*.



need only say further, that this suburb *des Chartrons*, or as they otherwise call it, the suburb of the harbour, is one of the most beautiful in all *France*, both on account of its extent, and the magnificence of the buildings that are in it.

*Bordeaux* being situated in a country abounding with wine, the advantage of its situation engages strangers to resort to it, and carry off large cargoes of wine and brandy. When trade is not interrupted by war, there are 100000 tons of wine yearly shipped at *Bordeaux*, to be carried out of the kingdom; but all these wines are not of the growth of the generality of *Bordeaux*, great quantities are brought from the generality of *Montauban*, and from *Languedoc*. The wines which are not the produce of the election of *Bordeaux* are not brought into the town, but carried to the suburbs *des Chartrons*, in consequence of an agreement made in the year 1500, between the province of *Languedoc*, and the city of *Bordeaux*. This agreement likewise limits the time of bringing down those wines to *Christmas*, that the antient district of *Bordeaux*, may have its wine sold before that from *Languedoc* is brought to market.

There are every year, two fairs held at *Bordeaux*, which continue fifteen days each. They were granted by *Charles IX.* in the year 1565. The one begins on the first of *March*, and the other on the fifteenth of *October*. Every thing sold in these fairs is exempted from the duty of *Comptable*\*: the last of them is the most considerable, because merchants come about that time to purchase and load the wine while it is

\* This is a kind of tax levied in some parts of *Guienne*, and granted by Kings of *France* to the respective towns, to enable them to pay their debts, and repair their harbours, quays, &c. It is so called, because the receivers are accountable for it to the magistrates of the several towns, and differs but little or nothing from the tax of a *sol* in the pound, levied in most of the great cities of *France* upon all sorts of goods that are brought in or carried out of them. See *M. Savary's Dictionnaire de Commerce*.

new. There may be seen in the harbour of *Bordeaux*, four or five hundred foreign vessels, and some of them of 500 tons burthen. Strangers also purchase here large cargoes of prunes, vinegar, brandy, rosin, &c. To conclude, a judgment may be formed of the trade of *Bordeaux*, by the duty of the *Comptable*, whereof, in some years, more than 4000000 livres are said to have been levied in that city. To conclude, the trade of this place is encreasing every day, and for sometime past, a part of the sugars produced in the isles of *St. Domingo* and *Martinico*, has been brought to this harbour, as also of the cotton, indigo, cocoa, and other commodities from these colonies. So that it may be said that the commerce of *Bordeaux* has, within these forty years, advanced at least a third, and that this town is now one of the most populous, richest, and most flourishing in the whole kingdom.

*Bordeaux* was a city in flourishing circumstances and of some standing, when the *Romans* first invaded *Gaul*. In these times, it was the capital of the *Bituriges Vibisii*. In the division made of *Aquitain* in the time of *Valentinian I.* *Bordeaux* was the metropolis of *Aquitania Secunda*, and since that time, the Bishops of *Bordeaux* have disputed the primacy of *Aquitain* with those of *Bourges*. After the decline of the Roman Empire, *Bordeaux* fell into the hands of the *Visigoths*, who held it and all the country about for sometime; but they were defeated by *Clovis* at the head of the *Franks* in two pitched battles, the last of which was fought within two leagues of *Bordeaux*. In consequence of this victory, the *Franks* got possession of the whole *Bourdelois*, *Quercy*, *Rovergne*, and *Agenois*. The *Visigoths* after this, endeavoured to support themselves in *Auvergne*, but being here also defeated, that country followed the rest, and submitted to the conquerors. This revolution happened about the

the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. After *Bordeaux* came into the hands of the French, it was for some time subject to the Kings of *Neustria*, but during the confusions which happened in the early ages of the French Monarchy, it was also seized by the Dukes of *Aquitain*, and recovered out of their hands by King *Pepin*, in the beginning of the eighth century. It was pillaged and sacked by the *Saracens*, about the year 732, and in the following century entirely destroyed by the *Normans*. Some time after it was built again, and for a while governed by Counts of its own, then annexed to the dominions of the Dukes of *Gascogne*, and both afterwards united with those of the Dukes of *Aquitain*, whose inheritance was conveyed to the Kings of *England* by Queen *Eleanor* the last of the line, in consequence of her marriage with *Henry* Earl of *Anjou*, who afterwards ascended that throne, under the name of *Henry* II. This marriage, which in a short time was to add great lustre to the *English* Crown, by the accession of so many valuable provinces, was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity in the city of *Bordeaux*, in the year 1151. But that Princess lived long enough to have the mortification of seeing the glory of the crown, which she had so greatly enriched, considerably abated during the reign of her son *John*. *Philip* of *France*, taking advantage of the weakness and misfortunes of that unhappy Prince, on pretence of executing a sham sentence, which he himself had pronounced against him, on account of the death of the Duke of *Bretagne*, invaded the *English* provinces in *France*, and carried them, one after another, with little or no resistance. So that, of all that *John's* ancestors enjoyed in that kingdom, nothing remained, but the Dutchy of *Guienne*, which *Philip* did not think fit to attack.

In the next reign, viz. that of *Henry* III. *England* was so distressed with civil commotions, that it was by no means in a condition to prosecute its rights in *France*, or recover the provinces it had lost. On the contrary, the Barons, who, having gain'd great advantages over the King, had obliged him to submit to their terms, were afraid of nothing so much as a war with *France*, lest, by that means, they should lose what they had gained; and therefore resolved to conclude a firm and lasting peace with that crown, by sacrificing to it all the King's just pretensions to *Normandy* and *Anjou*. In consequence of this resolution, the Earl of *Leicester* took upon him to go and propose a treaty of this nature at *Paris*. The *French* saw considerable advantage in what was offered by the *English*, and therefore, looking upon the Earl of *Leicester* as sufficiently authorised, though they were not ignorant of the situation of the affairs in *England*, accepted of the terms he offered, and concluded the treaty with them, which the unhappy King of *England* was forced to sign. This distressed Prince was also persuaded to meet *Lewis* at *Abbeville*, where the states of *France* were assembled, and to renounce, in their presence, all his pretensions to *Normandy* and *Anjou*. *Lewis*, in return, gave up the *Limousin*, and *Perigord*, with all that *France* possessed beyond the *Garonne*, on condition that *Henry* would do him homage, and take his seat among the Peers of the realm, as Duke of *Guienne*. Thus *France* acquired, by treaty, a kind of right to these two provinces, to which she had none before but what proceeded from the sword only. The succeeding Kings of *England*, however, did not think themselves bound by a treaty liable to so many just exceptions.

Though *Edward* I. who succeeded *Henry* III. on the throne of *England*, was a Prince of great spirit and abilities, yet he



was so resolutely bent upon making an entire conquest of *Scotland*, that he was unwilling to prosecute his just rights in *France*, till that affair should be fully compleated. The *French*, on the other hand, were not very forward to invade *Guienne*, till they should have sufficiently secured the conquests they had already made; but an unforeseen accident happened, which gave them an opportunity to seize that province by a stratagem which did no great honour to the politics of *France*. A quarrel happening betwixt a *Norman* pilot and an *English* sailor, in one of the ports of *Guienne*, the former was unfortunately kill'd. Whether the magistrates of the place neglected to bring the murderer to justice, or could not apprehend him, the *Normans*, finding that the death of their countryman was left unpunish'd, resolved to take vengeance themselves. To this end, having surpriz'd an *English* vessel, they hung up the pilot at the yard arm. These reprisals occasioned others, so that the *English* and *Normans* made fierce war upon each other wherever they met, even to the plundering of one another's ships, when it was in their power. For some time, it was only a private war, in which the two Kings took no concern; but some *English* ships, happening to meet with a *Norman* fleet loaded with wine, carried it to *England*. The owners complaining to the King of *France*, he demanded restitution of the ships and goods, and immediate satisfaction for the outrage. *Edward* not returning an answer so soon as *Philip* the Fair, who then filled the *French* throne, expected, the latter, who was of an extreme haughty temper, summoned him to appear in person before the *French* court of Peers, to answer to the complaints that had been brought against him. This summons was issued in the year 1294.

Though *Edward* received the summons, he did not think proper to appear before the Peers in person; but sent his brother Prince *Edmund* to *Paris* to answer for him, with orders to avoid, as much as possible, every thing that might draw the King into a war with *France*. Accordingly the Prince was fully empowered, to give the King of *France* all the satisfaction he could reasonably desire. *Edmund* found that Monarch extremely incensed, and so full of threats, that after several attempts to enter into treaty, he lost all hopes of succeeding in his negotiation, and therefore was determined to return home. But just as he was ready to depart, the two Queens, viz. *Mary of Brabant*, widow of *Philip the Hardy*, and *Joanna of Navarre*, consort of the present King, entreated him to renew the negotiation with them. The great desire they expressed of procuring a firm peace between the two Kings, and *Edmund's* instructions from the King his brother, easily prevailed upon him to consent to the proposal. The two Queens represented that *Philip* was extremely offended on account of the affronts received from *Edward's* subjects, and particularly from certain persons of *Guienne*, against whom he was incensed to the last degree: that therefore it was impossible to come to a good understanding, unless a reasonable satisfaction was made. They added, that, as *Philip's* honour was concerned in the affair, there was no other way to appease him, but by *Edward's* making a public reparation, to shew the world that he disclaimed what had been done by his subjects. To that end, they proposed that *Xaintes*, *Talmon*, *Turenne*, *Puimirol*, *Penne*, and *Monflauguin*, together with the persons complained of, should be deliver'd to *Philip*. But, as this satisfaction seemed unreasonable, they intimated, that it was only intended for form's sake,

fake, and *Philip* would engage to restore the towns and persons, at their own request. They promised, moreover, that as soon as the King's honour was safe by this reparation, he should revoke the summons, and give *Edward* a safe conduct to come to him at *Amiens*, where he would receive his homage.

*Edmund* consented to all these proposals, provided the two Queens would sign them in writing, and promise with an oath, that the particulars agreed upon should be punctually observed. This treaty, which was signed by the two Queens, and, for saving the *French* King's honour, to be kept secret, was sent to *Edward*, who seemed very well satisfied. He was chiefly intent upon what concerned *Scotland*, and, in all likelihood, his many summons to *Baliol*, on trifling occasions, were intended only to provoke him to rebell, that he might have an opportunity to punish him. So that as a war with *France*, at such a juncture, cou'd not but greatly embarrass him, he was willing to give *Philip* a seeming reparation, which, in the main, could, as he apprehended, be of no prejudice to his affairs. Finding, therefore, that the *French* monarch was contented with the appearance of reparation, he resolved to give it him more fully than was even desired, that he might be the more secure of continuing at peace with *France*, which he had so much at heart. To that end, he gave *Edmund* power, to deliver up to the King of *France*, the city of *Bordeaux*, with the whole province of *Guienne*; and sent positive orders to the commanding officers to obey the prince's command, without exception, or limitation. *Edmund* having acquainted the King of *France* with the orders he had received, declared he was ready to execute them; but on condition, that, in the presence of creditable witnesses, the King would promise with his own mouth, to perform the articles signed by the two

Queens. *Philip* was very willing to give him that satisfaction, and going into a certain room, attended by the Duke of *Burgundy*, gave his royal word, before that Duke, the two Queens, *Blanche of Navarre*, Prince *Edmund's* consort, and the two Ambassadors, that he would perform the articles of the treaty. At the same time, he expressly revoked the summons directed to King *Edward*, and ordered the revocation to be published in open hall by the Bishop of *Orleans*. *Edmund*, thinking himself secure on that side, ordered the governor of *Guienne* to deliver up that province to the person that should be empowered by the King of *France* to receive it. And *Ralph de Nesle*, constable of *France*, was commissioned to take possession of it in *Philip's* name. The governor would have proceeded with caution, and not delivered up the province but on terms of the treaty, of which *Edward* had given him some information. But the constable refused to be tied to any conditions, pretending he knew nothing of treaties between the two Kings, and was ordered only to take possession of *Guienne* in his master's name: then he demanded the persons agreed upon, and sent them to *Paris*.

All the articles being now more than performed on the part of *England*, Prince *Edmund* demanded the restitution of *Guienne*, and of the persons stipulated in the secret treaty. To which it was answered, that his demands should be examined in the King's council. At the same time *Philip* sent him notice, not to be surprised, if he should give him a harsh answer before the council, on account of some members who were not in the secret; but as soon as they should be gone, he would give him entire satisfaction. *Edmund*, relying upon his word, appeared before the council, where *Philip* was present, and demanded the restitution of *Guienne*; to which the Monarch replied, He would not restore it.

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This answer not surprising the Prince, who expected it, he withdrew to the next room, waiting for the performance of the King's promise, and was left there some time without any other answer. At length the Bishops of *Orleans* and *Tournay* came and told him, it was in vain to wait longer, for the King would not be solicited any more on that affair. Some days after *Philip* came to the parliament, without acquainting *Edmund*, and ordered the King of *England* to be publicly cited, to appear and answer the articles exhibited against him. *Edmund* not being then in the palace, *Hugh de Vere*, and *John de Lacy*, *Edward's* Ambassadors, entered, and said, they could not have imagined this affair would be decided by way of justice, but according to the treaty, especially as the summons was revoked. This excuse not being admitted, they were dismissed, and though they desired only till next day to consult with the King's brother, they could not obtain this short delay, and the court decreed the confiscation of *Guienne* to the King of *France*.

The *French* historians, either entirely ignorant of this whole transaction, or unwilling to mention what tends so little to the honour of their court, say nothing at all of it, but only, that *Edward* not appearing in consequence of the summons, *Philip* dispatched the constable *de Nesle* into *Guienne*, where he seized *Bordeaux*, with all the rest of the province. But is it to be imagined, that such a conquest should cost *France* so little? Was it possible for the constable to become master of *Guienne*, without forming a siege or fighting a battle; as if it had been an open country, destitute of castles and troops for its defence? But not to insist upon these inconsistencies, the account we have given is the substance of a memorial in the collection of Public Acts, wherein Prince *Edmund* himself gives an account of this affair, and the manner in which it was transacted, from the

beginning of his negotiation. And this memorial is further confirmed by several of King *Edward's* letters relating to this affair, and his reasons for disclaiming the homage he had done to *Philip*, to be found in the same collection.

How great soever *Edward's* vexation might be, to see himself thus cheated by *Philip*, he chose rather to leave *Guienne* in the hands of that Prince, than relinquish the war with *Scotland*: for this reason, he satisfied himself with sending his brother Prince *Edmund* into *Guienne*, with a few troops, merely to keep *Philip* employed in those parts, and prevent his giving assistance to the *Scots*. And in fact, *France* was obliged to keep a considerable army in *Guienne*, because she had not only the *English* to deal with, but also the revolts of the natives, who were extremely displeased with their new master. But the superiority of the *French* army obliged Prince *Edmund* to shut himself up in *Bayonne*, with the handful of troops he had with him, where he died in the year 1296; and was succeeded in his command by the Earl of *Lincoln*, who having, at the head of his little army, laid siege to *Dacqs*, was obliged to make a hasty retreat upon the approach of the Earl of *Artois*, who was advancing to raise the siege. But next year, the King of *France* being obliged to withdraw his army from *Guienne*, that he might make head against the Earl of *Flanders*, who, having entered into an alliance with the King of *England*, had declared war against him, the inhabitants of *Bordeaux* took that opportunity to open their gates to the *English*, and almost all the province of *Guienne* followed their example. In the reign of *Edward III.* *Guienne* was erected into a principality, and given to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, commonly called the Black Prince, who chose *Bordeaux* for the place of his ordinary residence, and raised its reputation to a higher pitch than ever it had been before. After the glorious battle

of *Poitiers*, in the year 1356, he brought the King of *France* prisoner to *Bordeaux*, and kept him there four months; till he had a proper opportunity to send him to *England*. The same hero also set out from *Bordeaux*, upon his expedition to *Spain*, at the head of his brave *Gascons*, who never failed to be victorious, when they fought under his command. *Bordeaux* was given up to *England* by the treaty of *Bretigni*, in the year 1360, together with the greatest part of *Guienne*, and continued annexed to that crown, till the year 1453, when *Charles VII.* of *France*, taking advantage of the weakness and inability of *Henry VI.* of *England*, invaded *Guienne* with a powerful army, at a time when it was in no posture of defence; in consequence of which *Bordeaux* was obliged to consult its safety, and submit to the conqueror. But as we have just now observed, this subjection was owing to mere constraint; for the first opportunity they had, the inhabitants of this city opened their gates to the *English*, and expelled the garrison which the *French* had placed in the town. But this situation of affairs did not continue long; for after the unfortunate battle of *Castillon*, where the brave general *Talbot* and his son were slain, the *French* soon made themselves masters of the whole province, and continue in possession of it to this day.

In the year 1469, *Lewis XI.* gave *Guienne* to his brother, the Duke of *Normandy*; but this unhappy Prince did not enjoy it long; for in the year 1472, he was poisoned by his chaplain the *Abbé de St. Jean d'Angeli*, and his body interred in the church of *St. Andrew* at *Bordeaux*.

The town of *Bordeaux* had been long bigotted to the Roman Catholick religion; and in the reign of *Henry III.* of *France*, the inhabitants were worked up to such a pitch of zeal, by the violent sermons of Father *Anger*, and others,

that the League found a vast many partizans among them, who, in the year 1585, formed a design to make themselves masters of the town, and had made some progress in the execution of their project. But as they had to do with the *Mareschal de Matignon*, who being a bitter enemy to the family of *Guise*, and at the same time so prudent and watchful, that their intrigues could not be long a secret to him, they were obliged to precipitate their plot, and enter upon the execution of it four or five days sooner than they at first intended. The project was, that some of the conspirators should seize the gates of the town, and post themselves in the squares, and on the ramparts; that others should form barricades in the several quarters, as near to the *Mareschal's* house as they could, that they might thereby oblige him if possible to abandon the town. Several barricades were already raised, and they were blocking up the streets one after another with great expedition. When the *Mareschal's* attention was awaked, by the noise they made, before he had any particular information of what they were about; those of his friends who were most discouraged, advised him to take his horse, and escape by a back gate; but he, not at all alarmed by the danger, which he had foreseen some time before it happened, walked out quietly with his cane in his hand, as if he had been going to take the air. In this manner he advanced with great deliberation to the first barricade, where, with soft words, he persuaded those the conspirators had employed to block up the streets, to roll away with their own hands, the casks and other materials which they had got together for that purpose. From that he goes to the second, and continuing to talk in the same mild strain, prevails with those that raised it, to undo it again. With the same address, he destroys a third and fourth; while some of his men luckily got possession of one



of the gates, at which they introduced a regiment of foot and two troops of horse, that were not far off. By this time he had a considerable number of his friends about him, and began to talk in a different tone; so that, at last, finding himself very well attended, and knowing that a body of troops were assembled before his gate, he ceased to use intreaties and remonstrances, but instead of these, began to post guards at these very places where the conspirators had raised their barricades; severely threatened the disturbers of the peace, and imprisoned some of those that were most mutinous. Upon this some of the principal men of the place, either out of love to peace, or possibly to render the governor secure, made excuses for the foolish tumult that had happened, and interceded for the prisoners: the governor, who was afraid of a greater insurrection, easily admitted the excuses that were offered, set the prisoners at liberty, and seemed to have forgot all that had happened. After this, the party that could dissemble best was like to carry the cause; the Marechal and the conspirators were never before in so good an understanding as they now seemed to be; they made magnificent entertainments for one another, as if they intended to bury the remembrance of past mistakes in festival jollity. When it came to the Marechal's turn to entertain, he posted centinels at all his gates, armed with swords only, who received the guests as they came in with great civility, but suffered none to go out. The principal members of the Parliament, as well as the leading men of the city, came to the entertainment; and *N. Genoillac Vaillac*, governor of *Chatteau-trompette*, had the imprudence to be there also. After dinner, it was proposed to take a turn in the garden, where the Marechal called them together, and read a letter from the King, containing several matters of importance, and among others, an order to take possession of *Chatteau-trompette*. At these

words *Vaillac* fell into a passion; the Marechal endeavoured to bring him to reason and good humour, but he was still the more enraged. He imagined he had a right to talk like a free-man; but in fact, he found himself a prisoner, and his fort invested. The Marechal then, in his turn, puts on airs of anger and resentment, carries *Vaillac* before the castle, and summons his wife, who was in it, to surrender. At first, she answered like an Amazon; and told him that she would suffer her husband to lose his life, to save his honour and the fortune of his family. But the Marechal brought up the cannon of the town, and began his approaches, constantly keeping the governor, the mayor, and the aldermen before him, and at each side, as it were to serve him instead of gabions during the siege. *Vaillac*, at last, knowing that further resistance would only shew a dangerous obstinacy, ordered his wife to open the gates to the Marechal, who entered the place, ordering the cannon of the town to be drawn in before him. By this stratagem, he not only gained the castle, but also cannon to fortify it. As soon as he was in full possession, he gave *Vaillac* an hundred crowns of the King's money, to bear his charges to court; but the latter imagined there would be no safety for him there, and therefore, instead of waiting upon the King to account for his conduct, he filled all the country with complaints of the Marechal: That not satisfied with having violated the laws of hospitality, he had also represented him to the King as a criminal, to justify his own usurpation: that this was a bad return for the services his father had performed to the government, in defending this castle so resolutely against the *Hugonots*, and thereby saving the whole province.

*Bordeaux* is the chief town of *Guienne*, which taken in its largest sense, comprehends the generality of *Bordeaux*,

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commonly called *Guienne Proper*, that of *Montauban*, which goes under the name of *Gascogne*, and that of *Auscb.* It is bounded on the North by *Poitou*, the *Angoumois*, and *la Marche*; on the East by *Auvergne*, and *Languedoc*; on the South by the *Pyrenean Hills*, and on the West by the Ocean.

This government extends from South to North, that is, from *Vic de Sos* in the *Pyrenees*, to *Niort* in *Poitou*, about eighty leagues in breadth, and ninety in length, from *St. John de Luz*, to *St. Geniez* in *Rovergue*.

## R E F E R E N C E S to the Plan of B O U R D E A U X.

## C H U R C H E S.

- A. St. Andrew's, the Cathedral.
- B. St. Projet's.
- C. St. Eulalia's.
- D. St. James's.
- E. St. Michael's.
- F. St. Colombe's.
- G. St. Simeon's.
- H. St. Peter's.
- I. St. Mexant's.
- K. St. Remy's.
- L. St. Christoly's.
- M. St. Seurin's Collegiate Church.
- + St. Eloy's.

## C H A P E L S.

- N. The Irish Chapel.
- O. St. John's.
- P. The Temple.
- Q. St. Martin's.

## C O N V E N T S of F R I A R S.

- R.R. The Carmelite Friars.
- S. The Friars of la Mercy.
- T.T. The Jesuits.
- U. The Minimes.
- V. The Black Friars.

- W. The Cordeliers.
- X. The Capuchin Friars.
- Y. The Benedictins.
- Z. The Feuillans.
- &c. The Dominicans.
- †. The Recollectine Friars.

## C O N V E N T S of N U N S.

- a. Annonciades.
- b. Nuns of St. Joseph.
- c. Urfulines.
- d. Nuns of Our Lady.
- e. Minimettes.
- f. Nuns of St. Magdalen.
- g. Nuns of The Visitation.
- h. Benedictines.
- k. Nuns of Bon Pasteur.
- l. Great Carmelite Nuns.
- φ. Nuns of the Faith.

## C O L L E G E S.

- m. College of the Laws.
- n. College of Guyenne.
- o. The Jesuits College.

## H O S P I T A L S, &amp;c;

- p. The Foundling Hospital.
- q. General Hospital.

r. Little



- r. Little } Seminary.  
 f. Great }  
 y. Hospital for the Incurable.  
 t. Saipetriere.

## PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &amp;c.

1. The Town House.
2. The Archbishop's Palace.
3. The Governor's House.

4. The Intendant's House, and, in it, the Public Court Room.

5. The Palais where the Parliament assembles.
6. The Mint.
7. Magazine for Coffee.
8. The Exchange.
9. The King's Farmers House.
10. The Prince's President's House.

About five leagues below *Bordeaux*, on the North side of the *Garonne*, stands the little town of *Blaye*, *Blavatium*, *Blavium*, *Blavia*, *Promontorium Sanctonum*, a place of considerable importance, as it in a great measure commands the navigation of the *Garonne* or *Gironde*: it has communicated its name to a small country called the *Blaignez*, which had the title of a county, and belonged to a younger branch of the house of *Angoulême*. The town is built upon a rock, and its citadel defended by four bastions. It is separated from the lower town or suburbs, by a small river, in which the tide rises to a considerable height: in this latter the merchants have their houses and magazines. One of the Kings of *France* is said to have died at *Blaye* about the year 570, and to have been buried in the church of *St. Romaine* there. The Calvinists surprized the town in the year 1568; but it afterwards fell into the hands of the partizans of the league. The Marshal de *Matignon*, formed a design of reducing it to the obedience of King *Henry IV.* and therefore laid siege to it in the year 1593, but without success. Ships bound to *Bordeaux*, are obliged, by an arrêt of *Lewis XI.* in the years 1475, to leave their cannon and arms at *Blaye*. The river of *Gironde*, is 1900 fathoms, *French* measure, in breadth at *Blaye*; and therefore could not be effectually commanded by the cannon of that place, and those of the

fort on the other side; on this account, in the year 1689 a battery was erected in an island near the middle of the river, about 700 fathoms, *French* measure, from *Blaye*, and 1100 from the fort of *Medoc*, which stands directly opposite to *Blaye*, on the other side; and the cannon of these three places are thought sufficient to guard the river, and render it very difficult for the ships of an enemy to get up to *Bordeaux*. This fort of *Medoc*, is defended by four bastions of earth, faced with green turf. The harbour of *Blaye* is frequented by foreign vessels, and a great many barks from *Bretagne*, which come to load with wine, of the growth of that neighbourhood. The country about *Blaye* likewise produces large quantities of corn, a great part whereof is carried out of the kingdom, when this branch of trade is open.

At the mouth of the river, about 20 leagues from *Blaye*, stands the famous tower of *Cordouan*, said to be the most magnificent and beautiful light-house in the world. It is situated in the North latitude of 45 degrees 35 minutes, and 1 degree 5 minutes to the westward of the meridian of *London*, about the distance of two leagues from the coast of *Xaintonge*, on one side, and lower *Medoc* on the other. It is built in the form of a pyramid, that it may the better resist the force of the winds and waves. Its height, in the year 1727, was 169 feet, from the foundation to the top of the

pyramid; but the upper part of it being, at that time, found calcined by the force of the fire, an iron lanthorn in the form of a dome, was substituted in its place. This lanthorn is supported by four strong iron pillars, the whole being twenty two feet high, so that the present height of the tower and lanthorn taken together is 175 feet. The diameter of this vast fabrick, is twenty fathom and five feet *French* measure; and the gate opens to the East South-east. The fire place on the top holds 225 pound of coals, which being lighted every night when the sun sets, continue burning till his rising next morning.

It is pretended that the first tower built in this place, was erected in the reign of *Lewis* surnamed *le Debonnaire*, and that it was very low, according as it is represented in some old charts. It is also said, that instead of lighting a fire in it, some men were employed to blow with horns, night and day, to advertise sailors of their danger in approaching that place. It is added, that it was called the tower of *Cordouan*, from *Cordoue*, the name of the architect who was employed to build it. Be this as it may, it seems to be the general opinion that the present tower of *Cordouan* was begun by *Lewis de Foix*, in the year 1584, and finished in 1611. It stands upon an island of rocks, which is said to have been once joined to the continent of lower *Medoc*, and this is the more probable, that in the present situation of things, it would seem impossible to have transported the materials from the Continent, to the place where the tower now stands, on account of the rocks, which extend more than 170 yards from the foot of the tower on one side, and more than a league every where else. Add to this, that the sea there is always very high, and must have destroyed, during the flood, what had been done in time of the ebb, especially as the foot of the tower is never dry above four hours

together. The necessary funds for keeping up and repairing this tower, were formerly supplied out of the land-tax, but by an arret of the 11th of *April* 1726, a tax of five sols was laid upon every ton of goods exported out of the river of *Bordeaux*, by ships of whatever nation, and the product of this tax appropriated to the support and necessary reparations of the tower of *Cordouan*.

The ground floor of this edifice is thirty feet high from the foundation, and consists of a large room and two wardrobes, all vaulted above; besides this there are two other floors, the first whereof is called the King's apartment, and consists of a lobby, and a large hall with wardrobes. In the second story is a chapel, paved with stone, and in the middle of it a representation of the crown of *France*, in black marble. The busts of *Lewis XIV.* and *Lewis XV.* by Monsieur *Le Moine*, were also placed here in the year 1735, with a *Latin* inscription, by the Royal Academy of the Inscriptions and *Belles Lettres* at *Paris*. \* To conclude, this edifice is enriched with the Doric, Corinthian, and Composite orders of architecture, and nothing seems so blameable about it, as the indiscretion of erecting so fine a fabric in so obscure a

\* Ludovicus XIV. Rex Christianissimus,  
Cordubanam hanc turrim,  
Quæ nocturnis ignibus,  
Inter vadosa Garumnæ ostia,  
Navium cursum reget,  
A fundamentis restituit  
Anno M. DC. LXV.

Ludovicus XV.  
Novis operibus firmavit  
Et Pharon ferream altiore,  
Amphoremque  
Pro veteri lapidea super imponi jussit,  
Anno M. DCC. XXVII.



place, and so much out of the way, that very few can have access to observe its beauties.

Along the sea-shore, to the South of the mouth of the *Gironde*, lies the country of *Medoc*, *Medulium et Medulicum*, a part of the province of *Guienne*, comprehended in the generalty of *Bordeaux*, but very barren and unfruitful. The sea covers the North part of it in time of high tides, and there is not a place of any note in its whole extent: the most considerable in it are *Cassillon*, *Souillac*, and *Chameuf*, which are large villages rather than towns. Ancient authors make mention of a people inhabiting this country, called the *Meduli*, from which the modern name of *Medoc* seems to be derived. The country was in those days famous for the excellent oysters found near its shore. They were so famous, that they were in great repute at *Rome*, and often sent thither for the entertainment of the emperors. *Ausonius* compares, and even prefers them, to those of *Baiæ*, and *Puteoli*.\*

On this coast lies the bason of *Arcaßon*, about ten leagues from *Bordeaux*, and twenty from the mouth of the *Garonne*. It is about eight leagues in circumference: the entrance into it from the sea is much embarrassed with sand banks, and there are not above two fathoms of water on the bar when the tide is at the highest; for which reason it can only be a place of refuge for small vessels or fishing boats, and even these run some hazard by venturing into it. The most considerable place on this bason, is the *Tête de Buch*, which is only a large village inhabited by fishermen; who also carry on a small trade in tar, pitch, and rosin.

\* See *Auson.* Ep. 7. and 9.

*Ostrea Bajanis certantia quæ medulorum,  
Dulcibus in stagnis reflui maris æstus opimat,  
Sed mihi præ cunctis ditissima quæ medulorum  
Educat oceanus cui Burdigalia nomen,  
Usque ad Cæsareas tulit admiratio mensas.*

To the South of the bason of *Arcaßon*, lies the country called by the *French* *Les landes de Bordeaux*, the lawns of *Bordeaux*. It is bounded on the North by the country of *Medoc*, on the West by the sea, on the South by *Terre de Labour*, and on the East by the *Bazadois*, and the *Condomois*. It is so called from its barrenness, as a great part of it consists of barren sands, heaths, and other uncultivated ground. Those lawns are divided into the lesser and greater lawns, the former lie between *Bazas*, and Mount *Marsan*, and the latter along the coast, from *Medoc* to *Bayonne*. There were formerly some little harbours on this coast, such as *Boucaut de Memissan*, *Boucaut de Contis*, *Boucaut de Lon*, and old *Boucaut*, but they are now so choaked up by sand, that, except the bay of *Arcaßon*, they are rendered almost, if not altogether, useless to vessels above the size of a fishing boat. The last, particularly, was once a port much frequented, and of considerable trade, but since the end of the sixteenth century, when the course of the river *Adour*, which formerly emptied itself into the sea at this place, was diverted to another channel, the harbour of *Boucaut* has been quite filled up, and its trade reduced to little or nothing.

This has also been the fate of *Cape Breton*, once one of the most flourishing places in *France*, about 19 leagues to the South of the bay of *Arcaßon*, and 42 from the Tower of *Cardouan*. It had great privileges conferred upon it by *Edward I.* when it was in the hands of the *English*, and confirmed by the Kings of *France*, after *Guienne* came to be united to that crown. But in the year 1579, *Lewis de Foix*, the famous engineer, who rebuilt the tower of *Cardouan*, being at *Bayonne*, after his return from *Madrid*, where he had built the *Escorial*, formed a project for diverting the course of the river *Adour*, and making it enter the sea, within

within a league of the town of *Bayonne*, which he soon after executed, to the utter ruin of the inhabitants of *Cape Breton*. For before, this river, together with the *Gave* and *Nive*, with other rivulets from the *Pyrennees* had its course by *Cape Breton*, and emptied itself into the sea about three leagues further to the Northward. Whilst matters continued in this situation, the trade of *Cape Breton* was the most considerable, and all the large ships, that for want of water could not get up to *Bayonne*, were obliged to put up, and unload there, to the great advantage of the inhabitants. But together with the river, their harbour and their trade were almost entirely lost, so that more than half the houses in the place stand empty, and those of the inhabitants who remain are reduced to the greatest poverty.

Upon the whole, the coast of *Guienne*, from the mouth of the river of *Bordeaux* to *Bayonne*, is a low sandy beach, extending in a straight line more than 45 leagues, without any harbour, bay, or road, where a ship of any burthen can find shelter in stormy weather, and cannot be approached without danger. In high tides the sea rises above the beach in many places, and forms on the low grounds behind it several lakes and ponds of salt water, such as the lakes of *Carcans*, *La Canau*, *Casaux*, and *Gast*, with the ponds of *Lon* and *Suston*; and there is just ground to apprehend it will in time make some greater encroachments upon that country. We now proceed to

## B A Y O N N E,

**I**N *Latin Lapurdum*, situated in the North latitude of 43 degrees 28 minutes, and 1 degree 20 minutes to the Westward of the meridian of *London*. *Sanfon* was of opinion, that this is the *Aquæ Augustæ*, and *Tarbellicæ* of *Ptolemy*, in opposition to the current of other geographers, who apply *Ptolemy's* description to the town of *Dax*. Be this as it may, *Bayonne* is a town of middle size, but of great importance. It stands about a league from the sea, at the confluence of the *Nive* and *Adour*, which divide it into three parts. The *Adour* takes its rise in the mountains of *Bigorre*, at a place called *Le Tremoula*, passes by *Bagnieres*, and *Tarbes*, waters

a part of the plain of *Bigorre*, of the generalty of *Montauban*, as also a part of *Armagnac*, and begins to be navigable at *Grenade*, in the *Marjan*, about two leagues above *St. Sever*. It traverses the election of the *Lawns*, is increased by the *Douze*, a league below *Tartas*, passes to *Dax*, and thereafter is improved by the *Gaves* of *Oleron*, *Manleon*, and the country of *Bearn*; soon after it unites with the *Vidouze*, and last of all with the *Nive*, under the walls of *Bayonne*. It may be forded from its source, till it comes within eighteen leagues of *Bayonne*, after which it is passable only by means of bridges or boats. It runs along the walls of *Bayonne*, where



where there is a beautiful wooden bridge over it, 274 yards in length, from the redoubt of the *Holy Ghost*, to the suburbs of that name. The *Adour* is 260 yards in breadth at *Bayonne*, and by its means commodities of all kinds are transported as far as *St. Sever*, in *Gascogne*, in flat-bottom'd boats, and other sorts of small craft.

The *Nive*, called by the country people *Errobi*, takes its rise from the *Pyrenees*, a little above *Ronceveau*, and below *Baigorry*. After having passed *Jatsu*, *Cambo*, and *Ustaris*, it takes its course through the town of *Bayonne*, and at its entrance into that place is 66 yards in breadth. It is navigable from *Ustaris*, which lies about three leagues and an half from *Bayonne*, and may be forded any where. There are three wooden bridges over this river, within the town of *Bayonne*: the first is at the entrance of the river into the town, and serves for a communication between the garrison of the town, and the intrenchment of *St. Clare*. The second is below the first, about the middle of the town; it is 60 yards in length, and six in breadth. The third is still lower, and forms a communication between the Square *de Gramont*, and another little square before the redoubt of the *Holy Ghost*; it is 70 yards long and six in breadth. The first of these bridges is maintained at the King's expence, and the other two at the charge of the town, as is also the great bridge upon the *Adour*. A little below the third bridge over the *Nive* there is a barricade, extending from the redoubt of the *Holy Ghost* to the *Marine* gate, consisting of eight wooden piles with floating masts between them: at this place also the *Nive* empties itself into the *Adour*.

We have already observed that the *Adour* and the *Nive* divide *Bayonne* into three parts, whereof that which is commonly called the *Large Town* is on the side of the *Nive*, next

the country, the little town betwixt the *Nive* and the *Adour*, and the suburbs of the *Holy Ghost* on the other side of the *Adour*. The great and the little town are each inclosed with an old wall, dry ditch, and glacis; each of them has also a small castle. The castle of the large town is flanked with four round towers; and in it the governor has his place of residence. The other castle is defended by four towers, in the form of bastions. The whole of the old fortification is surrounded by a new one, consisting of eight bastions, joined together by so many curtains, repaired by the Marechal *De Vauban*, who, at the same time, added a large horn-work, and a half-moon, and drew a ditch and covered way round the whole. The great bridge on the *Adour* forms a communication between the town and the suburbs of the *Holy Ghost*: the latter, though of no great consequence in itself, is exceedingly well fortified; its ramparts being defended by four bastions covered with a large horn-work, three half-moons, and a good ditch and cover'd way; the whole repaired and improved by the Marechal *De Vauban*. The citadel stands on the same side of the *Adour*, with the suburbs of the *Holy Ghost*, upon a rising ground, which commands the three parts of the town, the harbour, and the country. It is a regular square, fortified according to the Marechal *De Vauban's* method, with three half-moons, one towards the suburbs of the *Holy Ghost*, and the other two on the sides next the country, with a good dry ditch and covered way round the whole. There are three gates in the town, whereof the citizens have the privilege of guarding two; and only one, which is that in the redoubt of the *Holy Ghost*, is under the care of the King's troops.

That part of the river *Adour* which lies below the great bridge forms the harbour of *Bayonne*; and it would be one

of the best in *France*, both on account of its great extent, depth of water, and other advantages; were it not for the difficulties attending the mouth of it. This river, as we have already observed, formerly passed by *Cape Breton*, and emptied itself into the sea at the old *Boucaut*, six leagues more to the northward than at present; but the navigation of the river being at that time encumbered with great difficulties, with a view to remove them, the famous engineer *Louis de Foix*, in the reign of *Henry III.* of *France*, built a strong stone wall, supported by wooden piles on each side, cross the old channel, and brought the river to the sea by a new course; in which it has continued, with little variation, ever since. By this means the *Adour*, which formerly run six leagues beyond *Bayonne*, through large hills of sand, now empties itself into the sea within a league of that place, as has been already observed.

This alteration in the course of the river was a great convenience to the inhabitants of *Bayonne*, as it entirely ruined the trade of *Cape Breton*; but the navigation of the river did not continue long without difficulties, a bar having soon been formed at the mouth of the *Adour*, which rendered the entrance into it very dangerous. This bar reaches from the beach, on both sides of the river, near 900 yards into the sea, and is covered only with two feet and an half of water, when the tide is at the lowest; but about the middle of this bar, opposite to the mouth of the river, there is a passage between 100 and 120 yards in breadth, in which there is six feet of water in time of lowest ebb. Through this passage all the ships that enter the harbour of *Bayonne* must come; and if by any accident they are diverted either to the right or to the left, they unavoidably perish. Thus far matters have continued without any considerable altera-

tion; but formerly this passage in the bar shifted its place, and was sometimes found at four or five hundred yards distance from the place in which it was before, advancing so much nearer to the coast, or removing further from it, according as the course of the winds and the storm determined it: in so much that, after stormy weather, the pilots of *Bayonne* were often obliged to search for this passage with the sound in their hand, before they could carry any ship into the harbour. From this it may be easily judged, there was no small difficulty in passing this bar, especially if, to what has been said, a circumstance be considered, which continues still to take place, that there is no passing it at all with a contrary wind, or a rough sea, nor when the tide is considerably spent.

In these times several buoys were placed at different distances, to direct ships to the middle of the passage; and, as oft as any change happened in the bar, the position of the buoys were changed also. Some times the passage in the bar was so conveniently situated, that ships could enter the river without the assistance of a pilot; but this happened very rarely, and when it did, the buoys were of use, to discover to ships at sea the mouth of the river, that they might take the proper time for approaching it, and make the best use of the tide. Moreover twelve pilots were appointed, each of them having a sloop, with eight men on board, to carry ships in and out of the harbour: these sometimes went without the bar to meet the ships they saw approaching; at other times, they waited in the passage, making a signal to the ship to come to them, and as soon as she came up, the pilot went on board, and took the helm, upon which two or three of the sloops towed her into the river, and never left her till she was out of all danger. The same precautions were observed



in carrying ships out of the river. The principal pilot, who had the direction of all the rest, had a salary of 800 livres from the admiralty, but the other pilots were paid by the masters of the ships that entered the harbour; as were also the sailors on board the pilot sloops, who generally lived upon the spot, or very near it, and were obliged to be ready upon the least signal, or when they saw a ship approaching the harbour, or ready to sail out of it, provided the sea was calm, the wind fair, and the tide answered.

These expedients, however, were not alone sufficient to remove the difficulties about the mouth of this harbour; on the contrary, matters grew worse and worse, many ships were lost in attempting to enter the river, and it began, at last, to be feared, that the navigation of the *Adour* would be entirely ruined. Therefore, in the year 1731, M. *De Turos*, director of the fortifications at *Bayonne*, was employed to draw a plan for clearing the mouth of the *Adour*, and making the passage of the bar more practicable and less dangerous. This able engineer having maturely considered the state of the bar and the river, observed, first, that the tide flowed up the river with a force greater than that where-with the river emptied itself into the sea; and therefore the latter had not strength enough to remove the sand banks, which the tide formed near its mouth. Secondly, that upon that coast, the rising tide flows nearly East South East, and, during the flood the waves roll toward the shore in that direction, about the distance of a minute of time from one another. He also found, that three of these coming upon a ship at her entrance upon the bar, determined her fate, so that if the force of these waves came upon the stern of the ship they brought her safe into the river; if on the bow, she was inevitably lost. To remove the first of these inconveni-

ences, he proposed to contract the river by jetties, so as to give greater strength to its current, and enable it to carry off the sand or rubbish lodged in the passage by the tide in stormy weather. On the other hand, to prevent the frequent ship-wrecks that happened in passing the bar, he advised to build the jetties in the same direction with the tide. This project being communicated to a considerable number of the engineers at *Bayonne*, with several of the officers of the marine and captains of the King's and other ships, who had experience in these matters, was universally approved, and the project carried into execution at a vast expence. The jetties were begun about a league from *Bayonne*, and carried to the middle of the bar, where they end, so that they are in length 600 *French* toises, that is, 1,280 yards of *English* measure. The breadth of the river at the beginning of the jetties being 200 *French* toises, was contracted by the jetties to 100, that is, the distance between the jetties at their beginning was only 100 toises; by this means the river must swell to a considerable height above the jetties, that is between the jetties and the town of *Bayonne*, and thereby give a great force to its current at low water. But, on the other hand, that the river might not rise so much as to overflow any part of the country, the channel between the jetties grows wider as it advances towards the sea, and at the middle of the bar where they end is 150 toises. Finally, to adapt the jetties to the course of the tide, they are built to point directly West North West, and East South East, which is the direction in which the tide flows on that coast, as we observed. This is a short account of M. *De Turos*'s grand project for clearing and improving the mouth of the *Adour*, the execution of which is said to have greatly improved the trade of *Bayonne*, and prevented a vast number

number of ship-wrecks, which, by this improvement of the harbour, and the care of the pilots, are now as rare as they were common and ordinary before.

The merchants of *Bayonne* carry on a very considerable trade. They are supplied with all sort of foreign commodities by sea, a considerable part whereof they send to *Navarre*, and *Aragon*, by the mules which come from these countries loaded with *Spanish* wool, and return home with the commodities of *France*, and other nations. In former times the merchants of *Bayonne* used to supply *Navarre* with sugar, for which there was a great demand in that province, on account of the vast quantities of chocolate consumed there; but the inhabitants of *Navarre* are now supplied with that commodity from *St. Sebastian*. The merchants of *Bayonne* carry on a very profitable trade in *Spanish* wool, with which they supply all the countries in *France*, where there is any demand for that commodity. *Bayonne* is supplied with small masts by means of the river *Nive*; and larger ones by the *Gave* of *Oleron*, from the valleys of *Aste* and *Baraton*, in the *Pyrennees*. Those from the valleys of *Baraton* are the finest; they are carried five leagues by land to the *Gave* of *Oleron*, brought down on that river by rafts to the *Adour*, and from thence to *Bayonne*; where they are put in a mast-ditch, till an opportunity offers of conveying them to *Brest*, and other harbours where the King's ships are built. To conclude, the merchants of *Bayonne* send yearly some ships to the whale and cod-fishing. The first vessels that went from *France* to fish for whales near the coast of *Greenland*, in the year 1605, are said to have been from this place.

The town of *Bayonne* contains about 1050 private houses, which are generally little and very compact. The streets are narrow and inconvenient. The inhabitants, including every age and sex, may amount to eighteen or twenty thousand,

of which number, at least, five thousand are said to be fit to bear arms. The magistracy consists of a mayor, three aldermen, two jurats, or common counsellors, a clerk, or assessor, and a procurator syndic. One half of these officers are elected every year, on the 14th of *September*, by twenty citizens, chosen by the inhabitants for that purpose, out of the number of those who have served the public offices. It is observed that the most considerable merchants are not very ambitious of these employments; because they know how to bestow their time to greater advantage.

The suburbs of the *Holy Ghost* lie opposite to the town, on the other side of the *Adour*. In the year 1722, there were an hundred houses in it, and it is said to have been increasing ever since. The inhabitants consist of *Jews* and *Christians*; the latter, in the year 1722, amounted to 2,300, including old and young of both sexes, almost all mechanics, who, though they are not free of the city, are allowed to work in the suburbs, and find means to dispose of their commodities to the citizens: of these, at least, five hundred are able to bear arms. The *Jews* are reckoned to be about 3,500 of every age and sex. They are all traders, or dealers in most sorts of stuffs, and other commodities, for which they find a great demand, because they sell cheaper than the merchants in the town.

There are in *Bayonne* five convents of monks, and three of nuns. The former are the *Jacobin*, *Carmelite*, *Augustin*, *Cordelier*, and *Capuchin* monks; the latter, the nuns of the *Visitation*, those of *St. Clara*, and the *Ladies of the Faith*. Most of these convents are supported by stated revenues annexed to their convents, besides the large sums they squeeze out of the people under the name of charity, and on pretence of the services they can perform to their benefactors, or their friends, in purgatory.

Some



Some authors will have *Bayonne* to be a town of great antiquity; others are of a contrary opinion, and the reason they give for it is, that we read of no bishop of *Bayonne* till the tenth century; but this only proves, that *Bayonne* did not make so considerable a figure before that century as in after times. An ancient author gives an account of a bloody battle fought near *Bayonne*, towards the close of the eighth century, wherein *Charlemagne*, it is pretended, at the head of the *French* army, was entirely defeated by *Aigoland*, general of the *Saracens*, and 4,000 *Christians* slain: but the *French* authors, unwilling to suffer such a stain to continue on the memory of their greatest hero, have pronounced this author fabulous. Be this as it may, *Bayonne*, with its dependencies, was united to the dukedom of *Guienne* in the reign of King *John* of *England*, and from that time its history is, in a great measure, included in that of *Guienne*, whereof we have already given some short account; only, in the reign of *Edward I.* of *England*, when *Philip the Fair* of *France* obtained possession of all *Guienne*, by the unworthy stratagem we have already mentioned, *Bayonne* was the first town that threw off the *French* yoke, and surrendered to Prince *Edmund*, King *Edward's* brother, as soon as he appeared in the country, tho' attended only with a small body of *English* troops, when compared with the large armies the *French* had in those parts. In the reign of *Henry VI.* of *England*, when all the rest of *Guienne* capitulated with *Charles VII.* of *France*, the magistrates of *Bayonne* refused to sign the capitulation; and did not submit to the *French* power till after a vigorous siege, whereby the place was reduced to great extremities. Since that time, the *Spaniards* have endeavoured to surprise that town twice, once in the year 1595, on the eve of the festival of *St. John the Baptist*; and a second time in 1651: but

both these plots were discovered before they were ripe for execution, and those of the townsmen that were concerned in them were severely punished. In memory of the happy deliverance of the town from the first of these conspiracies, there is a solemn and general procession every year at *Bayonne*, on the first *Sunday* after the festival of *St. John*.

#### REFERENCES to the PLAN of BAYONNE.

- A. The Old Castle, Residence of the Governor.
- B. The Horse Shoe,
- C. North Bastion.
- D. Bastion of *Piemont*.
- E. Kedit and Gate of *St. Esprit*.
- F. Bastion of *Mousserolle*.
- G. Countergard of *Mousserolle*.
- H. Gate of *Dax*.
- I. The New Castle.
- K. Bastion of our Lady.
- L. Bastion of *St. James*.
- M. Royal Bastion.
- N. Bastion du Sault.
- O. Bastion of *St. Leon*.
- P. *St. Leon's* Gate.
- Q. Butchery's Bastion.
- R. The Old Castle's Gate.
- S. The White Friars.
- T. Our Lady's Church.
- U. The Austin Friars.
- W. The Franciscan Friars.
- X. The Visitation.
- Y. The Dominicans.

a. The

- a. The King's Bastion.
- b. The Bastion of France.
- c. The Dauphin's Bastion.
- d. The Queen's Bastion.

About three or four leagues from *Bayonne*, on the side of the sea, are the two large country towns of *St. John de Luz*, and *Siboure*, the one containing about 3,730, and the other 1,360 inhabitants. They are separated only by the little river of *Nivelle*, over which is a bridge which forms a communication between them. About an eighth part of a league from *Siboure* lies the little harbour and fort of *Socoa*, which the inhabitants of *Siboure*, and those of *St. John de Luz*, made about the middle of the last century, for securing their fishing-boats during the winter season, after they return from fishing, that they might not be obliged to lay them up in the ports of *Spain*, to which they were forced to have recourse in former times. The road of *St. John de Luz* is far from being one of the best: ships enter it by the same winds that carry them over the bar of *Bayonne*; but such as are in it in time of a storm suffer greatly; nor is the danger over with the tempestuous weather, for the sea continues high for some time after the wind has ceased, and the strongest cables are often cut by its rocky bottom.

The village of *Andaye* lies about two leagues Westward from *St. John de Luz*, and contains nearly 360 inhabitants. It stands on the frontiers of *Spain*, opposite to *Fontarabia*, at the mouth of the river *Bidasoa*. The fort of *Andaye*, which stands at the distance of a quarter of a league from the village of the same name, is a square redoubt, built for keeping the garrison of *Fontarabia* in awe, and preventing their making inroads into the dominions of *France*. It has a

garrison and a commandant, who is under the direction of the governor of *Bayonne*. The little river of *Bidasoa*, on which this village and fort stand, is sometimes, from them, called the *River of Andaye*. It takes its source from the *Pyrenean* mountains, and empties itself into the gulph of *Goscogne*, between *Andaye* and *Fontarabia*. This river became famous by the interview which *Lewis XI.* of *France* and *Henry IV.* of *Castile* had upon its banks in the year 1463. The two Kings at that time concluded a treaty, which had before been negotiated at *Bayonne*; but it is remarked by historians, that they did not part so good friends as they met. It is further observed, that the *French* and *Spaniards*, who were closely united before, from that time conceived a mutual aversion to one another, which lasted upwards of two hundred years, that is, to the accession of the house of *Bourbon* to the crown of *Spain*, if it did indeed end then, and is not, to this day, rather covered and disguised than quite extinguished. There is also a little island near the mouth of the river, called the *Isle of Faisans*, where the plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain* held the previous conferences, and concluded the famous treaty of the *Pyrenees*, together with the marriage of the Infanta of *Spain* with *Lewis XIV.* of *France*, in the year 1669.

We have now given some account of the coast of *France*, on the *British* channel and the *Bay of Biscay*, and arrived at the foot of the *Pyrenees*, which is the boundary on that side between *France* and *Spain*. These mountains take their rise near the border of the province of *Guipiscoa* in *Spain*, and extending from West to East about eighty leagues, end on the banks of the *Mediterranean*, the coasts whereof we are now to consider as far as they belong to *France*, beginning with that of



## R O U S S I L L O N.

**T**HIS country is bounded on the East by the *Mediterranean*; on the West by *La Cerdagne*; on the North by lower *Languedoc*; and on the South by *Catalonia* in *Spain*, from which it is separate by a part of the *Pyrenees*.

It extends from East to West about eighteen *Spanish* leagues; and as it is surrounded with mountains on all sides, the heat is so violent during the Summer, that it renders the inhabitants very black, meagre, and of a disagreeable aspect. The soil is fertile, and produces large quantities of corn, wine, and hay. The land is so rich in some places, that, after the corn harvest, they sow large quantities of millet and other seeds, so that the same field yields yearly two or three crops. They use no other cattle for tilling their land but mules and mulets. The olive trees are the greatest riches in the country, and orange trees are as common here as apple and pear trees in *Normandy*. Wood is very scarce in *Roussillon*, that which grows in the country being little better than shrubs; and having no navigable river, they can have but little from other countries. What they use is brought them by mules. The country abounds with sheep, and their mutton is excellent: they also feed oxen, but these are designed only for the tables of the rich and great; the common sort have no share in them. There are but few cows in the country, because their milk is not good, and therefore used by none but the meanest of the people. Their pigeons, partridges, and quails are exceeding good.

They have several hot baths in this province. A village near *Arles* is particularly famous for a natural hot bath in its neighbourhood, which cures several distempers. The bason is very large, and the steps, by which they go down to it, are cemented with a composition, that the hot water cannot dissolve. It is covered by a vault of antient construction, with a hole in the middle to let in the light: some will have this vault to be the work of the *Romans*, others of antient *Moors*; but these are mere conjectures. The spring from which the water issues is on the side of a hill, about twenty paces from the bason; and it is observed, that the water is so hot, that if a pig be dipped in it, all its skin will come off in a moment: yet, on the other hand, this same water will not boil an egg, if it should lie in it four and twenty hours.

*Roussillon*, in antient times, was called *Regio Sardonum*, and made a part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, during the government of the *Romans*, as also under that of the *Gauls* and *Saracens*. In the days of *Pliny*, there was a town in this province called *Ruscino*, and afterwards *Roscillona*, from whence the whole province seems to have taken the name of *Roussillon*. This town was originally a *Roman* colony, and is said to have been destroyed about the year 828, so that no vestige of it now remains but the reliëts of an old castle, commonly called the *Tower of Roussillon*. The *Saracens* being driven out of *Narbonne*, towards the end of the eighth century, *Roussillon* was governed by Counts of its own till the year 1178, when *Guinard*,

nard, or Gerard, the last Count of Roussillon, dying without issue, left his dominions, by his will, to Alphonfus King of Arragon. From that time the Kings of Arragon continued in possession of it till the reign of John II. who mortgaged it, together with the county Cerdagne, to Lewis XI. of France for three hundred thousand crowns of gold, on condition, that if in nine years, to be reckoned from the date of the contract, the said King John, or his successors, should not repay that sum to the King of France, principal and interest, these counties should become the property of the said King of France and his heirs. The King of Arragon, as the French historians will have it, not having fulfilled the condition, Lewis united these two counties to the French monarchy. Maillard, confessor to Charles VIII. of France, having raised some scruples in the mind of that prince,\* who, by the bye, was not on other occasions very scrupulous, he restored these counties to Ferdinand King of Arragon, on condition that he should give no assistance to the King of Naples. Ferdinand accepted of the two counties, without performing the condition upon which they were ceded to him; but Lewis XIII. of France, finding himself in condition to prosecute his pretended rights, made himself master of the whole province of Roussillon, which was at last yielded to France, by the treaty of the Pyrenees, in the year 1669, and, in consequence of that cession, annexed to the French crown.

\* Those scruples were very well founded. Lewis having made himself master of Perpignan, the principal town of Roussillon, without regard to the agreement, ordered the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him; and, when they desired to see the instrument that transferred Roussillon to him, answered, that as they were a revolted people, he had conquered them, when they were without a Lord, and that the right of conquest was sufficient for him; that he intended to annex them to his kingdom, and restore the ancient boundary of France, by carrying it to the Pyrenean mountains. See Duclos's Hist. of Lewis XI. p. 129, vol. I.

The first place of any consequence we meet with on the coast of Roussillon, on that side of it which lies next to Catalonia, is Port Vendres, *Portus Veneris*, where Hercules is said to have built a temple to the honour of Venus, situated in the North latitude of 42 degrees, 28 minutes, and longitude 3 degrees, 12 minutes, to the eastward of the meridian of London. The place consists of a few little houses ranged along the bason, defended by a small fort, on one side, in which there is a guard kept by a detachment of the garrison of Colioure, and on the other hand by the fortress of St. Elme, which stands on the top of a high mountain, and commands both the town and harbour. This latter consists of four small bastions and a lodging place for the commandant of a detachment of the garrison of Colioure, who guard it. The entrance into this fort is by a ladder, and the officers of the garrison have no place to walk in but upon the ramparts, which are said to be bomb proof.

The harbour of Port Vendres was formerly good, especially for gallies; but it is at present more than half filled up; so that six gallies can scarcely lie safe in it at the same time. Formerly the forts which guard the harbour were garrison'd only in time of war, whereby the vessels lying in it were exposed to the ravages of the *Miquelets*, or the inhabitants of the mountains, who some times came down and assaulted them in the night; but for some time past the two forts have been constantly guarded by detachments from the garrison of Colioure, and the *Miquelets* effectually curbed.

About a quarter of a league to the North of Port Vendres lies the town of Colioure, *Cauloliberum*. It consists of one large street, and three or four little ones. The parochial church is dedicated to the *Virgin Mother*; the castle stands upon a rugged rock, the foot whereof is washed by the sea.

Without



Without the gate called *La Porte du Secours* is a large glacis, which leads to the suburbs, where there is a convent of *Jacobine* monks, and some fishermen's houses. On the side of the town next the country is another castle, called *Miradou*, where there are barracks for the garrison, but the governor of the town has his house in the castle first mentioned. There is a small harbour at *Colioure*, but it can only admit barks and *Tartans*.

The town of *Elne Helena* stands about two leagues almost North West from *Colioure*. It had its name from *Helena*, the mother of the Emperor *Constantine*, who is said to have built the town, upon the ruins of the antient *Illiberis*. It stands about two leagues from *Perpignan*, in the plain of *Roussillon*, upon a little eminence, the foot of which is washed by the river *Tet*. It was formerly a pretty place, but it was first demolished by *Philip*, surnamed the *Bold*, in the year 1285, afterwards, in 1474, by *Lewis XI.* and last of all in 1642, when it was taken by the army of *Lewis XIII.* The breaches which were made at that time are not yet repaired, and nothing of the fortifications remain but some fragments of the old walls. Though this town stands upon the bank of a river, and within less than a league of the sea, yet it has little or no trade, because the river is not navigable, and there is no harbour nearer than that of *Colioure*, which, after all, is but very indifferent.

About two leagues from *Elne*, towards the North, stands the town of *Perpignan*, *Perpinicum*, the capital of *Roussillon*, built upon the ruins of the ancient city of *Flavium Ebusum*. Some are vain and credulous enough to believe, that it was originally built by *Perpenna*; others will have it to have been founded about the middle of the eleventh century; but these variations are of no consequence with regard to our present purpose.

The town of *Perpignan* stands partly on a plain and partly on an eminence. Its walls are built of bricks and free stone, mixed together, they are very high, very broad, and defended by several bastions. It has four principal gates, viz. *Notredame*, *Canet*, *Colioure*, *St. Martin*, and between this last and that of *Notredame*, one called the *Salt Gate*; which, by means of a stone bridge over the rivulet of *La Basse*, leads to what they call the *New Town*. This new town was begun by order of *Lewis XIV.* in consequence of a plan presented to him by the *Marschal de Vauban*. It is a continuation, or enlargement, of that side of the old town which lies next to *France*, and the river *Tet*, where there is a large bastion. Hitherto it contains nothing but gardens, and a street begun along the *Basse*, which ends at the bridge near the gate of *Notredame*. The ramparts of *Perpignan* were formerly in a very dismal condition, but by the industry of the *Sieur De la Milice*, governor of the town, they are so far improved, as to be equal to those of any frontier place, and afford an agreeable walk to the inhabitants. The same gentleman made the like improvements in the fortifications of the new town, and converted a place, which used to be the receptacle of the rubbish and soil of the town, into a parade, large enough to contain 6,000 men in order of battle.

The town is not very well built, especially on that side which lies next the citadel; yet, even there, some of the streets are properly laid out. The street leading to the gate of *St. Martin* has its name from the orange trees, which were formerly planted on each side of it; but, some years ago, these trees were nipped by a great frost that then happened, and died away. There are two large squares in the place, one called the *Lodge*, and the other *St. John's Square*, in which stands the cathedral church and the governor's house. The whole

whole town taken together with its suburbs, is said to contain near 7000 inhabitants, including women and children. This shews that it is not a very large place; yet there are in it no less than eight convents of monks, and four of nuns, besides two colleges, and a seminary of Jesuits. The citadel stands upon a rising ground, and commands the town. It passes for one of the strongest in the kingdom: the gate of it is covered by a large half-moon, which advances almost to the foot of the glacis. It is inclosed within two ramparts, the largest whereof is flanked with six good bastions, a ditch, and several outworks on the side next the country. It was begun in the reign of *Charles V.* and completed in that of *Philip II.* about the year 1577: the Duke of *Alva* being at that time governor of *Rouffillon*, the arms of that governor are upon the frontispiece of the gate, under those of the King of *Spain*. Within this fortification there is another, which was the work of the Chevalier *De Ville*. This latter has also six bastions, which command those of the former, and a ditch on that side which lies next the country. The place of arms is an oblong square, capable of containing between 4, or 5,000 men, drawn up in the order of battle. All along the left side of the square there is a row of barracks, built by the order of *Lewis XIV.* who intended also to have built another row on the same side with the gate. The old barracks are upon the right hand side, opposite to the gate. The dungeon, or square building in the middle, has a ditch, faced with cut stone; it is defended by eight square towers, four of which are at the angles, and one in the middle of each of the four sides. In the center there is a court, or yard, and in it a large cistern: On the right side of this building is the governor's house, on the left a large magazine of arms. On the same side with the gate are two

chapels, one above another, whereof that on the ground floor is used as a magazine, and that above serves for the purposes of devotion. The souterrains of the citadel are very good.

Besides the schools of the Jesuits already mentioned, *Peter King of Arragon* founded an university at *Perpignan*, in the year 1349. It consists of the four faculties of theology, philosophy, law, and physic. The faculties of theology and philosophy have each two chairs; one for teaching the doctrine of *St. Thomas*, the other for that of *Suarez*; but the students are left at liberty to embrace either of these two opinions; a circumstance which never fails to produce great emulation, and many disputes amongst them. When any of these chairs is vacant, it is never filled without a comparative trial. The judges open a book at a venture, and propose to every candidate a different question, upon which he is next day to deliver, before them, a discourse of an hour's length. After this each of them is shut up in a separate apartment, where he is narrowly watched by the friends of the other candidates, that he may have no assistance in composing his discourse. They also make as much noise as they can, at the door of his chamber, to interrupt him, and distract his thoughts. Next day, at the hour appointed, the discourses are delivered one after another, in the hall of the town-house, in the presence of the five consuls, or principal magistrates of the town, the masters of arts, and doctors of law and physic, who have all a voice in the disposal of the vacant chair. Each discourse must be pronounced without the least hesitation, and if the orator make but the least stop he is excluded from all pretensions to the prize. After the discourses are pronounced, the electors give their votes, which, in most cases, are secured before hand. He that has the plurality of voices is intitled to the vacant



chair, and next morning his name is to be seen, cut out in great letters, on several houses, and the corners of the streets, with the addition of *Victor*, and the number of voices by which he carried the prize. The rector of this university is chosen every year, on the first of *January*, out of the four faculties by turns. Great interest is made for this place, because considerable advantages are annexed to it.

The city of *Perpignan*, with the whole of *Roussillon*, and the province of *Catalonia*, having revolted against *John II.* King of *Arragon*, *Lewis XI.* of *France* reduced the province of *Roussillon*, and sent an army to the assistance of the King of *Arragon*, against the *Catalonians*. Soon after, the inhabitants of *Perpignan*, in the year 1462, raised a new insurrection, and laid siege to the citadel, at that time in the hands of the *French*. *Lewis*, upon information of this revolt, sent the Duke of *Nemours*, at the head of an army, to reduce the rebels, and prevent the revolt of the rest of the province. The Duke having entered *Roussillon*, towards the close of that year, raised the siege of the castle of *Perpignan*, took a fort by storm, which the inhabitants had erected against it, and put all that were in it to the sword. He would have also forced his way into the town, notwithstanding all the intrenchments that were raised against him, if it had not been to save it from plunder. The magistrates, soon after, attended by the principal citizens, threw themselves at his feet, implored his pardon, and swore to continue always faithful to *France*.

The city of *Perpignan* stands upon the river *Tet*, which waters the north side of the town, and empties itself into the sea, about two leagues below it, near the fort of *Canet*. This river, like the other rivers of *Roussillon*, is not naturally navigable, nor can it be made so by art; there being for or-

dinary little or no water in it, except when the snows melt on the *Pyrenean* hills, and then it swells to a great pitch, and runs with such rapidity that it often does great damage to the country, and brings down large quantities of sand and wood, which it lodges in the sea, a very little way from the shore. By this means it is so far from contributing to the benefit of trade and navigation, that it is a prejudice to both. The vessels that are freighted with goods for *Perpignan* are obliged to watch a favourable opportunity, and come to anchor before the fort of *Canet*, about half a cannon shot from the shore; there they put their goods into boats, which unload them upon the beach; and, in doing this, great expedition must be used, because the whole affair must be over in one day, it being dangerous to let the goods lie there in the night time, especially in winter.

From the mouth of the *Tet* we meet with nothing remarkable, till, having passed the pond and cape of *Leucate*, and travelled about seven leagues to the Northward, we arrive at *La Franqui*, on the border of *Languedoc*, where there is a small road for vessels. The anchoring ground lies between the land and a bank of sand, about two cables length from the shore, and two fathoms under water. The bank is formed by the waves, which, after breaking against the rocks, lay down their sand at this place, in their return to the sea. Vessels may anchor here, sometimes in six, sometimes in four fathom water, and are very well secured against South-west winds; but they are exposed to those that blow from any other quarter, especially from the North-west, which are sometimes very dangerous. Upon the whole, the coast of *Roussillon* is very unfavourable to shipping, and cannot be safely approached but near Port *Vendres*, or *La Franqui*, and not even there but at particular times. It abounds with

with sand banks and shoals, and the sea is often high and stormy. The shore is in most places a low sandy beach, with several ponds of salt water behind it.

From this account of the coast of *Roussillon*, it cannot be expected that the trade of that province should be very considerable. The commodity which turns out most to the advantage of the inhabitants is olive oil, large quantities whereof are yielded by the olive trees in that country. This branch of trade is said to produce yearly about two hundred thousand livres. The country also produces abundance of

corn, and millet; large quantities of both are exported. Although the wine of *Roussillon* is very good, yet very little of it goes out of the province, except when the *French* have an army in *Catalonia*. As vast numbers of sheep are raised in *Roussillon*, the inhabitants carry on a considerable trade in wool, and what is produced in this country is generally good. There are no manufactures of it however in the country, which is said to be principally owing to the indolence of the inhabitants.

We now proceed to the coast of

## L A N G U E D O C.

**T**HIS province is bounded on the North by *Forez*, *Quercy*, and *Rouergne*; on the East, the river *Rhone* separates it from *Dauphiny*, the county of *Venaissin*, and *Provence*. It is bounded on the South by the *Mediterranean* sea, and the province of *Roussillon*; and on the West by the countries of *Conserans*, *Comenges*, and *Foix*. This province was the principal part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, in the time of the *Romans*, and the most considerable nation that inhabited it were the *Volsi*, divided into the *Tectosages* and the *Arecomici*, the former possessing almost all the higher, and the latter the lower *Languedoc*, excepting the countries lying among the mountains of *Cevennes*. They were conquered by the *Romans* in the year 648 from the foundation of *Rome*, and 106 before the birth of *Jesus Christ*. They continued in subjection to that people till the invasion of the *Goths*, who

kept possession of the country longer than of any other province of *Gaul*; on which account it was called *Gothland*. The *Saracens*, having overturned the monarchy of the *Goths* in *Spain*, made themselves also masters of what they possessed on the other side of the *Pyrennees*; and occupied it till they were driven out by *Charles Martel*, *Pepin*, and *Charlemagne*. This last prince united *Languedoc* to the kingdom of *Aquitain*, which he had erected for his son *Louis*, surnamed *le Debonnaire*, and governed it by Dukes, who had under them Counts and Viscounts, in the great towns of the country. Both these sorts of officers, in time, got their governments made hereditary, and, during the weakness of the second race of *French* Kings, became proprietors of what they held. The most powerful of them were the Counts of *Toulouse*, the Dukes of *Septemania*, and those of



of *Narbonne*. At last the Counts of *Tboulouse* made themselves masters of the whole country, the others becoming their vassals. Besides *Languedoc*, the Counts of *Tboulouse* were in possession of several neighbouring provinces, and, among others, of a part of *Provence*; but *Raymond* Count of *Tboulouse* having undertaken the protection of the *Albigenses*, against the persecution of the church of *Rome*, a crusade was set on foot against him and them, under the conduct of *Simon* Earl of *Montfort*, who having exercised the most brutal and inhuman cruelties against that poor people, \* succeeded so far at last, as almost entirely to extirpate them, and spoil their protector of all his dominions. *Raymond* the younger, the son of the former, Count of *Tboulouse*, out of all that his father possessed, could only recover that single district which is included in the diocese of *Tboulouse*; in which, having no sons, he was succeeded by *Alphonfus* Earl of *Poitiers*, and brother of *St. Lewis* of *France*, to whom he was forced to give his daughter in marriage. This Prince dying without issue, the whole of that province returned to the crown, and was re-united to it by *Philip*, surnamed *the Bold*, who obliged the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him, having first solemnly promised to maintain them in all their privileges and liberties.

The climate and the disposition of the inhabitants are very different, in higher and lower *Languedoc*. In upper *Languedoc*, the air is temperate, and the soil produces corn, wines, and fruits, in great abundance; but the inhabitants are indolent, and very little disposed to labour. Lower Lan-

\* To give one instance, out of many, of the moderation and Christian spirit of this army of saints, under the direction of the infallible chair, and a legion of bishops and priests, the unhappy town of *Beziers*, having been taken, after sustaining a siege, all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were barbarously put to the sword, to the number of 30 thousand, and among them eight thousand, who had taken sanctuary in the great church.

*guedoc*, on the other hand, is very hot in summer, and cold in winter; the soil is not very fruitful: it also abounds with hills, many of which produce nothing; but the industry of the inhabitants makes amends for the barrenness of the soil. They improve every advantage, and are remarkably laborious. They are of good understanding, fond of trade, and love money. They have no great disposition for the sciences, or for arms, because they find that these are not the most expeditious means of making their fortunes. The principal commodities, and materials for trade, in upper *Languedoc*, are corn, wine, and cloth of the manufacture of *Carcasson*; those of lower *Languedoc*, oil, verdegrease, several sorts of stuffs, linen, woolen cloths, and silks, in the manufacture of which the inhabitants of the mountains are principally employed. The capital of the whole country is *Tboulouse*; the other towns of greatest note are *Montpelier*, *Narbonne*, *Alby*, *Le Puy*, *Nimes*, *Viviers*, and *Beziers*. There are a great many mineral wells in the province; those most frequented are at *Valse*, *Balaruc*, and *Bellestat*. There are also vast quantities of curious and medicinal plants in the country, and mines of iron and lead, as also of gold and silver; but the two last are neglected because they are not rich. They have also quarries of marble; some *Turquoise* stones are found near *Castres*, and vermilion is gathered on the heaths.

The first place of any consideration we meet with on the coast of *Languedoc*, a little more than two leagues from *La Franqui*, on the border of *Roussillon*, is *Sigeac*, a little town in the diocese of *Narbonne*, and intendance of *Montpelier*, containing about 1300 inhabitants. It was, in former times, famous for a battle fought near it in the year 737, where-  
in *Charles Martel* entirely routed a numerous army of *Saracens*,

*cens*; and for its excellent salt-pits, which produced not only salt enough for the whole province, but also for several other neighbouring ones. It has a small harbour, and gives name to a great pond, or lake of salt water, in its neighbourhood, which communicates with the sea.

About three large leagues to the north of *Sigean* stands the famous town of *Narbonne*, containing about 9,500 inhabitants; in the North latitude of 43 degrees, 10 minutes, and 3 degrees 5 minutes, to the eastward of the meridian of *London*. It was originally a Roman colony, in which the veterans of the tenth legion were settled, and, from this circumstance, called *Narbo Martia*, and *Decumanorum Colonia*. It was the capital of the provinces which the *Romans* had in that part of *Gaul*, called *Gallia Narbonensis*, and *Gallia Braccata*. It had a capitol, an amphitheatre, several aqueducts, magnificent bagnio's, and every other mark of splendour and greatness. In return for these distinguished honours, the inhabitants of *Narbonne* were strongly attached to the *Roman* government; and when *Augustus* came to the empire, they were among the first that consecrated an altar to him. After the *Romans*, it became subject to the *Goths*, and was obliged to submit to all the other revolutions that befel the province. It was besieged by *Charles Martel*, who, having made himself master of it, demolished its fortifications. It was also reduced by *Lewis VIII.* during the war with the *Albigenses*; but some time after its walls were rebuilt at the charge of the arch-bishop of *Narbonne*, and his suffragans. Its fortifications were afterwards improved at different times; but they are now in ruins, and nothing left standing but the ramparts, which are very beautiful.

*Narbonne* stands upon the canal called the *Robine of Narbonne*, about two leagues from the sea. This canal divides it into two parts, called the *Town* and the *City*. The town

has four gates, and lies in a bottom surrounded by hills, which render the access to it very difficult, and even dangerous, after a few days of continued rain; but there are in it a great many beautiful buildings. The cathedral, particularly, is admired for the height of its vaults, and the boldness of its structure. The seminary is highly prized by the curious, and the church of the *Carmelites* is valued for the beauty and fineness of its marbles. In the metropolitan church are several marble tombs, and in particular that of *Philip the Bold*, which is said to be one of the oldest they have of the Kings of the third race. This Prince dying at *Perpignan* of a fever, in the month of *October* 1585, his corpse was brought from that to *Narbonne*. His body was boiled in wine and water, to separate the flesh from the bones, which were carried to *Paris*, and only the flesh and entrails buried in this tomb.

The river *Aude* naturally flowed, at some distance from *Narbonne*, and emptied itself into the gulph of *Vendres*, which was in early times the harbour of *Narbonne*; but the *Romans* diverted the course of that river, to make it pass by *Narbonne*, and enter the sea by the gulph of *Sigean*. They also constructed, at the mouth of it, a harbour, to the South of the island of *St. Lucia*, and called it the *New Harbour*, to distinguish it from the old one at *Vendres*. In process of time this new channel of the river being quite spoiled by mud, and little islands formed in it, the new harbour was rendered useless, and the *Aude* resumed its former course, to the Gulph of *Vendres*, into which a part of its waters are now discharged. Thus matters continued till the fourteenth century, when the new canal was dug, and a part of the waters of the *Aude* once more brought through the town of *Narbonne*, and made to enter the sea by the new harbour; so that boats and barges come up the canal all the way to



*Narbonne*, where they are loaded and unloaded; but the *Tartans*, and larger vessels come no further than the new harbour. This new harbour, it is said, grows every day more and more considerable, and there is already ten feet of water in the *Grau*, or passage leading into it; an improvement which has been lately made by means of two jetties at the mouth of the canal; but, some think, the harbour would be still more complete, if the Eastern jetty were carried further, and turned a little towards the South, that it might stop the sand which the stormy sea leaves at the mouth of it. This expedient, it is pretended, would greatly improve the trade of *Narbonne*, and several other places in *Languedoc*.

Before the harbour of *Narbonne* was neglected, the inhabitants of that place carried on a trade with *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, the island of *Cyprus*, and *Constantinople*. And it is pretended, that, among the archives of the town, there are still extant contracts between the town and *Narbonne*, and some of the Emperors of the East. From these circumstances it is concluded, that if the project last mentioned were put in execution, those golden times of commerce might return again: but, on the other hand, it is certain, that no experiment made in modern times upon any of the harbours in the gulph of *Lion*, has been effectual, to prevent the formation of sand-banks in the mouths of them. Several other schemes have been offered, for the improvement of trade in those parts. It has been proposed, particularly, to make a communication betwixt the canal of *Narbonne*, otherwise called the *Robine of the Aude*, and the canal royal of *Languedoc*; which, it is said, might be easily effected, as the distance between them does not exceed three quarters of a league. By this means loaded boats might easily pass between the Western ocean and the *Mediterranean* sea, by the new port of

*Narbonne*, which would be a considerable improvement to the trade of *Languedoc* and *Guienne*. To enlarge this project, and render it more complete, it has also been proposed, that a canal of communication should be begun at the lake, or pond, of *Sigean*, in *Languedoc*, and continued through those of *Palme* and *Leucate*, to *Roussillon*; which would be a very great advantage to both these provinces, as the latter might thus be easily supplied with all sorts of provisions, and other commodities, without hazarding them on the sea, or exposing the vessels freighted with them either to the danger of perishing in the storms that frequently happen on that dangerous coast, or the risk of falling into the hands of pirates. To conclude, it has been also proposed to make a harbour at *La Franqui*, which, it is said, might be effected at a very moderate expence, as there is plenty of water in the bay; and a fort might be built upon the adjoining rocks, for the defence of it against the *African* corsairs in time of peace, and other enemies in time of war. This, it is imagined, would contribute much to the security of the navigation in the Gulph of *Lion*, as the vessels, which in stormy weather may not be able to get into the new harbour of *Narbonne*, might find a retreat at *La Franqui*, and *vice versa*; so that as these two harbours lie within five miles of one another, it might be presumed that, in time to come, there would not be so many shipwrecks on that fatal coast. Such are the schemes that have been laid for improving the commerce of *Languedoc*, and its neighbouring provinces; but we find not that any of them have been hitherto put in execution.

We have already said, that before the course of the *Aude* was diverted by the *Romans*, that river emptied itself into the Gulph, or Pond, of *Vendres*, which lies about three leagues

leagues to the North-East of *Narbonne*, and that in those times there was a harbour there for large vessels; but it would seem that this harbour came to ruin soon after the course of the river was changed, for in modern times we find no mention made of a harbour there; and the poverty and meanness of the village of *Vendres* which gives name to the gulph, is a sufficient proof that there is little or no trade carried on in that bay.

Almost three leagues Eastward from *Vendres* stands the town of *Agde*, *Agatha*, upon the river *Erau*, a little more than half a league from the sea; a small town but very populous. It was originally a colony from the city of *Marseilles*. The town has four gates; and all the houses are built of a black kind of stone. It has a harbour for barks and other small craft, and there is a little fort which defends the mouth of the river. The greatest part of the inhabitants of *Agde* are merchants or sailors. The cathedral church is but small, and not very well illuminated. The Episcopal palace is an old building, and has nothing about it very considerable. The chapel of *Notre Dame du Grau*, by the cunning of the priests and ignorance of the people, is prodigiously frequented by those of the neighbouring places, and pilgrims from afar, who resort thither every day, to offer up their presents and superstitious devotions. The chapel belongs to the *Capuchins*, and turns out greatly to their account.

There are in *Agde* about a thousand houses, and 10,000 inhabitants, including women and children. There is not usually in the mouth of the river above six or seven feet of water, which is the reason why loaded vessels cannot get up, but are obliged to stop at *Marseilles*. To remove this inconveniency, it has been proposed to car-

ry the jetties further out towards the sea, and contract the channel to gain a greater depth of water.

About a league from the mouth of the *Erau*, as much from the town of *Agde*, and six leagues from that of *Narbonne*, stands the fort of *Brescou*, *Blasco*, upon a small island in the gulph of *Lion*, near the coast and cape of *Agde*. It seems to have been originally intended for the defence of the harbour at the Cape of *Agde*, which has long been filled up, and the fort rendered useless. It has still however a governor.

About four leagues almost to the Eastward of *Agde* lies the town and harbour of *Cette*.

The whole coast of *Languedoc* is so dangerous for shipping, that several attempts have been made to construct harbours, wherein vessels might be safe in time of stormy weather. St. *Lewis* made one at *Aiguemortes*, which was long ago entirely filled up. Attempts have been made for the same purpose at Cape *Agde*, near *Brescou*, but, besides that there is no anchoring ground there, ships are too much exposed to stormy winds. These reasons did not hinder Cardinal *Richlieu* from laying out vast sums of money at that place in raising a mole, which still subsists; but the harbour is entirely filled up. At last *Lewis XIV.* ordered a harbour to be constructed at *Cette*, where there is good anchoring ground, and vessels are sufficiently covered by the mountain or cape of *Cette*.

This little seaport was begun about the year 1666, and completed in 1678, under the inspection of the Chevalier *de Clerville*, at that time director general of the fortifications at *Languedoc*. The jetty or mole of the harbour lies East and West, about three hundred and sixty French fathoms in length, including the elbow or turning towards the North, on which there



there is a fort with a battery of eighteen guns, and a light house about forty feet high above the water, kept up and repaired by a tax laid upon all the ships that go in and out of the harbour. In this fort there is a powder magazine, bomb proof, and over it a grand room, capable of containing a hundred men: over all there is a lodging place for the officers of the guard. Between two draw-bridges there is a row of barracks, on the side next the harbour, for the accommodation of two companies of infantry; and on that next the sea a battery *en barbet*, armed with several pieces of cannon, and two mortars. The jetty itself is raised 18 feet *French* measure above the surface of the sea, and is 48 feet broad on the top. The whole is built of red marble with white veins, from a quarry in the mountain of *Cette*, which covers the harbour. The foundation was laid in the sea thirty feet under water, with a large slope on the inside, and one still larger on the outside, that it might be the better able to stand the first shock of the waves, and prevent their breaking upon it with full force at once.

About five hundred fathoms to the Westward of the jetty there is a fortification, built upon a rising ground, called the *Butte-Ronde*, in which there is a small guard-room, a chamber for the officers upon duty, and a battery *en barbet*. This little fort is surrounded with some other small works, built of stone without mortar. There is also another fort which stands very high, called *St. Peter's Fort*, in which there is a battery *en barbet* of 12 guns, a small guard-room, and a powder magazine: but both these forts, in case of an attack upon the place, would do more hurt than good, because the enemy being once master of them, the fort of the jetty could hold out no longer, as it is commanded by both, especially that of the *Butte-Ronde*. After the attempt made upon *Port de Cette* by the *English*, of which we shall soon

take more particular notice, a horn work was built on the side of the canal, to defend the bridge: but this has been since reckoned useless, and therefore neglected.

The surface of the harbour contains above 100,000 square fathoms, *French* measure. The depth of water at the mouth of it is 30 feet, within, 28, 25, 23, 20, 18, 15, and no where less than 12. It was intended only for galleys and small vessels, but it would not answer even this purpose long, as the sea constantly fills it up with sand and mud, if the province were not at considerable expence to keep it in good order. There is an undertaker for this purpose, who keeps men at work all the year round, under the direction of the engineers. He is paid by the cubical toise, or *French* fathom of the rubbish and sand he takes out of the harbour, at a settled price, \* and is obliged to furnish all the instruments and necessaries he has occasion for.

Though this harbour is none of the best, for the reason just now assigned, yet the inhabitants of the province are obliged to keep it up, whatever it cost them; because, without it, it would be impossible for any kind of shipping to frequent the coasts of *Languedoc*, and *Roussillon*, from the month of *October* to the end of *April*: for the vessels which come from *Colioure*, the new harbour of *Narbonne*, and *Adge*, during these months, are obliged to put in at *Cette*, to wait for a favourable opportunity for sailing for the ports of *Italy*, and pass the capes that lie a considerable way to the Eastward of *Cette*, near the mouth of the *Rhone*, which they can never double with a North-East wind, on account of currents moving with such rapidity, from East to West, that it is impossible to get the better of them; and this hap-

\* Five livres the cubical toise.

pening very often in the winter months, there is no other harbour in which vessels so situated can find sanctuary. The case is the same with the ships that come from *Provence* and *Italy*, and are bound for *Agde*, *Narbonne*, or *Rouffillon*; they must, by all means, put into *Cette*, to wait for a North-East wind to carry them to the places of their destination. To conclude, the harbour of *Cette*, such as it is, is of such consequence to the province, that it must always command their attention, because by it they export all the commodities and manufactures of the country. How great would the advantage be, if it could be improved to such a pitch as to be, at all times, a safe retreat in the gulph of *Lion*, which has in all ages been very terrible to sailors; insomuch that, if a vessel is overtaken by a storm in it, she runs the greatest hazard of being driven upon the coast, and can hardly be saved without a miracle.

The town of *Cette* began to be formed about the same time with the harbour; and took its name from a small village, about the distance of a quarter of a league, containing no more than twenty inhabitants, which still subsists. Though this new town is not large, it is very pretty and agreeably situated. It has only one parochial church; but there are in it already about three thousand communicants, and the number of its inhabitants increases daily, on account of the privileges conferred upon this new establishment: two whereof are very considerable, *viz.* that new comers may set up business there, without paying any fine, and acquire the right of citizens after a year and a day of residence: and tradesmen are allowed the freedom of the town, without passing a regular apprenticeship.

The town of *Cette* stands in the North latitude of 43 degrees, 24 minutes, and 3 degrees, 45 minutes, to the East-

ward of the meridian of *London*; about five leagues from *Montpelier*, and four from *Agde*, with both which places it communicates by their respective canals and lakes.

In the year 1717, some merchants of *Montpelier* set up at *Cette* a refinery for sugar. To favour this project, the province allowed them 20 sols for the quintal of all their raw sugars that they should bring home, not exceeding eight thousand quintals a year. They also allowed them seven thousand livres yearly, for building magazines and other necessary conveniencies for the purpose, at the town of *Cette*, and in the islands of *St. Domingo* and *Martinico*. This project has succeeded well, and turns out greatly to the advantage of the proprietors, as well as to the general interest of trade. The same merchants, in the year 1721, set up a fabrick of soap, and the King granted it the privileges of a royal manufacture. The community of *Cette* pay no capitation to the king, but are obliged to find lodgings for the King's officers there, *viz.* the King's Lieutenant, Major, Aid-Major, Commissary of artillery, and Store-keeper. They are also to furnish every thing necessary for the town-guard. To enable them to support these burdens, they are allowed to impose a tax of twenty sols on every hogshead of wine produced within the district of the town, and fifty sols on the hogshead of such wines as are sold in the town, but are not of the growth of its district, excepting such as are designed for exportation, which are exempted from every duty. The magistrates may also impose two deniers upon every pound of meat; and these are all the taxes they can impose, or that the inhabitants are obliged to pay.

The town and harbour of *Cette* became famous by the attack the *English* made upon it in the year 1710, which was

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one of the best concerted schemes of the whole war, tho', by reason of unforeseen accidents, and mistakes in the execution, it did not succeed. The inhabitants of the *Cevennes*, rendered desperate by persecution and oppression, having given the *French* King a great deal of disturbance, and considerable bodies of them being still in arms, it was proposed to the *British* ministry, that, notwithstanding former disappointments, some thing should be again undertaken in their favour. It was further observed, that the main body of that people were within fifteen leagues of *Montpelier*; that a body of *English* troops might be easily landed at *Port de Cette*, to support them; and, in short, that an expedition of this kind might disconcert the enemies designs in *Spain*, and at least facilitate King *Charles's* enterprises in *Catalonia*. Upon this a gentleman, thoroughly instructed in the whole affair, was dispatched to *Spain*, with orders to propose the project to General *Stanbope* and Sir *John Norris*, upon whose approbation, and the consent of the King of *Spain*, it was to be immediately put in execution, by the fleet then cruising on the coast of *Catalonia*. It cannot be denied that the project was exceeding well formed; for, had the *English* troops fixed themselves but for three days at *Cette*, they might, with the assistance of the Duke of *Savoy*, have given the *French* King more trouble than he had met with from any of their projects during the war. His own subjects then in arms against him were a bold, daring, and hardy people, and, with very little encouragement from *England*, would have formed an army of 20 or 30 thousand men, to which the *French* exiles from every part of *Europe* would have resorted. And, as among them there were many experienced officers, it is not easy to conceive what consequences the affair might have had, or to what extent the flame might have

reached. As soon as the plan of this expedition was communicated to General *Stanbope*, who was an enterprising officer, he eagerly embraced the scheme, and prevailed upon King *Charles* to permit a small body of troops to embark on board the fleet. This resolution being intimated to Sir *John Norris*, he called a great council of war, on the 6th of *July*, in which it was resolved to send an express to the Duke of *Savoy*, and embark the forces immediately, that an affair of so great moment might not suffer by delay. These troops, consisting of Colonel *Stanbope's* regiment, and three hundred men from *Port-Mabon*, in all not exceeding seven hundred, were commanded by Major-General *Seiffan*, a native of *Languedoc*, and a very good officer. The fleet sailed from *Barcelona* on the 9th, and on their arrival before *Cette*, the troops, having landed without opposition, next morning, by break of day, marched directly towards the town. Sir *John Norris*, at the same time, appointed some ships to batter the fort at the mole-head, upon which the inhabitants retired to the church, and, soon after, both town and fort surrendered; as did also the town of *Agde* next day: so that now the *English* seemed to have firm footing in the enemy's country; and the expedition had a very promising appearance: the only misfortune was, that the troops were too few to be sent upon an affair of so great moment. On the 17th, Major-General *Seiffan* received advice, that the Duke of *Roquelaure*, with four hundred dragoons, and four thousand militia, was advancing to ford the lake, and repossess *Cette*; upon which the Major-General thought proper to leave one hundred and forty men to secure the bridge of *Agde*, and marched with the rest of the forces to oppose the enemy, giving notice, at the same time, to the Admirals *Norris* and *Som-*  
*melfdyke*.

*mellsdyke*, to send all the boats of the fleet, with as many men as they could spare, into the lake, to attack the enemy in his passage through it, which was accordingly done. The Duke of *Rouquelaure*, seeing his design prevented by these measures, returned to *Meze*, and the Admirals and General detached a Major with an hundred and fifty men, to reinforce the detachment left to secure the bridge of *Agde*: but, at the same time, advice was brought that this important post had been abandoned upon a false alarm; nevertheless it was resolved to prevent the enemy, and to return to *Agde* with shallops by sea, in order to regain that post; but the very moment this was to be executed a contrary wind sprung up, which obliged them to abandon the design, and direct all their care to secure *Cette*. In short, the Duke de *Noailles* arrived at *Agde* the same day they were to return thither. They then began to think of defending the mountain of *Cette*, and posted the few troops they had in the vineyards there, surrounded with a slight wall, with orders to retire, but not before the arrival of the enemy. An officer who commanded fifty men did not rightly apprehend this order, or else he was surprised; for upon the first appearance of a few dragoons, who fired upon his men, he surrendered at discretion: the other troops, upon this discouragement, retired in disorder, though the necessary dispositions had been made to support them in their retreat, and the several officers did all that could be expected from men of courage and experience to rally them. While these were reembarking, on the 17th, a captain was left in the fort with fifty men to guard it: it was not accessible but on the side of the mole, and the passage leading to it on that side was defended by two pieces of cannon; besides the enemy had no boats. The shallops were still by the

fort the whole morning; Admiral *Norris* however had no sooner put off to go aboard his ship, but the enemy sent notice to the Captain, that unless he immediately surrendered the fort, he must expect no quarter. Whereupon the officer let down the bridge, and surrendered at discretion, even before the troops were reembarked. The Duke de *Rouquelaure* sent on board the Captain who had so ill defended the fort, in exchange for a burgher, who had been released before; but the Captain was ordered on shore again, and told, that since he had been so complaisant to M. de *Rouquelaure*, as to deliver up the fort to him, it was but reasonable he should be near the Duke's person, and treated according to his merit.

This is a short account of an expedition, from which much was expected, though it had no other good effect, but that of obliging the enemy to recall a body of troops from *Roussillon*. But now to proceed,

We have already taken notice of the great importance of *Port de Cette* to the province of *Languedoc*, and the whole of the Southern coast of *France*, as it is the only tolerable harbour they have in the gulph of *Lion*; but it is of no less consequence, as it affords a communication between the famous canal of *Languedoc*, and the *Mediterranean* sea: and this seems to be what *Lewis XIV.* had particularly in view, when he ordered it to be constructed at a vast expence. *Port de Cette* communicates with the lake of *Tbou*, by a canal of nine hundred French fathoms in length, and twenty in breadth; and this lake extends in length 12,000 fathoms, from the canal of *Port de Cette* to the mouth of the royal canal of *Languedoc*. It is not our purpose, nor does the design of this work require it, to give a particular description of this famous canal, yet, we doubt not, but



but some few hints concerning it will be agreeable to our readers.

Some *French* historians will have it, that the *Romans* several times entertained thoughts of forming a communication between the *Bay of Biscay* and the *Mediterranean* sea, by a canal of this kind, and as often abandoned their design. It is more probable that this affair was talked of in the reign of *Charlemagne*, and in that of *Francis I.* *Henry IV.* thought seriously of it about the year 1598, and found the design practicable. The Constable *Montmorency*, in the year 1604, ordered a survey to be taken of the places, through which the canal was to be conducted; and Cardinal *Richelieu* had once determined to put the project in execution, but the destruction of the *Calvinists*, which to him seemed of greater importance, diverted him from that intention. At last *Lewis XIV.* in the year 1664, appointed commissaries, to make an exact enquiry into the possibility of this project; and, upon their report, the *Sieur Riquet*, at that time director of the farms of *Languedoc*, undertook the execution of the canal, according to a plan laid down by the *Sieur Andreossy*, an able mathematician, who had an employment in the *Gabelles*, or salt-tax, of that province. *Riquet* entered upon this great work in the year 1666, and brought it to perfection in 1680, a little before his death, leaving to his two sons the honour of making the first experiment of it in 1681.

In taking the level of the places through which the canal was to be drawn, it was found that the ridge of *Naurouze*, near *Castel Naudary*, is more than an hundred *French* fathoms higher than the *Western* ocean, and as much elevated above the surface of the *Mediterranean* sea. It was, therefore, thought proper to introduce, at this place, the supplies of

water necessary to support the navigation of the canal; that, this being the highest point, it might from thence flow downward to both these seas. And, to lessen as much as possible the labour and expence of digging, it was judged expedient to take all possible advantage of the course of the *Garonne*, by making the canal communicate with that river, about a quarter of a league below *Toulouse*, which is above sixty eight *French* fathoms higher than the level of the *Western* ocean, and about fifty-five leagues distant from the tower of *Cordouan*; that small vessels, loaded with goods for any part of *Languedoc*, or the coast of the *Mediterranean*, having sailed up the *Garonne* to the mouth of the canal, might, by the help of sluices, proceed up the canal to the *Naurouze*, (which is thirty-two *French* fathoms higher than the *Garonne*, and twenty-eight thousand, two hundred, and seventy nine fathoms distant from it) and, from the *Naurouze*, be conveyed, by the help of a great many sluices, down the same canal to *Port de Cette*, which is more than an hundred *French* fathoms lower than the level of the *Naurouze*, and at the distance of an hundred and thirteen thousand, nine hundred and eighty-seven from it. So that the whole length of the canal, from the *Garonne* to *Port de Cette*, is an hundred and forty-two thousand, two hundred and sixty-six fathoms, which amounts to more than seventy *French* leagues, and above an hundred and eighty *English* statute miles.

The principal difficulties which occurred in the construction of this grand canal, were those that follow. There being only a small fountain at the *Naurouze*, it was necessary to find between five and six thousand cubical inches of running water, and fall upon means to get it conveyed to the *Naurouze*. It was also a matter of great difficulty, to carry the canal from the *Naurouze* to *Toulouse*, and from the *Naurouze* to the *Mediterranean*.

*Mediterranean*, as, in doing this, it was necessary to find a remedy for the inequality of the grounds thro' which it was to pass, by a great many sluices; to level some rocks and mountains, and cut a passage for the canal through others; to avoid rivers and torrents, and where this could not be done, to carry the canal over them upon bridges, or admit them into it, with such precautions as to prevent their filling it up with sand and mud. And to conclude, it was necessary to make a harbour in the *Mediterranean* at the mouth of the canal, at a very great expence. Upon the whole, they found it necessary to dig up more than two millions of cubical fathoms of earth, and above five hundred thousand of solid rock; to build a hundred and four sluices, \* sixteen causeways, twenty-four drains, and a great many bridges, which required a prodigious quantity of stones and wood, especially if we take into the reckoning more than forty thousand cubical fathoms of mason work; exclusive of the works, moles, and quays of *Port de Cette*, which, considered by themselves, are of a very large extent. It was further necessary to have at all times, in the canal, above a million of cubical fathoms of water, and more than six hundred thousand ready in the reservoir at *St. Feriol*, to serve in dry weather, and keep the highest part of the canal constantly full. The expence of this prodigious work amounted to thirteen millions of livres, whereof the King advanced six million, nine hundred and twenty thousand, eight hundred and eighteen; and the province contributed six million, seventy-nine thousand, one hundred and eighty-two, including the two millions they advanced for defraying the charge of *Port de Cette*.

\* About a quarter of a league from *Beziers*, where the canal runs down the side of an hill, eight of these sluices are employed to make this descent navigable; each of them being 38 paces long between the gates, and eight broad. The gates are of an oval shape, and, when they are all open, expose to the sight a beautiful cascade of nine falls of water, each about nine feet high.

A part of this expence might have been saved, especially with regard to some of the rocks they were obliged to cut, and the passage that was dug under the hill of *Malpas*, † if they had united the royal canal with that of *Narbonne*, already mentioned, which is not above the distance of a league from it; but *Riquet*, the principal director, was a native of *Beziers*, and therefore, it is said, preferred the interest of the place of his birth to that of the whole province, particularly, of *Narbonne*, *Toulouse*, and *Carcassonne*, which by this means lost a great part of the advantages they might otherwise have had by this canal.

The little town of *Frontignan* lies about two leagues almost N. E. by E. from *Cette*, on the side of the lake of *Maguelonne*, called also the *Lake of Frontignan*. It contains between two and three thousand inhabitants, and is famous for its excellent muscadel wines, a kind of brandy, which goes under the name of *Eau de Cette*, and muscadel raisins, called *Passerilles*. When they expose their grapes to the sun to convert them into raisins, they tie them to long poles, reaching from the garrets of their houses to within five or six feet of the ground, so that, during that season, the whole fronts of their houses appear to be quite covered with grapes. Afterwards, when the raisins are sufficiently dried, they pack them up to be exported to several parts of *Europe*. Some will have this little place to be the *Forum Domitii* of the antients.

† This hill lies about a league and a half from *Beziers*, the canal runs under it, through a passage 200 paces long, 140 of which are covered with an arch of stone, and the other 60 with naked rock. The arch is 24 feet in diameter, and four in thickness, and the depth of earth, or the height of the hill above the arch, 40 feet. On one side of the canal, under the arch, there is a foot-path 3 feet odd inches wide, by which foot passengers may walk through this extraordinary passage.



Leaving *Frontignan*, and proceeding along the coast, by the Lakes of *Frontignan*, or *Maguelonne* and *Perols*, we arrive at *Aiguesmortes*, *Aqua Mortua*, a town in the lower *Languedoc*, lying about seven and an half, or eight leagues E. N. E. from *Frontignan*, five from *Montpelier*, something more than a league from the sea, and as much from the lesser branch of the *Rhone*, in the latitude of 43 degrees, 35 minutes, North, and 4 degrees, 20 minutes, East from the meridian of *London*. The country about it is sandy, and not at all fruitful; and the town lies in a valley encompassed with ponds, lakes, and marshes, which render it a very unwholesome habitation, and occasion a great many distempers, that carry off numbers of the inhabitants, so that *Aiguesmortes*, though formerly a place of some importance, now scarce contains 1,800 people, including women and children. Some marks of antient greatness, however, still remain; there is in the town, a royal court of justice, a board of admiralty, a board of trade, and a salt office. The fortifications of the place are old, but they are not ruinous. They consist of a strong and thick wall, built of cut stone, and flanked with sixteen large and strong towers. It is garrisoned by four companies of invalids, and the whole of the civil as well as military power is in the hands of the Governor, the King's Lieutenant, and the Major. The tower of *Constance* adjoins to the town; it is a very old strong building, not only entire but without any visible decay. It does not appear by whom, or when it was built, nor to what uses it has been formerly applied; but for some time past, it has only been employed as a prison for criminals.

We are assured that there was a good harbour at *Aiguesmortes* in the thirteenth century, and that considerable embarkations were made in it. There are also proofs,

that, in these days, the sea came up to the walls of the town; whereas now the harbour is not only quite filled up, but the sea has retired more than a league from its antient boundary. By the loss of this harbour, the town has lost its trade and splendour; so that the inhabitants have now no means of support but what they draw from the salt pits of *Peccais*, and the fish they catch in the adjacent ponds, lakes, and canals. The village and salt pits of *Peccais* lie about two leagues from *Aiguesmortes*, and are both commanded by a fort erected in the neighbourhood. Some private men in the town of *Aiguesmortes* are proprietors of all the salt pits but one, that belongs to the Knights of *Malta*, and work them at the common charge, for the benefit of the whole society. These pits yield yearly vast quantities of excellent salt, which is dispersed through *Languedoc*, *Auvergne*, *Savoy*, and *Switzerland*, to the great benefit of the proprietors, but more to the advantage of the King, who is said to draw from them a revenue of four thousand livres a year. What is most to our purpose is, that a great number of hands from *Aiguesmortes* are employed in preparing, making, loading, and exporting the salt, and find a tolerable subsistence from their labour. Those that are not engaged in the salt works, find employment, all the year round, by fishing in the ponds, lakes, and salt pits, but this trade is not carried on now with the same success as in former times.

It is not certain when *Aiguesmortes* was first built. *Lewis IX.* of *France*, commonly called *St. Lewis*, got the district in which it stands from the abbot and Monks of *Pfalmodi*, in exchange for a piece of ground belonging to that prince in the territory of *Sommieres*. Some will have it that he was the founder of the town, others that he raised it from the rank of a village to that of a city; but it seems to be agreed

agreed on all hands that he built the fortifications, and otherwise greatly improved it. Some French authors pretend that the same Prince embarked his army at *Aiguesmortes*, when he set out upon his first expedition to the *Holy Land*, in 1248, and also upon occasion of his second crusade in 1270; but *Mezeray* says expressly, that in his first expedition, he embarked at *Marseilles*, and in the second his armament set out from the harbours of *Provence*. At the same time that *Lewis IX.* became proprietor of the district of *Aiguesmortes*, he likewise got the tower of *Constance* from the Knights of *Malta*, in exchange for the village of *St. Christol*, which still continues in the possession of that order.

The Prince of *Orange*, at the head of the Duke of *Burgundy's* troops, having, some time before, made himself master of *Aiguesmortes* and other neighbouring towns, *Charles* the Dauphin, at that time Regent of the kingdom, marched with an army into *Languedoc* to recover those places, but the inhabitants of *Aiguesmortes* eased him of a part of his trouble, for, having taken advantage of the security of the *Burgundian* garrison, they cut all their throats in one night, and threw them into the ditch, with large quantities of salt upon them, to prevent their infecting the air.

This town afterwards became famous by an interview, which the Emperour *Charles V.* and King *Francis I.* had there in the year 1538. The Pope had used his interest, that very year, to procure a meeting of these two Monarchs at *Nice*, and had great hopes of success. The time, as well as the place of meeting was appointed, both the Princes promised to attend it, the Emperour also had repaired to *Villafranca*, and the French King to *Villeneuve*, on the *Var*, seemingly with this view; but though the Pope met with each of them separately, he could never prevail with them to see

one another. This was principally owing to the Emperour, not out of any aversion to an interview with the King, but because he had no inclination the Pope should be present at it. Therefore, by means of his sister the Queen of *France*, who visited him often at *Villafranca*, he got matters so managed, that *Francis* met him at *Aiguesmortes*. The two monarchs, at meeting, embraced one another, with great demonstrations of friendship and affection, and had several secret conferences. The Emperour also dined with the King on shore, and the King, in his turn, was entertained on board the Emperour's galley. In short, they seemed so well satisfied with one another, that it was expected all animosity would forever cease between them; but these appearances soon vanished. The Emperour only meant to cajole *Francis*, and dive into his secrets, in which he succeeded.

The *Huguenots* made themselves masters of *Aiguesmortes* in 1575, and kept it till 1622, when *M. De Chatillon*, then Governor of that town, surrendered it to *Lewis XIII.* who, in return for the favour, made him a Marechal of *France*, and gave him a gratuity of 150 thousand livres. In former times all the ponds, lakes, and salt-pits, about *Aiguesmortes* and *Peccais*, communicated with the lake of *Repausset*, and this last with the sea, by the passage or *Grau du Roy*, and the salt from *Peccais* was conveyed to the western branch of the *Rhône* by a canal of communication \* between that river and the canal of *Aiguesmortes*, a little to the South of *Peccais*; but the *Grau du Roy*, daily filling up with mud and sand, brought down by the rivers of *Vistre* and *Vidourle*, there was ground to apprehend, that in a short time this passage would be quite shut up, therefore it was thought necessary to draw a

\* Called the *Canal of Silveral*, and laid down in most maps of *France* not very lately published.



new canal from the Western branch of the *Rhône*, which joins with the old canal of *Aiguesmortes* about a quarter of a league to the North of *Peccais*, and passing together through the middle of the salt pits, enter the sea about a league further to the South, by a passage made for the purpose, and therefore called the *New Grau*. Thus the danger is put off for some time; but the same causes that rendered the old *Grau* useless threaten also ruin to the new, and, in this event, the little

trade that remains in *Aiguesmortes* would be entirely ruined, and the place rendered uninhabitable; for the sea being once excluded, the salt pits would produce nothing, and so great an increase of standing corrupted water as this must occasion, would render the air quite poisonous.

Having had a view of the Coast of *Languedoc*, we now proceed to that of

## P R O V E N C E.

THIS government is bounded on the North by *Dauphiny*, on the East by *Piedmont*, on the West by the county of *Venaissin* and the *Rhône*, which separates it from *Languedoc*, and on the South by the *Mediterranean* sea. The first inhabitants of this province, recorded in history, were the *Ligures* and the *Saliatii*; and probably the other names mentioned in after times were only intended to distinguish the several divisions and different tribes of these two original nations, such as the *Vulgentii*, *Appollinarii*, *Memini*, *Albici*, &c. These nations made all the opposition they could to the *Phœceans*, who came from the coast of *Asia* to settle in this country, and though they could not prevail so far as to expell them, yet they still continued to be their enemies. The new comers were excellent sailors, planted several colonies in this and the neighbouring provinces, and acquired great riches and power by commerce: but, tired out at last with the constant opposition of the natives, they were obliged to apply to the *Romans* for assistance against

their restless neighbours. This gave the latter a pretence for carrying their arms into *Gaul*, and accordingly the inhabitants of *Provence*, and the neighbouring places, were the first in that country that submitted to their yoke. Upon their submission to the *Romans*, their country, together with that of the *Allobroges*, *Vocantii*, &c. was reduced to the form of a province, under the name of *Provincia Narbonensis*, or simply *Provincia*. As the inhabitants of *Provence* were the first in *Gaul* that submitted to the *Roman* yoke, so they continued under it for some time after that people had abandoned the rest of the country, which probably is the reason why it still retains the name it had in those times. After the *Roman* government ceased in *Provence*, *Eurie* King of the *Visigoths* made himself master of the Southern parts of it, and the *Burgundians* conquered those which lie on the other side of the *Durance*; *Alaric*, King of the *Visigoths*, being killed at the battle of *Voclade*, that people were forced to leave their conquests to the *Ostrogoths*. These last were afterwards expelled

expelled by the *Franks*, or *French*, who had before conquered that part of this country, which had been in the hands of the *Burgundians*.

After the death of *Lewis II.* of *France*, surnamed the *Stutterer*, which happened near the end of the tenth century, *Boson*, governour of *Provence*, assumed the title of King of this country, and, after him, it was divided into several little sovereignties, and some republics. All these were again united under *Boson* Count of *Arles* or *Provence*, from whom the government of the whole country passed by succession to the Counts of *Revergne*, and from them to the Counts of *Barcelona*, and the Kings of *Arragon*. A younger branch of this family held for some time the county of *Provence*, and the heirs of it married *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, the father of *Lewis IX.* whose successors were Kings of *Sicily* and *Naples*, till *Joan* the first, who died Queen of *Sicily* and *Naples* and Countess of *Provence*, in the year 1382. This Princess, some time before her death, had adopted *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, the second son of King *John* of *France*; and that second branch of the house of *Anjou* continued in possession of the crown of *Sicily*, and the county of *Provence*, to the time of *Charles* of *Anjou*, Count de *Main*, who left the latter in legacy to *Lewis XI.* of *France*, in the year 1481, since which time it has continued annexed to that crown.

*Provence* extends from East to West, that is, from *Sauvercal* to the river *Var*, about 44 leagues, and from South to North, that is, from the isles of *Hieres* to the village of *Crote* on the *Durance*, about 32\*. The principal towns in it are *Aix*, *Arles*, *Marseilles*, *Toulon*, *Draguignan*, *Sisteron*, *Apt*,

\* These leagues are to be estimated according to the computation of *Provence*, whereby nineteen leagues are equal to a degree of the equator.

and *Forcalquier*; its most considerable rivers are the *Rhône*, the *Durance*, the *Var*, and the *Argentier*. The whole country is divided into the higher and lower *Provence*. Higher *Provence* is a mountainous country, abounding with cattle. It also produces corn and variety of fruits, but no wine. Lower *Provence* produces plenty of fruits and wines, but is particularly fruitful in olive and orange trees. The air is exceeding hot, except when the North-West wind blows. It produces very little corn, and the wine it yields is not of the best kind, but the whole country is covered with orange trees, citron trees, palm trees, fig trees, pomegranate trees, wild myrtle, cypress trees, wild strawberries, narcissuses, clove-gilly-flowers, &c. It produces also plenty of medicinal herbs and plants: and to conclude, there are here mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, and agate; and several fountains of mineral water. The inhabitants of the maritime parts are excellent sailors, and those of the country in general very selfish, and bigotted to the external form of their religion.

We have already observed that the *Rhône* is one of the boundaries, which separate *Provence* from *Languedoc*. It is also one of the most considerable rivers in *France*, and said to be the most rapid in *Europe*. It takes its rise at the foot of the hill of *Fourche*, near Mount *St. Goddard*, about two leagues from the sources of the *Rhine*. After having watered the country of *Valais*, it crosses the lake of *Geneva*, separates *Bugey* from *Savoy*, and begins to be navigable at *Seissel*. It separates *Bresse* from *Dauphiny*, and receives the *Saône* at *Lyons*. Thereafter it parts the *Lionnois* from *Forez*, the *Vivarez* from the remaining part of *Dauphiny*, *Languedoc* from the county of *Avignon* and *Provence*, and empties itself by three mouths, called *Graus*, into the *Mediterranean*, about



five leagues from *Arles*, after receiving a great many lesser rivers, the most considerable of which are, the *Saône*, the *Isère*, and the *Durance*. The *Rhône* often changes its channels, especially near its mouths, and often makes a great alteration in the appearance of the countries through which it passes. Some are of opinion, that it once entered the sea near *Martigues* in *Provence*, and at another time in *Languedoc*, near *Aiguemortes*; they also imagine that the *Robine*, or old canal of *Aiguemortes*, and the marsh of *Scamandre*, near the same place, are marks it has left of its once taking its course that way; but these are conjectures we have no leisure to pursue. The *Rhône*, by means of its rapidity, and the nature of the ground through which it passes, carries down great quantities of sand and mud, and these materials dropped at its mouths form such banks of earth and sand, that no vessel can go in or out without danger: and whatever methods have been taken to remove these obstructions to the navigation of the river already formed, or prevent the formation of new ones, have hitherto proved ineffectual. Toward the end of the last century, *Lewis XIV.* sent the *Mareschal de Vauban* into these parts, to see whether any expedient could be found to make the mouths of this river more practicable. This great man, having carefully examined the course of the *Rhône*, thought nothing better could be done for the encouragement of trade, and to render the river more useful to the country, than to carry a canal from the *Rhône* at *Tarascon*, or *Arles*, to the *Port de Bouc*, and convey a considerable part of its waters this way to the sea. Such a canal, he was persuaded, would not be exposed to the same inconveniences that attend the other branches of that river, and particularly, there would be no danger from the formation of banks at the mouth of it, which is the

great evil complained of in the rest. But whether the *French* Court were deterred from trying this expedient by the expence that would necessarily attend it, or imagined that this canal proposed would not answer the purpose intended, this project has not as yet been put in execution.

The *Rhône* at *Arles* divides itself into two branches, the Eastern and Western, commonly called the *Grand* and the *Petit Rhône*, whereof the latter enters the sea by the *Grau d'Orgon*, and the former by *Grau du Sauze*, and the *Grau du Midi*. But a remarkable change happened in the *Grand Rhône* some time ago, which, on account of its consequences, we cannot omit mentioning. On the East side of this branch, near the bank of the river, and about a league and an half from its mouth, there was a piece of ground lower than the rest, to which the sea reached in stormy weather, and formed in it some ponds or pools of salt water. These being dried up in summer by the heat of the sun, left upon the ground great quantities of salt, which were carried away secretly by the country people, to the great prejudice of the salt tax revenue. To put an end to this contraband trade, it was thought proper to cut through the bank of the river, and to erect in the breach a sluice with a vanne, to open as there should be occasion, and let the fresh water flow into the low ground, to kill the salt, and disappoint the smugglers. This had, for some time, the desired effect; but one night, in the year 1711, when the *Rhône* was swelled to an uncommon height by land floods, the vanne of the sluice being left open by the negligence of those who had the charge of it, the river having thus found a passage, broke in with such violence, that it carried the whole sluice and its side walls along with it, and took its course directly to the gulph of *Foz*. The commissaries, appointed for preserving the

the navigation of the river, imagined this accident would produce a considerable benefit rather than a disadvantage to trade; because vessels on the *Rhône* were like to find a more direct and much shorter passage to the sea by this new branch, than by the windings of the old ones, called the *Bras de Fer*; they therefore resolved not to stop the breach, or attempt to reduce the river to its ancient channel; but to confine the new branch to narrow bounds, that it might, by the strength of its own stream, cut out a bed for itself, deep enough to answer the purposes of navigation. In consequence of this resolution, several years were employed in making fences and bulwarks on each side, to keep the stream from spreading, and their labours, at first, seemed to be attended with success; for the *Canal de l'Aune*, as it is called, soon became deep enough for all the purposes intended by it, and the bad consequences did not discover themselves for some considerable time. But the projectors were not aware that the earth and sand carried down by the stream, in clearing a passage for itself, must be stopped by the sea as soon as its waves came to be as strong as the stream of fresh water, and precipitated to the bottom; and that the mud so precipitated would be still encreasing so long as the canal continued to supply fresh materials. This the commissaries seem not to have apprehended, till the sand bank was not only formed but considerably advanced. This bank points directly to *Cape de la Couronne*, on the other side of the gulph of *Foz*, and encreases so fast, that if some effectual means are not employed to prevent it, there is reason to think, it will in time reach quite across that bay, ruin the harbour of *Bouc*, and spoil the whole coast as far as *Mar-seilles*. In short, it is not easy to imagine what vast quantities of mud and earth this canal carries down with it. The

reader will, no doubt, be surprised to hear, that in less than forty years, that is from the year 1711 to 1749, this bank has stretched more than a large league into the sea; yet the truth of the fact is well attested.\*

Before we leave the *Rhône*, we must take some notice of the island of *Camargue*, formed by the two old branches of that river. It is not our intention to adopt the uncertain tradition of *Caius Marius's* having fortified himself in this island against the *Teutones* and the *Cimbri*, nor of *Cæsar's* having built twelve galleys here for the siege of *Mar-seilles*. We shall only take notice, that the island is about seven leagues in length, and four in breadth, and very fruitful in corn, wine, and rich pastures. The horses and cattle that are brought up here, and feed summer and winter in the open fields and marshes, are scarce to be numbered. They grow so wild and furious, that it is with great difficulty and danger that the cattle can be caught or driven by the butchers of the town, who purchase them for slaughter. The cattle of the whole island feed promiscuously together, and the proprietors have no way to distinguish them but by the marks they impress upon them with red hot irons, and this is also a dangerous operation, and accomplished with great difficulty.† The horses rear'd in this island are said to be swifter, and bear more fatigue than any others in the kingdom, but they are wild and easily frightened. There is here a large village, with a church in it, which goes under the names of *Notre Dame de la Mer*, and *The three Marys*, in consequence of a popular tradition, that *Mary Magdalen*, *Mary the Mother of James*, and the other *Mary* mentioned in the

\* See Belidor's *Architecture hydraulique*.

† See *Nouvelle description de la France*, tom. v. p. 234, &c.



Gospels, with *Lazarus* and others, landed in this island, and took up their residence near this church, which, for this reason, is said to be the oldest in all *France*. They that believe the first part of this story may easily admit the last.

But now, leaving the island of *Camargue* and the *Rhône*, we proceed to the isle of *Martigues*, in the mouth of the sea of *Martigues*, or the Lake of *Berre*. This little island is cut by six canals, which seem to divide it in five lesser isles, or small spots of ground, quite incompassed by water. On the middlemost of these lesser islands stands the town of *Martigues*, which, by bridges over the three canals on each side of it, communicates with the two towns of *Jonquieres* and *Ferrieres*, on the continent. The two latter may be considered as the suburbs of the former, or the three towns may be conceived to be, in some measure, united together into one, which is perhaps the reason why the *French* often mention them under the general name of *Les Martigues*. These towns were formerly very populous; but in this respect they have declined very much since the beginning of the present century. We are assured that before the year 1700, they contained more than 15 thousand inhabitants, and in the year 1724 they were reduced to 8 thousand, nor do we hear that they have increased since. Out of these seven thousand are sailors, and reckoned the best of their profession in the whole province.

The principal employment of the inhabitants is fishing, and this seems to be the only branch of trade that is carried on here, at least with any sort of vigour or spirit. The canals we have mentioned are of great use to them for this purpose, by means of the machines, in their language called *Bourdigues*, in *English*, *Leaps*, which they set up in them. These machines are so contrived, that the fish can get easily into them, but by no means find their way out; and, as they extend from one

side of the canal to the other, none above a certain size can pass them. This one method of fishing in these six canals is said to bring in to the proprietors of the *Bourdigues* upwards of 13 thousand livres. In short, the fishing trade is carried on here all the year round, many hands are employed in it, and with considerable success; for, besides their home consumption, and what they dispose of in the more remote parts of the province, they export every year to from three to four hundred quintals of salt eels. The inhabitants of *Martigues* likewise gather in their own island and its neighbourhood about 20 quintals of vermilion, which is sent to *Marseilles*, and by the merchants of that place exported to *Africa*; they also fish for coral near Cape *la Couronne*, about two leagues to the Southward of *Martigues*, which they, in like manner, vend at *Marseilles*. The origin of the town of *Martigues*, like that of many others, is a little obscure. It is said that, about the year 1220, the island was inhabited only by a few fishermen, who had built a few inconsiderable huts in it, but by what degrees, or at what time, it rose to the rank of a town, we cannot assert. There is at *Martigues* a dock for careening and refitting small vessels; but these can get up to it only by one of the canals we have taken notice of about that place, and even this is so filled up, that such as want reparation must leave their loading or ballast at the *Port de Bouc*.

We conclude with observing, that the situation of *Martigues* is very pleasant, as it lies in an agreeable valley, formed by a chain of hills to the South, about the distance of a quarter of a league from it, and on the North by several rising grounds, planted with vines and olive trees. It has on the West the sea of *Martigues*, about nine leagues in circumference, with seven pleasant villages at different distances round, which

which are all within sight of *Martigues*. This sea is also called the *Lake of Berre*, from the town of that name, standing on the side of it, at the mouth of the little river of *Arc*, which was, in former times, thought one of the strongest places in *Provence*. It was taken by *Charles Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, in the year 1591, after a vigorous siege, and though all the rest of the province soon submitted to *Henry IV.* yet this Prince could not recover the little town of *Berre* out of the Duke's hands, till the conclusion of the treaty of *Vervins*, in the year 1598, by one of the articles whereof it was restored to *France*. But now to proceed, on the East side of the island of *Martigues*, the lake of *Berre* communicates with that of *Caronte*, which, being one league in breadth, extends three in length, and terminates at the Port of *Bouc*, on the border whereof are five other canals, with so many *bourdigues*, or fishing machines, which are said to bring their proprietors five thousand livres a year.

The harbour of *Bouc* has formerly been of great use to the country of *Provence*, and the kingdom in general, not so much on account of the trade carried on in it, as by its being a sanctuary, and place of refuge, to the vessels tossed in stormy weather on the dangerous coast in that neighbourhood, whereof it has saved, and still continues to save great numbers. But it is past all doubt, that for some time past it has greatly declined, and become worse and worse, by means of great quantities of mud lodged in it. This evil is in part ascribed to the mismanagement of the proprietors of the *Bourdigues*, or fishing machines of *Bouc*, just now mentioned, who, by lengthening their canals and causeways, have greatly encroached upon the harbour. All this may be true; but the great source of the misfortune is from the late breach in the *Rhône*, which gave rise to the *Canal de l'Aune*.

We have already mentioned the bank formed by this new branch of the *Rhône* across the bay of *Foz*, and shall now add, that all winds, from South to West, which commonly put the sea in great agitation, drive the mud and lightest materials, brought down by the *Canal de l'Aune*, toward the mouth of the harbour of *Bouc*, whilst the winds that blow from the land, and do not raise the sea, cannot undo or redress the bad effects of the former. Hence it is, that this harbour fills up very fast, insomuch that though, in the year 1700, it was capable of admitting thirty six galleys at once, four cannot now lye in it with security; and it is confidently asserted, by such as have best opportunities to know the truth, that, before the end of this century, it will become entirely useless, if effectual measures are not taken to prevent it. The methods proposed for this purpose are, first, to shut up entirely the *Canal de l'Aune*, and reduce the water in it to its antient channel: this is thought so essential, that nothing can be effected without it; for so long as this canal continues, it will necessarily bring down great quantities of earth and sand; and a considerable part of these materials will naturally be carried to the harbour of *Bouc*, by the force of the winds and storms. Secondly, to open the canal, proposed by the *Mareschal de Vauban*, from *Arles*, or the church of *St. Trophimus*, to the port of *Bouc*, which, it is expected, would, in a short time, restore that harbour, and contribute in a great measure, by carrying off all the superfluous water, to prevent the frequent inundations of the *Rhône*, so prejudicial to the navigation of that river. \* These projects have been long under the consideration of the Court of *France*, but nothing has, hitherto, been done towards the execution of

\* See *Belidor's Architecture Hydraulique*, Vol. 2d.



them; nor is it easy to say whether they would be attended with success.

A little to the South of this harbour is a little island, whereon stands the tower and fort of *Bouc*, for the defence of that island, and the harbour of the same name; and about

a league and an half to the South of this tower *Cape la Couronne*, or *Crown Point*, already mentioned, which separates the gulph of *Foz* from another bay, that takes its name from the famous city and port of

## M A R S E I L L E S.

**T**HIS town stands on the West side of the bay, in the latitude of 43 degrees 19 minutes north, and 5 degrees 25 minutes to the Eastward of the meridian of *London*.

This city is most advantageously situated for carrying on trade with all parts of the world. It is also of a considerable extent, and very populous. A late *French* author reckons the inhabitants of every age and sex to be about 80,000; and this is generally reckoned a very moderate computation, considering how much the place has increased of late years, and the great resort there is to it on account of its great opulence and trade. Some even think the reckoning is far short of the truth, and found their conjectures upon the number of bastides, or little country houses, belonging to the rich citizens, which are generally allowed to exceed 6000, and, if we believe some authors, amount at least to 10,000. It is divided into two, the new town and the old. The old town is a very indifferent place, though situated upon a rising ground above the harbour; the streets are narrow

and nasty, and the houses ill built: but the new town, on the contrary, is exceeding well laid out, and the streets very neat. It is separated from the old by a beautiful long street, extending from the gate of *Aix* to that of *Rome*, with two rows of trees on each side; the houses are also intirely uniform, and decorated with porticos and large pillars, having bases and chapiters.

The cathedral church, called the *Majeur*, stands in the old town; it is very large and stately, but in nothing else very remarkable: only the curious take notice of an *Arabic* inscription on a piece of marble over a tomb, supposed to be the burying place of a *Mabometan* priest, who died at *Marseilles* during the time that the *Saracens* were masters of that city. The abbey of *St. Victor* is one of the most ancient and most distinguished in all *France*. It is built over a large grotto, cut out of the solid rock, where, according to a tradition generally received in *Provence*, *Mary Magdalen* performed a seven years penance, and then, for the sake of greater privacy, retired to *Saint Beaume*. After her departure, if we will credit

credit the story, the Christians about *Marseilles* frequented this grotto, and erected an altar near the mouth of it. Thus matters continued till the arrival of *St. Cassian*, who was determined to spend the rest of his days in this place, and laid the foundation of the monastery, which at first was called by his name; but now goes under that of *St. Victor*. It was destroyed by the *Visigoths*, about the year 464, but soon after rebuilt, and continued to prosper till the irruption of the *Saracens* in the ninth century, who demolished it a second time. *William I.* Viscount of *Marseilles*, and his brother, who at the same time was bishop of that see, restored once more the abbey of *St. Victor*; and the church belonging to it, called also the Church of *St. Victor*, was dedicated with great pomp and ceremony, in the year 1040. Pope *Benedict IX.* assisted at the solemnity in person, attended by the archbishops and bishops of the neighbouring provinces. *Urban V.* at first a simple monk, afterwards abbot of *St. Victor*, and at last raised to the Papal throne, expressed his regard to the place wherein he had spent a great part of his days, by covering the abbey wall with a complete case of cut stone, and adding to it two large towers, which are still standing. This same Pope, before his death, which happened at *Avignon*, ordered his remains to be interred near the high altar of *St. Victor*, and a great number of lamps are, to this day, kept constantly burning over his tomb. *Margaret* Queen of *Scots*, by her will, in the year 1374, bequeathed to this abbey a thousand florins of gold, a sum which, in those days, was nowise contemptible. We should have taken notice before, that *Urban V.* already mentioned, among his other benefactions to this monastery, built a steeple in form of a large tower, and placed in it a set of three and twenty bells. And, to conclude, the same Pope, that he might do a signal service to

the monks of *St. Victor*, with no great expence to himself, sent them, inclosed in a silver box, some old rags and rotten bones, which he called relicks of saints, and, among other such sacred remains, the skulls of *St. Cassian* and *St. Victor*. The grand Prior of *France* is abbé of *St. Victor*, and, as such, has an yearly revenue of seventy thousand livres; and the three principal officers under him six thousand each. The monks of this abbey belonged to the order of *St. Benedict*; but they were all secularized in the year 1739. There are, besides the abbey of *St. Victor*, a convent of *Mimims*, another of *Carthusians*, and two of Nuns, at *Marseilles*, viz. the nuns of *St. Saviour*, of the order of *St. Benedict*, and those of *Mount Sion*, of the order of the *Cestertians*; both in the suburbs; and fraternities of penitent Friars of all colours.

Before the year 1727, there was but one public college at *Marseilles*, which was under the direction of the fathers of the oratory, and consisted of eight classes. It was founded in the year 1625, by the town of *Marseilles*, who obliged themselves to pay annually to the said fathers, for ever, the sum of 2,400 livres. *Lewis XIII.* of *France*, who had a particular esteem for the fathers of that congregation, gave them, on this occasion, marks of his favour, by letters patent in behalf of this college, which he took under his special protection. In the year 1727, *M. de Matignon*, bishop of *Condom*, founded another college of *Jesuits*, which he dedicated to the immaculate Conception of the *Virgin Mary*. In the month of *August* 1726, *Lewis XV.* by letters patent of that date, erected an academy of *belles lettres* at *Marseilles*. It consists of twenty members, who, by their constitution, are obliged to send yearly some essay of their own to the *French* academy at *Paris*, and to chuse one of that society for their protector. We shall only add on this subject,



subject, that this academy at *Marseilles* held their first meeting at the town-house, with great pomp and parade, on the 23d of *April* 1727.

*Marseilles* is surrounded with a stone wall, flanked with redents all the way from *St. John's Fort* to the gate of *Rome*, and from that to the citadel of *St. Nicholas*, by a wall defended by four bastions; but on neither side is the stone wall supported by an earthen rampart, or has it any ditch or covered way. A fortification of this kind would not, in all probability, make a good defence against the modern methods of attack. This inconvenience was considered in the reign of *Lewis XIV.* and the celebrated *Mareschal de Vauban* proposed a scheme for fortifying it, so as to render it altogether impregnable on the land side, as it is already so by sea. One part of his plan was to build a citadel round *Notre-Dame de la Garde*, a small fort standing upon a rock, which commands the whole town and the harbour; but no part of this project has been hitherto put in execution.

The city of *Marseilles*, in a great measure, owes its fame and wealth to its harbour, which is extremely well situated for trade. It is of an oval form, and large enough to contain between six or seven hundred vessels at once, being of a very considerable length, but of a moderate breadth. Its depth in different places is from fifteen to eighteen feet only; and therefore it cannot receive very large ships. The entrance of it is defended by the citadel on one side, and *Fort St. John* on the other; and the town pays yearly twenty-five thousand livres for keeping it in good repair. It has a quay on each side. That on the North is most frequented, on account of the fine houses and shops that are on it. This quay, being about five hundred *French* fathoms in length, and between three and four in breadth, affords a most agree-

able walk. About the middle of it there is a large square, thirty fathoms every way, in the front whereof stands the town-house. This edifice is much esteemed by the curious. A great part of it was built according to a plan drawn by the celebrated *Peter Puget*; but some ornaments, that have been since added, have very much obscured its original beauty. The arms of *France*, admirably well cut on a fine block of marble, are placed on the frontispiece, and, in 1726, a pompous inscription was added.\*

From this place the quay is continued to the foot of *St. John's Fort*, in the neighbourhood of which is the board of health, which was erected soon after the pestilence that happened in the year 1720. The first building that presents itself to those that enter this fort is an old tower, which is a commandery of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*. *Lewis XIV.* when he was at *Marseilles* in the year 1660, ordered this tower to be fortified with two *Demi-Bastions*, a ditch, a half-moon, and a covered way, on the side next the town. The other sides of the tower, surrounded by the sea, are defended by redents round the rock, with a *faussebraye* at the foot of the wall, for the convenience of defending the entrance of the harbour by a battery of twenty pieces of cannon, almost as low as the surface of the water. The other quay opposite to the former, just now mentioned, runs along the South side of the harbour, and ends at the foot of the fort called the *Citadel of St. Nicholas*. About the middle of

\* *Massilia Phœcenium filia, Romæ soror, Carthaginis terror, Athenarum æmula. Altrix disciplinarum, Gallorum agros, mores, animos, novo cultu ornavit. Illustrat quam sola fides. Muros quos vix Cæsari cesserat, contra Carolum V. meliori omine tuetur. Omnium fere gentium commerciis patens. Europam quam modo terruerat, modo docuerat, alere & ditare gaudet. An. M, DCC, XXVI.*

this

this quay is the dock for building merchants ships, and, on each side of this dock, a great number of magazines, and several manufactures of soap. This citadel was built by order of *Lewis XIV.* in the year 1662. It is an oblong square, flanked with four bastions and four half-moons, having a second inclosure of several bastions, and saliant angles, towards the country, covered with a ditch and glacis, cut out of the rock; and on the side next the harbour two bastions and a *Queue d'hironde*, terminating at the chain of the harbour, with a *faussebray*, of the same kind with that of *St. John's Fort*, just now mentioned, on the opposite side. The two stone pillars, to which the chain that shuts up the mouth of the harbour is fixed, are but seventeen *French* fathoms distant from one another, so that there is room for one ship only to enter at a time; and this narrow passage is so effectually commanded by the two forts and *faussebrays*, just now described, that it is next to impossible for any hostile ship or squadron to force its way into the harbour. It has also this singular advantage, of being quite covered from high seas and stormy winds, by a promontory before the mouth of it, which, without rendering it of difficult access, makes it absolutely secure. So that it may be said, that no harbour can be better disposed, nor more happily situated, as will easily appear to those who take the pains to view with attention the annexed plan.

*Marseilles* was made a free port by *Lewis XIV.* in the year 1669, and continued for many years the place of rendezvous, and resort of the galleys of *France*. \* On this account

\* The French King's galleys are long low vessels, that draw but little water, and move very quickly by force of oars and sails. They carry very few great guns, as their principal dependance is upon swivels and small arms. For this reason, there is a select body of marines appointed for that service;

the Prince just now mentioned was at the expence of constructing magnificent docks, and erecting two grand arsenals, stored with great plenty and variety of all sorts of materials for building and arming such vessels. The first, called the *Old Arsenal*, was erected in the years 1664, 1665, and 1666, during the ministry of *M. Colbert*, and under the direction of *M. Arnoul*, at that time Intendant of the galleys: the second, called the *New Arsenal*, was finished in 1690. In this there are magazines for sails, and every other utensil necessary for equipping and refitting galleys; shops for bakers, painters, carvers, ship-carpenters, and black-smiths; schools for naval architecture and navigation; rope-walks, and an armoury said to exceed every thing of that kind in the rest of *Europe*. Beside these arsenals, *Lewis XIV.* erected, in 1701, a building for the reception and employment of two thousand invalid galley-slaves, constantly occupied in making sails and other necessities; but, in the year 1748, these galleys, with the whole apparatus belonging to them, were removed to *Toulon*, and united to the marine of that place.

and they are said to be among the best troops of the kingdom. In the year 1737, there were sixteen galleys in the harbour of *Marseilles*, and the largest of them carried seven hundred men, and had fifty-six oars, every one of which employed five men. They are rowed by slaves, an unhappy set of men, doomed, a great many of them at least, to perpetual bondage, heavy chains, hard labour, and cruel usage. Some of them, however, have little shops on the quay, near the galleys, where they are allowed to work some times at their various trades, for their own account. A gentleman who happened to be at *Marseilles*, about three and twenty years ago, observed over the door of one of these shops this inscription, *Ecrivain pour les affaires d'importance*. We cannot forbear adding, that the rattling of so many chains, and the sight of so many men in such wretched circumstances, must be very shocking, at least to strangers, who are not accustomed to such objects. 'Tis true, many of them may have deserved the severest punishment; but there are others, whose greatest crime it is to have been dissenters from the established religion, however absurd and impious, or natives of a country at war with *France*.



To conclude, the harbour lies at the bottom of a bay, which serves instead of a road to it; but this road is far from being so convenient as that at *Toulon*; because the ships in it are exposed to the South and South-East winds, and only sheltered from those that blow from the East and South-West. About the middle of this road, or bay, there are three islands, or rather rocks, with a fort upon each of them. That which lies next to the shore is called the *Isle of If*, and defended by a castle of the same name, consisting of a square fort, flanked with several towers, and an outward wall, with salient and re-entering angles, which incloses the whole rock, or island. The sea about this island is very deep, and there is no anchoring ground near it. A boat belonging to the castle brings necessaries to the garrison in the day-time, but dare not venture to approach the island in the night. The garrison of the castle of *If* consists of three companies of invalids, commanded by a Major in the absence of the Governor, who seldom or never resides in the island. The next to this is called *Rattonneau*, or *St. Stephen's Isle*, and defended by a square fort, flanked with towers; there are also batteries built at the extremities of the island, where cannon and mortars may be placed occasionally. This fort is garrison'd by a small detachment from the garrison of *If*. The third is the isle of *Pomègue*, called also *St. John's Island*, and defended by a large tower, built upon the highest rock in the island. This fort is generally guarded by a lieutenant, a serjeant, and fifteen private men, detached from the garrison of the castle of *If*. At the end of this little island there is a natural harbour, where ships, from the *Levant*, and from *Barbary*, suspected of infection, perform *Quarantine*, and, on the shore, a barrack, wherein an Intendant of health resides, with some boats under his direction, to take care

that none of the crews of the suspected ships come on shore: The ships bound for the harbour of *Marseilles* generally anchor between the two last mentioned islands. About a league and an half to the windward of these three islands there is another, called the *Isle of Planiere*, in which there is little remarkable, but the remains of an old square tower, which formerly served as a light-house to direct vessels to the road of *Marseilles*. Besides the forts of the islands, there are a number of batteries, placed at proper distances on the shore, the fires whereof, crossing those of the forts just now mentioned, effectually command every part of the road, and defend the approaches to the harbour.

We should now proceed to give some account of the trade of *Marseilles*; but this is so extensive, that we cannot be very particular upon the subject, without drawing out this article far beyond the bounds we have proposed. In general, the town of *Marseilles* engrosses almost all the trade of this and the neighbouring provinces, and we may venture to say, the greatest part of the foreign trade of the whole kingdom.

The merchants of *Marseilles* export yearly to *Italy* about six thousand bales of different sorts of cloth, supplied by the manufactories of *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, and *Provence*. This, it is allowed, is the principal article of their commerce with that country; but they send besides large quantities of almonds, about two hundred barrels of honey, the like quantity of figs and prunes, four thousand weight of salt eels, capres, olives, and anchovies, twenty thousand weight of oil, and of grain and flower of *Aspic*; six thousand pieces of cotton sail-cloth, manufactured at *Marseilles*; brandy to the value of an hundred thousand livres; cotton stockings and shirts, and woollen and thread stockings. In

return

return for these articles of commerce, they import from *Italy* about six thousand quintals of hemp from *Piedmont*, and as many of rice from *Nice* and *Oneglia*; two thousand quintals of rice from *Lombardy*, shipped at *Genoa*; fifteen thousand loads of corn from *Venice* and *Ancona*, one thousand from *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, and as much from *Civita-Vecchia*; fifteen hundred quintals of sulphur from *Civita-Vecchia* and *Ancona*; two hundred quintals of anise from the States of *Rome*; seven hundred and fifty cases of manna from *Sicily*, the States of *Rome*, and *Mount St. Angelo*, in *Calabria*.

The trade which the merchants of *Marseilles* carry on with *Spain* is much more considerable than that with *Italy*. To this country they export linens of the manufacture of *France* and other places; stuffs manufactured at *Tours*, brocaded silks, &c. to the amount of twelve hundred thousand livres; gold and silver laces, box and fig-tree combs made at *Marseilles*, pins, &c. Various sorts of stuffs from *Lyons*, silks and brocades from *St. Chamont* and *Avignon*; small wares from *St. Stevens*; linens from *Bretagne*; camblets from *Lille*; serges from *Nismes*, hats, incense, gum-arabic, galls, drugs of all sorts, &c. In short, the commodities exported yearly from *Marseilles* to *Spain* are said to amount to nine millions of livres. The returns are made in cochineal, indigo, campeachy wood, wool from *Segovia* and other parts of *Spain*, sarfa-parilla, vermilion, silks, several sorts of oil, raisins, piastres, or dollars, &c.

But the most considerable trade of all is that of the *Levant*. The *Venetians* and *Genoese* were the first that set this trade on foot: the *French* seem not to have engaged heartily in it, till the year 1550, when they set up factories at *Constantinople*, the isle of *Cyprus*, on the coast of *Syria*, and at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. To *Constantinople* the merchants of *Marseilles* export several sorts of cloth and stuffs ma-

nufactured in *France*; woollen caps, paper, oil of *Aspic*, tartar, almonds, small wares, clocks and watches, and some other commodities that are the produce of *France*. They send also all sort of spicery from the *East Indies*; cochineal, indigo, sarfa-parilla, quick-silver, camphire, sublimate, arsenic, brazil and campeachy wood, cerufs, brass, and tin. In return for these they bring home several sorts of wool, buffaloes hides, yellow wax, allum, mastic, goats hair, box-wood, &c. and in this trade four or five large ships, and eight or ten lesser vessels, from 100 to 150 tons, are said to be yearly employed. Seven or eight ships, from three to four hundred tons burthen, and four or five lesser vessels, are sent yearly from *Marseilles* to *Smyrna*. They carry out the same commodities as to *Constantinople*; only there is a greater demand for caps at *Smyrna*, on account of the vast numbers of *Armenians*, *Greeks*, and others resorting to this place, who make use of them. The returns are made in the commodities of that country, such as cotton, cotton cloth, hemp thread, sponge, goats hair, camblets, carpets for tables, and floor cloths; drugs, galls, hair of the goats of *Angora* and *Bebazar*, which is exceeding fine and white, of an uncommon length, and very proper for making camblets. No goats but those in the neighbourhood of these two cities of *Galatia* bear such hair, which is attributed to some peculiarity in the pastures of that country; for, it is said, that if these animals are carried out of their native climate, their hair loses its most valuable qualities. The ships of *Marseilles* also bring from *Smyrna* mastic, and turpentine of *Scio*, which is reckoned the best of any; but it is very scarce and dear, which is the reason why the apothecaries generally use, instead of it, *Venice* turpentine, which comes to them from *Cyprus*.

The greatest part of the trade of *Salonica* is carnica



ried on by the *Jews*. They send from *France* cloth and stuffs of several kinds, all sorts of paper, cochineal, spices, brass, and tin; and make their returns in leather, wool, wax, silks, cotton, thread, allum, a better and dearer sort of sponge than can be had at *Smyrna*, and tobacco. No ship is freighted at *Marseilles* for *Athens*; only some barks, in their return from other places, put in there and purchase oil, wool, silk, wax, &c. and whatever commodities they have occasion for at that place, they pay for with ready money. 'Tis not easy to ascertain the number of ships that are sent from *Marseilles* to *Crete* or *Candia*, because it depends on several variable circumstances, but sometimes they extend to a hundred in one year. The commodities the merchants of *Marseilles* send to *Candia* are several sorts of cloths and stuffs, caps, spicery ware, and money, in all amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand livres, or thereabout. The returns are made in wax, cheese, oil for the soap manufactures, and corn, in time of peace; for in time of war the exportation of corn is prohibited.

The *French* have consuls in some of the islands of the *Archipelago*, to which they trade; they have one, for instance, in the island of *Tines*; but their trade in that island comes to very little account. The island of *Miletus* produces no valuable commodity, but is the common resort of pirates and corsairs, and the merchants of *Marseilles* often send thither to purchase their prizes. There is a *French* consul in the island of *Naxos*; because, in time of war between the *Turks* and any of the *Christian* powers, several vessels from *Provence* resort to it with wine, cheese, &c. and become carriers for both armies; but, in time of peace, their trade with that island comes to little account.

Their trade to *Satalia* is engrossed by a particular

company of merchants in *Marseilles*, who send thither yearly about fifty-five thousand livres in ready money, and bring back the value in wool, goats hair, agaric, yellow wax, gum-dragon, opium, and currans. It must be observed, that the wax of *Satalia* is more esteemed than that of any other part of the *Levant*, but the cotton of that place is not reckoned so good.

*Lernica*, in the island of *Cyprus*, is a little village about a quarter of a league from the sea, and eight leagues from *Nicosia*, the capital of the island, in which the *Bashaw* has his residence. The *French* commerce there is very much confined, on account of the poverty of the inhabitants, who are grievously oppressed by the officers of the *Porte*. The vessels of *Marseilles*, however, in their way to *Alexandretta*, come to anchor about a quarter of a league from *Lernica*. They leave there some broad cloths, red caps of different sorts, pepper, cloves, Nutmegs, &c. to the value thirteen or fourteen thousand livres, and sixty-eight or sixty-nine thousand livres in ready money. In return for which they take a sort of silk, which is very handsome, strong and weighty, and therefore fitter than any other sort to be embroidered with gold and silver, as it has a better body, and is sold by weight. They likewise take damask and dimitty silks, cotton wool, cotton cloth, *Turkey* leather, a very good kind of wax, laudanum, colloquintida, vermilion, turpentine, storax, cyprus powder, which is nothing but the dust of rotten wood wet with water, and made into a paste. It is afterwards perfumed at *Venice*, and the demand for it is very great. In these commodities the *French* take yearly to the value of eighty-one or eighty-two thousand livres.

The merchants of *Marseilles* in former times carried on a considerable trade with *Alexandretta*, which is the port of *Alleppo*; but the excessive taxes imposed by the *Bashaws* upon

upon the caravans from *Persia* and *India*, obliged them to send the greatest part of their ships to *Smyrna*, where these officers, on account of the nearness of that place to *Constantinople*, dare not exact more than is due. However they still continue to send to *Alexandretta* two or three ships of 300 tons a-piece, and as many lesser vessels, of about 100 tons each. The commodities they export to this place are much the same with those they carry to *Constantinople* and *Smyrna*; but, besides these, they send out large sums of ready money. The returns are made in the commodities of the country, such as white silk, cotton-cloth, cotton-thread, *Turkey* leather, wax, goats hair, linen painted in the *Indian* fashion; ashes, galls, currans, prunes, and pistac nuts; in the commodities of *Persia*, such as silks of several sorts, stuffs made after the *Indian* fashion, from *Isfahan*, and brown and black goats hair; in *Indian* commodities, such as painted linen and *Indian* stuffs, cotton-cloth, muslins of several sorts, colours for painting, drugs, and materials for dying, diamonds, pearls, amber, musk, and civet; in the commodities of *Tartary*, consisting principally in drugs of all sorts; and, finally, in the commodities of *Arabia*, such as fenna, ostrich feathers, white balm, &c.

Nothing positive can be asserted concerning the number of *French* ships that put in every year to *Tripoli* in *Syria*; because they only touch at that port in their return, after they have taken in their loadings at *Aleppo* or *Seyde*. The goods they purchase there are chiefly silk, nut galls, wax, and ashes for the manufactures of soap. These ashes are reckoned the best in the *Levant*, and are easily distinguished when applied to the tongue, by a sharpness of taste not to be found in any other sort, at least in the same degree. The merchants of *Marseilles* purchase yearly of these goods to

the value of seventy-five thousand livres, with ready money; for the commodities of *Europe* find no vent there. The trade of *Marseilles* to *Seyde* is not near so considerable as has been in former times; they send, however, to this port six or seven ships, from 300 to 350 tons burden, and four or five lesser vessels, about 100 tons each. These carry in *European* goods to the value of twenty-one or twenty-two thousand livres, and about twenty-nine thousand livres in ready money. The returns are made in cotton-wool, cotton-thread, ashes, galls, wax, gum, sal-armoniac, scammony, cassia, fenna, soap, incense, ostrich feathers, pistac nuts, and *Damask* raisins, to the value of 258,000 livres.

The goods freighted at *Marseilles* for *Grand Cairo* in *Aegypt* are landed at *Alexandria*, which is about four leagues from that place. From thence they are carried to *Rosetta* at the mouth of the *Nile*, and then conveyed up the river to *Boulac*, a village about the distance of half a league from *Cairo*. Ten or twelve *French* ships arrive yearly at this port from *Marseilles*, with goods and ready money. The commodities they carry are principally caps, broad cloth, materials for dying, coral, brass and iron wire, small wares of brass and iron, piastres and reals. The returns are made in different sorts of leather, flax, *Aegyptian* wool, cotton-thread, saffron, wax, dates, hermo-dates, forbec, incense, coffee, myrrh, black and white heron's feathers, elephants teeth, gum, &c. \*

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\* This account of the French trade to Turkey is the substance of a memorial presented to the French ministry in the reign of Lewis XIV. by a gentleman of integrity and great abilities, who was sent to the Levant on purpose to procure an accurate state of the commerce of France in those parts. We have thought proper to lay it before our readers, because we could find no latter memoirs, upon this subject, that are so authentic. Some circumstantial variations, no doubt, have happened since that time; but, in all probability, the



Such is the trade the merchants of *Marseilles* carry on with the *Levant*, and tho' it is very considerable, they do not confine themselves to it alone. We have already taken notice of their commerce with *Spain* and *Italy*, we shall now mention their trade with *America*. Eight or ten ships set out yearly from *Marseilles* to that part of the world. The greatest part of these vessels are freighted for *Martinico*, the rest for *Cape Francois* and *Leogane*. They carry to these colonies the fruits and commodities of *France*, particularly soap, oil, wine, brandy, silks, *Indian* stuffs, white and blue cotton-cloth, coffee, and several other sorts of goods. In return for which they bring back to *Europe* sugars, indigo, cocoa, cassia, and other drugs which that country produces. For some time the merchants of *Marseilles* sent every year a ship to *Canada*, freighted with the same sort of goods. This trade succeeded for several years, but, in 1721, one of these ships, with the whole cargo, was cast away in the mouth of the river *St. Laurence*. Discouraged by this loss, and not finding the trade answer their expectation otherwise, they determined to lay it entirely aside.

Beside this trade they carry on with the *American* islands, they send yearly ten or twelve ships to *Nantes* and *Havre de Grace*, and some to the northern seas, for whence they bring tin, pitch, tar, and masts for ships.

There were formerly at *Marseilles* two companies of mer-

the general course of the trade is much the same in other respects; but from the great opulence, grandeur, and continual increase of the city of *Marseilles*, it is reasonable to think, that this commerce, which is its principal support, is of late considerably improved rather than diminished. Add to this that, in the year 1742 and 1743, while the English fleet lay at the bay of *Hieres*, they had frequently the mortification to see fleets of near an hundred sail of French merchant ships, at a time, coming from the *Levant* to *Marseilles*. See *Narrative of the proceedings of his Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, &c. from the year 1741, to March 1744, p. 35.*

chants that carried on an exclusive trade with the two *French* settlements in that part of *Africa* that lies on the coast of the *Mediterranean*, viz. *Cape Negro*, and *Calle*, or the *Bastion of France*. *Cape Negro* lies in the kingdom of *Tunis*. The *French* obtained a settlement there by a convention made with the Dey and other powers of that country in the year 1685, and several times confirmed since. In the month of *January* 1707 these two companies seem to have united, and to have assumed the name of the *African Company*, but they did not long retain that title, for, in 1718, they made a resignation of their right to that trade in favour of the *East India* company. The settlement at *Cape Negro* is very considerable, on account of the buildings, fortifications, and magazines erected there. Ships commonly perform voyages from *Marseilles* to this settlement, and return again to the ports of *Provence* in fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five days. The principal commodity, brought into *France* from that colony, is corn, whereof, in ordinary years, they import into *France* fifty-four thousand loads, at the rate of three hundred weight the load.

*Calle*, or the *Bastion of France*, lies in the kingdom of *Algiers*, about 59 leagues from *Cape Negro*. The *French* have been in possession of this settlement time out of mind, in consequence of solemn treaties made with the powers of that country, and confirmed in the reign of *Henry IV*. This settlement is still more considerable than the former in buildings, fortifications, and magazines. The *French* send to their colony here the commodities of their country, which find a ready vent at *Algiers*, and bring home in return corn, coral, and *Turkey* leather. The settlers at this place fish for coral from *Cape Roux* to *Bougie*. The old company employed in this trade forty armed boats, having each seven men on board, including the master. These boats have fished to the amount of

180 chests of coral in a year, each chest, one with another, worth 1500 livres; so that the whole year's fishing, at this rate, amounted to the sum of 270 thousand livres; a third of which being allowed for charges, and the payment of the boatmen, there remained of neat profit 180 thousand livres. The profits of the corn brought from these colonies were still more considerable, and the other branches of trade carried on with these settlements were sufficient for the payment of the factors, and the tribute due to the powers of *Tunis* for *Cape Negro*, and of *Algiers* for *Calle*, amounting in all to 24,367 piaſtres.

If the *India* company does not draw the same advantages from these colonies, it must be, because the times are less favourable for trade, or that their factors do not exert themselves to improve it to the best advantage. Be this as it may, it is certain that there are not at present above 26 or 27 boats employed in the fishing of coral at *Calle*, whereas, in former times, there were no less than 40. The old companies also took care to employ and encourage the coral manufactories at *Marseilles*, so that, at that time they were no less than forty in number, whereas now there are no more than two, and even these have not materials enough to keep them employed, especially since the company removed their coral magazine from *Marseilles* to *Genoa*.

*Marseilles* was originally founded by a colony of the *Phœceans*, from the coast of *Asia*. The time when this colony settled at *Marseilles* cannot be precisely ascertained; but it is gathered from the chronicles of *Eusebius* and *Eustatbius*, that it was towards the 44th olympiad, between the 143d and 146th year of *Rome*. This colony at first was very weak, but the accounts they sent to their native country, of the beauty of the place they had chosen for their residence, and

the fertility of the soil, drew, from time to time, numbers of their countrymen to their assistance; so that, in the course of a few years, their new establishment acquired sufficient strength to support itself against the natives of the country; and their little common-wealth soon became considerable for its extensive commerce, the industry of its inhabitants, and their proficiency in the arts and sciences. They taught in their schools, together with the language of the *Gauls*, the *Greek* and the *Latin* tongues, whence *Strabo* gives their town the epithet of *Trilinguis*. Nor did they satisfy themselves with instructing their youth in mere languages; they had also other schools for rhetoric, poetry, philosophy, physics, law, theology, mathematics, and astronomy. In short, the reputation of *Marseilles* became so great, that the *Romans* compared it to *Greece* itself; and even *Cicero* seems to give the former the preference. In this flow of prosperity the inhabitants of *Marseilles*, finding themselves overstocked with numbers, found it necessary to send out several colonies, particularly to *Agde* in *Languedoc*, and to *Nice* and *Antibes* in *Provence*. But what gave the greatest lustre to their city was the friendship of the *Romans*, which they cultivated by every method in their power. This led them to admit *Cæsar* into their country, when he entered upon the conquest of *Gaul*; which he at last completed, with that of *Marseilles* itself; because, as is pretended, the inhabitants of that town would not enter into his private views. After the fall of the *Roman* empire, *Marseilles* fell under the dominion of the *Goths*, and successively under that of the *Burgundians*, the *Franks*, and the *Saracens*, out of whose hands it was wrested by *Charles Martel*. It became afterwards a part of the kingdom of *Arles*, and begun to have have Lords of its own in the person of *Pons I.* the third son of *Bozon II.*

Count



Count of *Provence*, in whose family it continued long, and was afterwards annexed, with the rest of *Provence*, to the crown of *France*. But to come nearer to modern times.

In the year 1575, the Marechal *de Rais* having resigned the government of *Provence*, his resignation was followed by an insurrection at *Marseilles*, which had very bad consequences to that city and the neighbouring country. In former times the customs levied upon goods bought and sold in the place were the property of the town; but, after *Marseilles* came to be annexed to the crown of *France*, the Kings had invaded this privilege, on pretence that the customs could not be alienated without infringing the royal prerogative. *Henry III.* who at this time filled the throne of *France*, being at *Avignon*, some *Italian* bankers, whom the Queen-Mother had employed to supply her with the means of luxury and extravagance, persuaded the magistrates of *Marseilles*, that, upon payment of a certain sum of money, they might be reinstated in their ancient privilege. The agreement was accordingly made, and the money paid; but, instead of putting the town in the possession of its rights, one *Digiacet*, a *Florentine*, who was at the head of that branch of the revenue, levied the customs at *Marseilles* with greater rigour and severity than ever. The inhabitants, upon this, encouraged by their magistrates, having raised a tumult, pulled down the counting-houses of the farmers, and burnt their registers. Nor was this all, the evil spread throughout *Provence*, and carried fire and sword into the habitations of the farmers and custom-house officers of that country. This sedition was scarce composed, when another broke out, which lasted longer, and was attended with greater mischief, at least to the peasants, who generally suffer most in such cases. A party of the nobility and commons, resent-

ing the conduct of the Count *de Carces*, who, on pretence of expelling the *Huguenots*, was guilty of great excesses, took up arms against him. This party assumed the name of *Rafats*, as the opposite faction did that of *Carcists*. The latter so called from their chieftain, the former, either because they were shaved, to distinguish themselves from their opponents, who generally wore long beards, or because they meant, by this title, to upraid the Count *de Carces* with his extortions, whereby he had shaved the people so close, as to scrape off the skin.

In the year 1524, *Charles V.* Emperor of *Germany*, having entered *Provence* with a powerful army, determined to lay siege to *Marseilles*. The Constable *de Bourbon* and the Marquis *de Pescaro* were commissioned to carry it on by land, and *Hughes de Moncade* was ordered to invest it with a fleet by sea. *Francis I.* then King of *France*, being informed of his enemies design upon this place, sent to its defence *Philip Chabot*, Lord of *Brion*, together with *Rentio Ceres*, an *Italian* officer, who had been long in the *French* service. The place was defended with great vigour, and the King himself being arrived in *Provence*, at the head of an army of thirty-five, or forty thousand men, the *Germans* found it necessary to raise the siege, after they had continued forty days before the place, and lost a great many of their men. The Constable *de Bourbon*, after this disappointment, put his large artillery on board the galleys, and saw'd the field pieces in two, that he might carry them upon mules, because of the badness of the roads. He was pursued in his retreat by the Marshals *de Chabannes* and *Montmorency*, who killed a great many in the rear of his army, and took a considerable part of his baggage. The *French* fleet, commanded by Vice-Admiral *de la Fayette*, and *Andrew Doria*, closely pursued that of *Moncade*

*cade*, and, having come up with it, sunk three of his galleys: *Moncade* himself escaped with the rest to the port of *Nice*, and having taken out the equipages and artillery that were on-board, set the galleys on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the *French*.

In the year 1536, *Charles V.* again entered *Provence*, at the head of a mighty army, which, upon his approach to *Marfeilles*, he divided into three bodies. With one he encamped at *Aix*, the other he sent to besiege *Arles*, and the third to attack *Marfeilles*. Had the siege of *Arles* succeeded, he might have passed the *Rhône*, and found quarters for his army in *Languedoc*; and, by taking *Marfeilles*, he might have had provision by sea; but *Marfeilles* was defended by a strong garrison, a great part whereof were *French* nobility, and troops that had been pick'd out on purpose to defend this important place, which had been always considered as one of the keys of the kingdom, and therefore could not be soon taken; so that the Emperor's army before it, was in a fair way to be starved, there being neither forage nor provisions in the neighbourhood. *Charles*, in this dismal situation of affairs, resolved to withdraw in the most cautious manner he could, and therefore, leaving the Duke d' *Alva* to command the troops before *Marfeilles*, he returned to his camp at *Aix*, giving out, that he was to march his army to attack the *French* camp at *Avignon*. This report gained credit by the arrival of *Andrew Doria*, with the Imperial fleet, upon the coast of *Provence*, who brought money to pay the army, and some provisions. The Emperor's troops were, upon this, reviewed, bread given out for ten days, and nobody doubted but the *French* were to be attacked in their camp. But they were soon undeceived; for, next day, *Martin du Bellay*, who had been sent towards *Aix* to observe the motions of the Im-

perialists, acquainted the King that the Emperor had decamped, that he had taken the road over the *Alps* towards *Italy*, and left his camp full of dead and sick. This news occasioned great surprise; but the *French* were less astonished at it, when they were informed, that the Emperor, on the day that he reviewed his army, had found it diminished by above twenty thousand, and out of fifty thousand that had entered *Provence*, he had not thirty thousand left; that several general officers had died of distempers, and, among the rest, *Anthony de Leve*, upon whom he depended most, and who was, indeed, one of the greatest generals in *Europe*. The peasants came out of the woods and rocks on all sides, and knock'd all on the head, without mercy, whom they found straggling, or unable to follow the army. But, which was much worse, the King, being assured of the retreat of the enemy, detached the light horse after them, under the command of the Duke de *Tende*, and the Sieurs de *Bonneval*, de *Ceres*, and de *Langey*. The last of these, who gives the particulars of this flight, says, that in the short space between *Aix* and *Frejus*, the Emperor lost near 2000 men; and the passing over the *Alps*, where he was attack'd every moment, cost him many more. Thus ended the Emperor's second siege of *Marfeilles*, more to his disadvantage than the first. But the fortune of war is variable. *Francis*, by a too eager and ill conducted pursuit of his enemies into *Italy*, involved himself in many difficulties, which, at last, brought on the unhappy battle of *Pavia*, where eight thousand of his best troops were left upon the field of battle; together with a considerable number of his principal nobility, and he himself, having received two dangerous wounds, fell into the hands of his enemies, and was made prisoner.



In the year 1585, the partisans of the league having seized several of the most important places of the kingdom, the Duke de Nevers, who was devoted to that faction, form'd a design upon *Marseilles*, expecting by that means to become master of the whole country of *Provence*. With this view he advanced as far as *Avignon*, pretending to undertake a voyage to the baths of *Lucca*, and from thence to *Rome*, to accommodate some family affairs with his brother the Duke of *Mantua*, and, on pretence of guarding him against the *Turkish* pirates, procured four galleys from *Florence*, which he filled with infantry, and posted without the chain of the harbour to wait for an opportunity of getting in. An officer, of the name of *Vins*, had also collected a body of troops to assist in carrying on the project. The Duke had also gained *Lewis de la Motte Dariex*, a bold, enterprising and seditious man, who happened to be Under-Mayor that year, and had the principal authority in the absence of M. d'Arene, the chief magistrate, who had been sent to court some time before. This *Dariex* having entered into the conspiracy, had undertaken to admit the Duke's galleys into the harbour, and *Vins's* troops into the town, as soon as a convenient opportunity should offer for striking the blow. Accordingly, on the 8th of *April*, thinking matters ready for execution, he found means to raise a tumult against the Protestants, having first got reports spread by proper instruments, that they had formed a design to seize the town, and that he had got orders from the King to knock them on the head. The people were easily inflamed by the authority of their magistrate, who, to enrage them the more, ordered all the citizens to put white crosses in their hats, and, to set them an example, walked through the streets himself with this badge of sedition. When he had thus set the whole town in a flame, he

seized the fort of *Notre-dame de la Garde*, sent notice to *Vins* to come and take possession of it with his troops, and, as if he had had nothing more to fear, wrote to the Governor of the province, "that the city of *Marseilles* had declared for the King of Kings." This letter was signed by *Charles de Casaux*, *Anthony Cornille*, *Claud Boniface*, and some other profligate fellows, who had entered into the views of the Under-Mayor, and assisted him in raising the tumult; some, because they were privy to his designs, some in hopes of enriching themselves with plunder, and others to satiate their cruelty and vengeance. *Vins*, however, did not receive the message that was sent him soon enough, or found some difficulty in putting it in execution; but, for three days, the town was full of confusion and terror, so that no body could foresee how this uproar would end. By good luck there was in the town a person of great note, *Francis Bouquier* by name, whose venerable age, prudence and experience, had gained him so great authority, that he appointed the magistrates, and governed the people as he pleased. On this account he had many enemies, who, fearing that he would take this opportunity to destroy them, had taken sanctuary in the abbey of *St. Victor*. But, *Bouquier* having satisfied them, by persons whom he could trust, that he had no concern in *Dariex's* designs, nor any inclination to hurt them, exhorting them at the same time to stifle their private feuds, and unite for the common safety of their country; they were reconciled to him, and united heartily in the cause. This done, he pressed *Dariex* to show him by what authority he proceeded in this uncommon manner. *Dariex*, instead of returning a direct answer, solicited the other with great promises to support him in a project which would oblige all the great men in the kingdom; and, when he saw that

that he could not prevail, formed a design to assassinate him. And the truth is, had *Dariez's* forwardness and fury left him so much judgment as to have taken *Bouquier* out of the way in time, he had certainly made himself master of the town. But the latter, preventing his enemy, got so many well disposed citizens about him, that his party became the strongest, and one night, as he was walking the rounds, enclosed *Dariez* and *Bonniface* in a guard-room, and carried them prisoners to the town-house. Next morning, by break of day, the Grand Prior, who durst not approach *Marseilles* during the tumult, came post to town, attended by the Count *de Carces*, though he was *Vins's* uncle, and brought *Dariez* and *Bonniface* to their trial. They were tried, and condemned to be hanged that very day, and the sentence put in execution by the light of flambeaux at midnight. The town-council, being sensible they had not exerted themselves early enough in quelling the tumult, applied, of their own accord, to the parliament of *Aix* for pardon. But the king, for joy that the league had been disappointed in their design of surprising the town, and to encourage others by the example of *Marseilles*, received the deputies with demonstrations of perfect satisfaction, and sent advice to all the governors of provinces, of what the inhabitants of *Marseilles* had done on that occasion, with the highest commendations of their prudence and fidelity.

Thus the city of *Marseilles*, at this time, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the league; but it was not always so lucky. In the year 1590, the Duke of *Savoy*, by his intrigues, the force of his money, which he distributed very liberally among his friends, together with the interest

of the Countess *de Sault* and the Count *de Carces*\*, gained a strong party at *Marseilles*. The King had also a great many friends in the place, who raised a tumult, in hopes of being able to stop the Duke's progress, and drive the *Savoyards* entirely out of the town; but the other faction being by far the strongest, this attempt served only to strengthen the Duke's interest, as it obliged a great many of the contrary party to leave the place, in consequence of which the whole town declared for the league. But, two years thereafter, that is in 1592, another revolution happened at *Marseilles*, by the intrigues of *Charles de Cassaux* and *Lewis de Aix*, who contrived a scheme for securing the government of the town to themselves.

*Cassaux*, the son of an eminent merchant, an intriguing and forward man, had been promoted to the dignity of principal Mayor of the town, by the interest of the Countess *de Sault*. As soon as he had tasted the sweets of power, he

\* The Duke of Savoy, the Countess of Sault, and the Count de Carces, seemed to be perfectly united together, in favour of the league; but, in reality, every one of them had their separate views, and were extremely jealous of one another. The Duke's aim was evidently to secure the sovereignty of Provence to himself. The Countess was a woman of great ambition, and great power and interest in the province; she wanted to introduce the Duke into the country, not so much with design to encrease his power, as to strengthen and improve her own. She was willing to assist him, to a certain pitch, by her interest and her creatures; but, at the same time, made it her business to take care, that he should not become so powerful as not to want her assistance; the Count de Carces also was willing to secure the Duke's friendship and interest, because he could not stand upon his own legs, and wanted that great man's power to support him. Being himself the first man of the province, and appointed Lieutenant-General of the army by the parliament, he was willing to give the Duke so much footing in the country, as was necessary for him, in order to make head against *La Valette*, the King's General in those parts; but not to suffer him to establish himself so in it, as that it should not be in his (*Carces's*) power to drive him out, when he should find it for his purpose.

formed



formed a design of continuing it; and to strengthen himself by a companion of his own disposition, found means to get *Lewis d'Aix*, a man of small fortune, but very bold and extremely wicked, promoted to the office of Under-Viguier.\* These two having formed a project for sharing the whole authority between them, artfully kept on their guard from the Duke of *Savoy*, who was near, but shewed the utmost regard and respect for the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was at a distance from them; and the latter, on his part, supported these two usurpers, that he might weaken the Duke of *Savoy's* interest, imagining that it would be much easier for him to crush them, when he should think proper, than to drive out so powerful a prince, if he should once get footing in the town. But the Count *de Carces* was not satisfied with their fair speeches, he insisted that they should actually acknowledge and submit to him as the head of the party, and commander in chief of the provincial troops, which they having refused to do, he determined to surprise *Marfeilles* that very night by the following stratagem.

He advanced under the covert of darkness, with his troops, to the number of three thousand, within a quarter of a league of the town, and placed 300 carabineers and 50 halberdeers in ambuscade, within 500 paces of the walls, with orders to attack the gate of *Aix* at 5 o'clock in the morning, keeping his main body in readiness to support them. The friends he had in the town waited only for the hour to take arms in his favour, and perhaps the giddy multitude would have ranged themselves on his side. But while they were distributing powder to the 300 carabineers, it happened that a

\* The Viguier is the criminal judge within a certain district called the *Viguerie*, and the Under-Viguier his deputy. It is to be observed that these terms *Viguier*, *Sous-Viguier*, and *Viguerie* are only used in *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Roussillon*.

thoughtless soldier let a spark fall from his match upon an open cask of powder, which immediately took fire, and, blowing up, killed nine or ten men, scorched fifty or sixty, and terrified all the rest. This unforeseen accident put the Count's troops in disorder, and obliged him to retire, not doubting but the design was discovered. And, in fact, the great flash of fire, and the loud cries of the unhappy sufferers, who, through extremity of pain, were running up and down like distracted persons, alarmed the inhabitants of *Marfeilles*, who, having already had some hints of the design, marched out in good order, and eagerly pursued the Count for half an hour. This enterprise raised, to the highest pitch, that hatred which subsisted before between the towns of *Aix* and *Marfeilles*; so that the two tyrants forbid all communication with *Aix* under pain of death, and established their usurped power more firmly than before, making use of this attempt as a pretence for banishing every one they suspected, levying taxes, raising troops that depended entirely upon themselves, and building forts to enslave the town, on pretext of preserving it.

About this time the Countess *de Sault* being arrived from *Languedoc* with an hundred soldiers, in the Duke of *Montmorency's* galley, with whom, and the Duke *d'Espernon*, she had had some conversation at *Agde*, *Casaux* took it in his head, with what truth we cannot say, that she had agreed to deliver up the town to them, and concerted measures to get her assassinated: but the lady having got some information of her danger, made her escape that night with *Begaudan*, whose abstinence gave *Lewis d'Aix* an opportunity to get himself made Viguier by the Duke *de Mayenne*. The Countess, whether out of resentment or premeditated design, united her interest with the Duke *d'Espernon*, and was concerned in an enterprise which he soon after formed against *Arles*, wherein he had no success.

The

The Duke, notwithstanding this and other disappointments, was still obstinately bent upon securing for himself the government of *Provence*, perhaps in a manner more absolute and independent than any governor ought to aspire to. Therefore, next year, he formed a design against *Marseilles*, the reduction of which he resolved by all means to attempt. With this view, having seized *Aubagne*, *Oriol*, *Roquevaire*, and some other villages thereabout, abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled to the town for sanctuary, he advanced one night to the gate of *Aix*, at the head of 1200 cavalry compleatly armed, and 2000 foot. The outer gate was easily broke open with a petard, and by this means the Duke got into the ravelin. There were but fifteen men that kept guard upon the wall, and they discharged but one shot at the assailants; so that if the Petard had succeeded as well at the second gate as at the first, the Duke must certainly have made himself master of the town. But the opening made in the second gate being too little, and the aggressors not having time enough to enlarge it, the Duke thought proper to retire, before the inhabitants could assemble to fall upon him in his retreat. From this time *Marseilles* being constantly, as it were, blocked up by the garrisons about, that it could have no provisions by land, and the ships of *Toulon* intercepting all their convoys by sea, as they had no galleys at *Marseilles* to keep them at a distance, was reduced to such straits, that the common people had nothing to eat but bread made of millet, vetches, dry chesnuts, and other fruits; and found by experience, that bread failing in time of a siege, they could find provision enough of this sort in their magazines to keep them alive for four months. An entire stop was also put to their *Levant* trade, the Sultan *Amurath*, gained by the solicitations of *Francis Savary de Breves*,

the *French* ambassador at the *Porte*, having sent two *Capigis* to assure them, that, if they did not submit to their King, he would treat them as his greatest enemies, seize all their goods he should find in his dominions, and make their people slaves. All these distresses, however, could not prevail with them to abandon the league, under colour whereof, *Casaux* and *d'Aix* continued to maintain their tyranny, notwithstanding the conspiracies that were formed against them, which always ended in the ruin of the conspirators.

Thus matters continued till the year 1596, when the Duke of *Guise*, who had sometime before been reconciled to the King, having driven the *Savoyards* out of the province, and reduced the other places in it, that had not before abjured the league, at last turned his thoughts towards *Marseilles*. The two tyrants, far from being desirous to be comprehended in the treaty concluded by the Duke of *Mayenne*, had rendered their rebellion unpardonable, and carried their tyranny to the highest pitch. For having got themselves continued in the offices of Mayor and Viguiers, by forced suffrages, they burnt the King in effigie, on the day of their pretended election, with all the opprobrious circumstances that outrageous insolence could contrive; they banished great numbers of the best citizens, doubled their guards, increased the number of their spies, and built forts to keep the town in captivity. All these means, however, were not able to constrain the inclinations of the people, or keep them longer from returning to their lawful Sovereign. Moreover, the interruption of trade had reduced the town to extreme indigence, famine had driven the people to despair, and, in a little time, this great city must either have become a desert, or exerted itself to shake of the yoke of tyranny. In this situation the two usurpers, distressed with a thousand apprehensions



hensions from the conspiracies of their fellow citizens, and the enterprises of the royal party against them; yet still more tormented by the remorse of their own consciences, the severest scourge of tyrants; and, on the other hand, tempted by the great advantages which the King offered, were often on the point of making their escape from *Marseilles*, or of treating with the King, as the other chiefs of the league had done before. *Casaux*, in particular, was constantly pressed to this by his son *Fabio*; but the advice of *Nicholen David*, a citizen, who had great influence upon them, the remembrance of the horrid violences they had committed, which left them no hopes of safety among a people naturally vindictive, and the vast promises of the *Spaniards*, who offered them dukedoms in the kingdom of *Naples*, governments of strong places, and large sums of money, not only diverted them from that measure, but determined them to carry matters to extremity, and to do what they had always been afraid of before, that is, to put themselves entirely into the hands of the *Spaniards*. They, therefore, dispatched three citizens of their own party, in quality of ambassadors, to the King of *Spain*, to treat with him about the means necessary for preserving the town, till they could deliver it up to him. But being hard put to it in the mean time, they obtained from *John Andrew Doria*, Prince of *Melfe*, a reinforcement of seven or eight hundred men, which he sent them on board of four galleys, under the command of his son *Charles*. Upon his arrival, the inhabitants of *Marseilles* trembled for fear; they expected every moment to see themselves loaded with irons, and every mark of foreign slavery, yet, the knife being at their throat, they durst not show the least symptom of terror. The Duke de *Mayenne*, when he concluded his treaty with the King, had sent to *Marseilles* *Stephen Bernard*, at that time counsel-

lor and keeper of the seals to the parliament of *Burgundy*, on pretence of succeeding *M. Masperaut*, as chief intendant of Justice, but, in reality, to dispose *Casaux* and *d'Aix* to return to the obedience of the King, with power to offer them any terms. As this wise magistrate sought all opportunities to lay before them the propositions which he had to make, the *Spaniards* having observed that the people held him in great veneration, on account of his singular probity, inspired *Casaux* with such jealousy of him, that, on the 12th of *February*, he ordered him to depart the town in twenty-four hours; but *Bernard* happening to be seized with a fit of illness, he granted a prolongation of the time to the seventeenth of that month, the very day that was to be fatal to the two tyrants, when he was to have the pleasure of seeing that which he could not effect by his prudence brought about by other means.

There happened to be at *Marseilles* one *Peter Libertat*, a man of wonderful presence of mind, who could not submit to slavery, and was ambitious of signalising himself by some great and memorable action. He had always lived in the greatest intimacy with *Casaux*, who, confiding in his affection and vigilance, had committed to him the custody of the royal gate of the town, the only one they used to open every morning, to send out their scouting parties and get intelligence. His ancestors, who were originally from *Corfica*, had got the surname of *Libertat*, for delivering *Calvy* their native city from the oppression of the *Spaniards* and *Genoese*, in the reign of *Henry II.* and afterwards, when the King restored that island to the latter, had abandoned their native country, together with many other *Corficans*, and taken refuge in *France*. On this account *Libertat* mortally hated the *Spaniards*, who had been the occasion of the ruin of his

his country, and the exile of his family: and, moreover, as in *Italy* revenge descends from father to son, and becomes a part of their patrimony, he had great reason to fear that, if *Marseilles* should fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*, the *Genoese* would extirpate him and all the *Corficans* they should find in the place. As soon, therefore, as he knew that the tyrants intended to deliver the town to the *Spaniards*, his hatred and his fear operating together upon his mind, suggested various thoughts, and, at last, determined him to leave no means unattempted to prevent the execution of that hellish plot. With this view he opened his mind to a Notary named *Duprés*, and, by his advice, to *Nicholas Bauffet*, a Counsellor at *Aubagne*; this gentleman, with *Libertat's* consent, communicated to the Duke of *Guise* his proposal for delivering up the town to him, and the rewards he insisted upon for that service. The Duke, without hesitation, accepted the terms, granted him every thing he demanded, and appointed the 17th of *February*, at break of day, for putting the project in execution.

The Duke made divers marches, to prevent suspicion, and, having approached *Marseilles* on the day appointed, drew up his troops in order. *Casaux* and *Lewis d'Aix* never failed every morning to visit the outside of the town, and the neighbouring places. It was therefore concerted, that, on the day appointed, as soon as the two tyrants should go out, *Libertat* should instantly let down the port-cullis of the gate, and prevent their returning. At the same time the Duke's troops were to approach and seize upon them; but, by misfortune, *Casaux* being taken ill that night, could not go out in the morning. *Lewis d'Aix*, however, having set out, as usual, with his musqueteers on horseback, and, having discovered some horse at a distance, detached against them the most re-

solute of his troops, who attacked them with great vigour. Mean time, the Duke of *Guise* observing this, and that there were no signals made from the town, thought the design had been discovered, and was in doubt whether he should not retire, when word was brought that the port-cullis was let down; upon which he advanced with some of his troops towards the town; but they no sooner appeared, than the cannon of the ramparts, and the fort of *Notre-Dame de la Garde*, began to play upon them, and obliged them to retire to the plain of *St. Michael*. This confirmed the Duke in the notion that he was betrayed; however, he was not over eager in making his retreat, and only put himself in a condition to repulse the garrison in case of a sally.

*Libertat*, in the mean while, considering the danger he was in, lost no time, but acted the part of a man of resolution. He was persuaded, that *Lewis d'Aix* being without, if he could but get rid of *Casaux*, who remained in the town, the royalists and the people would join him against the *Spaniards*, and the rest of the faction. In this persuasion, he sent to acquaint *Casaux*, that his presence was necessary at the royal gate, and besought him to come thither immediately. *Casaux* came forthwith, attended by twelve musqueteers. *Libertat*, who had only two of his brothers with him, and two of his cousins, stood between the two gates, with his sword in his hand. *Casaux*, addressing himself to him, "Well, Captain," says he, "what is the matter?" "Why, *M. le Consul*," replies *Libertat*, "this is the insurrection you was sent for to see," and, that instant, gave him a blow with his sword across the body, and laid him flat on the ground. The musqueteers who guarded *Casaux*, observing what passed, put themselves upon their defence, and gave *Libertat* several blows; but he, and the four who attended



tended him, charged them with so much vigour, that after having killed the serjeant, they put the rest to flight, and immediately cried out, "Long live the King." The people, in the surprise, returned the same words, which passed from street to street, and several royalists came in arms to join *Libertat*. The noise which was made in the town caused *Lewis d'Aix* to bend his course that way, but, finding the port-cullis down, he plainly saw that his affairs were in a bad situation; in hopes, however, to provide a remedy, and resolving to perish in the attempt if he did not, he went to the foot of the wall, where 500 *Spaniards* were posted, caused himself to be drawn up with ropes, and marched at the head of 400 of his party to the royal gate, but, being repulsed by *Libertat*, went to secure himself in the guard-room belonging to the town-house.

During this tumult, *Libertat* sent Captain *Imperiale* to the Duke of *Guise*, to inform him of what had passed, and intreat him to hasten to his assistance: the Duke set forward with all his horse, the foot followed as fast as they could, and the port-cullis being drawn up, seized upon the gate. *Lewis d'Aix* had the good fortune to escape, and lay concealed some days in the country, till at last, for the reward of a gold chain and a turquoise, a fisherman carried him in his boat to Admiral *Doria's* fleet, who, seeing the town lost, had put to sea. Thus was this great city reduced to the King's obedience, and, in bringing about a revolution of such consequence, only four lives were lost. When *Henry* heard the news of what had happened, he said, with an air of joy, "'Tis now I am King." And, indeed, so long as the harbour of *Mar-seilles* was open to the *Spaniards*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, he had always grounds to be apprehensive of some danger.

The Duke of *Guise* gave *Libertat* immediately, by way of recompence, the viguier's staff, and places to his relations

and friends. The King, not long after, confirmed him in this employment, and added to it the command of two galleys, with that of the royal gate, and the fort of *Notre Dame de la Garde*. The extraordinary action he had performed was carved upon a block of marble, and engraven upon a copper-plate, and placed in the town-house, and, the year after his death, a statue was erected to his memory in the same place.

As *Mar-seilles* derives the greatest part of its opulence from its trade with the *Levant*, so it has more than once had the pestilence conveyed to it from that country. It was visited particularly with that dreadful calamity in the year 1476. And, in the year 1628, the army of the Marquis *d'Uxelle* having infected the town of *Lyons*, the malady spread by degrees through the countries of *Dauphiny*, *Languedoc*, and *Provence*. It broke out first at *Digne*, in the year 1629, where it made terrible havock. *Gassendi* says, that it was carried to that place by some dissolute soldiers in their way to *Italy*, who observed no order nor discipline. It was conveyed to *Mar-seilles* in some wool-packs, and broke out on the 22d February 1630. It was communicated to *Toulon* that same year, and had raged at *Montpelier* about a twelvemonth before. It broke out again at *Mar-seilles* twenty years thereafter, that is in the year 1649: but the pestilence which spread farthest, and raged with the greatest fury, was that which was conveyed from the *Levant* to *Mar-seilles* in the year 1720, and spread throughout *Provence*, *Languedoc*, the county of *Avignon*, &c. 'Tis not our intention to give any particular account of the circumstances attending this terrible calamity; we shall, therefore, only say, that, in the town of *Mar-seilles* alone, it carried off upwards of sixty thousand people.

The

The most considerable towns and villages in the diocese of *Marfeilles* are *Requevaire*, *Aubagne*, *Auriol*, *Ciotat*, *Cassis*, *Gemenos*, &c. two whereof, to wit *Cassis* and *Ciotat*, ly upon the coast, and therefore demand our attention. The first is a little town about three leagues from *Marfeilles*, and six by land from *Toulon*. The town and district contain about 3000 inhabitants, all included in the parish of *St. Michael*. It had once a good harbour, but it has been for some time, in a great measure, filled up with sand and mud, and the community is so poor, that they are not able to rebuild the mole, which is fallen to ruin for want of reparation. The magistrates of the place, in the year 1717, sent to Court a memorial, representing the necessity of repairing the harbour, in order to preserve the town, which could not subsist, nor carry on any trade by sea, without a convenience of this kind. Upon this the *Sieur Le Fevre*, director of the fortifications, was sent to *Cassis* to take the soundings of the harbour, and make an estimate of the charges necessary for a thorough reparation of it. The estimate for making these reparations amounted to the sum of 87,761 livres; and the board of the marine wrote to the magistrates of *Cassis*, in the month of *December* that year, acquainting them that the king had approved of *M. Le Fevre's* estimate, and the plan he had proposed for repairing their harbour, and would, in due time, give orders to begin the work. It was also concerted, that the King should contribute a third part of the charges already mentioned, the province another third, and the corporation of *Cassis* the rest: but we do not find that any part of this scheme has yet been put in execution. The loss of the harbour of *Cassis* has obliged the inhabitants of that place to load and unload their ships in the harbour of *Miou*, which lies about half a league from them. Some think it

probable that this harbour of *Miou* is the same with *Port-Emine*, whereof mention is made in the itinerary of the Emperour *Antoninus*: but, be this as it may, the harbour of *Miou* is situated amidst rocks, which seem to have been cut on purpose, to form a safe retreat for ships in the most stormy weather. The basin belonging to it is 1200 paces in length, and between 40 and 50 in breadth. The *French King's* galleys often put in to this harbour; and it appears there has been formerly a chain to shut up the entrance of it, which is about 10 or 12 fathoms broad.

The little town of *Ciotat* stands upon the shore of the *Mediterranean* sea, about a league from *Cassis*, four from *Marfeilles*, and five from *Toulon*. It is encompassed with a plain wall, and has a harbour formed by two moles or jetties. One of these, called the *New Mole*, which lies towards the South, is much longer than the other on the opposite side, and about 50 fathoms distant from it. Vessels that enter the harbour move along this new mole, to avoid the rocks that are on the other side. At one end of this largest mole are two embrasures, to defend the entrance of the harbour; and, at the other end, which lies next the land, a fort mounting six pieces of cannon, to defend the passage between the continent and the *Green Island*, which lies about a mile from it. Opposite to the point of the new mole is the fortress, built upon rocks, and capable of mounting eighteen pieces of cannon. It commands the *Green Island*, the road, and a part of the town. The front of this fort next the sea consists of a rampart of earth faced with a good stone wall. There is also on the same side, adjoining to the town wall, a little fort, called *Fort St. Martin*, which mounts for ordinary four pieces of cannon; but there are embrasures for a great many more, in case of need, on the rampart just now



mentioned that fronts the sea. The harbour of *Ciotat* was formerly capable of containing thirty galleys; but, by the negligence of the inhabitants, some parts of it next the moles are, in a great measure, filled up, so that now it will scarce admit vessels of 150 tons. We only add, that the entrance of the harbour is on the East side, and therefore an East wind is the most favourable for ships that want to put into it. The road of *Ciotat* is very large, and the bottom is exceeding good, so that the anchors of ships riding there seldom or never lose their hold. There is at *Ciotat* an house belonging to the Fathers of the Oratory, who, some time ago, had a college there; but the Bishop of *Marseilles* thought proper to shut it up. The *Ursuline* Nuns had a convent built for them in the year 1634. There is here also a convent of *Servite* Monks, one of Capuchins, and three fraternities of Penitents.

'Tis not easy to say when the foundations of this town were first laid. The common tradition is, that some fishermen from *Catalonia* settled here about the year 1200, and built three towers, to defend them against the incursions of the Corsairs of *Barbary*, who had given them great disturbance when they first began to form a settlement there. At that time the hamlet of *Ciotat* is said to have depended upon the town of *Cireste*, which now depends upon it, and is only remarkable for the ruins of an old tower, built by *Cæsar* when he came first into *Gaul*. Whatever be in this, it is certain that *Ciotat* was a place of no great consideration in the 12th century; but has since been raised to the rank of a town, and contains at present between 9 and 10 thousand inhabitants. It is also unknown when the harbour of *Ciotat* was first formed; only it appears by the archives of the town, that the new mole was begun in the

year 1545, and soon after the town was inclosed within walls, and the several forts already mentioned erected for its defence. All these works were carried on at the expence of the inhabitants, without any assistance from the province; in consideration whereof *Charles IX.* of *France* granted letters patent, in the year 1564, confirming to the community the direction of these forts and moles, with the privilege of electing a captain commandant, for the government of them. The citizens, encouraged by these privileges, built within their fortress a very high light-house, for the direction of ships that happen to come upon the coast in the night-time, and are at the expence of maintaining a captain, with six private men and a drummer, as a garrison. It is reckoned the expence of these improvements might amount to 140 thousand livres, of which the grand mole alone must have cost more than one half. In those days the community of *Ciotat* was rich, and had a flourishing trade, but, since the year 1700, they have sustained several great losses, particularly in their shipping, by the depredations of the *Barbary* Corsairs; so that the opulence of the place is greatly reduced, and the citizens are not able to repair their mole and harbour, if the King and the province are not prevailed upon to contribute towards the charge of these necessary improvements.

Opposite to the road of *Ciotat*, on the other side of the bay, are the roads of *Bandol* and *Brusc*, where ships may anchor with great safety, and, the bottom being mud, they are exposed to no danger, if they happen to run aground. These three roads, in the same bay, within 3 leagues of one another, are a great convenience to shipping, because if it should happen that they cannot lie safe in one, they may have recourse to either of the other two. We shall only add,

add, that the two last mentioned roads are commanded by the castle of *Bandol*, on the North, and the tower of *d'Embiez* on the South.

After travelling a little more than two leagues to the Eastward of the shore of *Brusc*, which separates the two bays, we arrive at the famous town and port of

## T O U L O N;

**S**ITUATED at the bottom of the bay of the same name, in the latitude of 43 degrees 8 minutes North, and 6 degrees 5 minutes to the eastward of the meridian of *London*. This town, like *Marseilles*, is divided into the new town and the old, the whole containing about 2300 houses. The old town, for the most part, is very ill built, and irregular: the most considerable buildings in it are the cathedral, the town-house, and the college. There is little remarkable about the cathedral: it is neither a grand nor an elegant structure; but the chapel of *Notre-Dame* is much frequented by those that come to perform their devotions. As the cathedral is also a parochial church, it has another chapel belonging to it, called the *Corpus Domini*, because the sacrament is always kept in it. As there was but one parish church in *Toulon* before the year 1708, and the town grew exceeding populous, the officiating clergy consisted of two curates, two vicars, and two chaplains, some assistant priests, and a complete band of music. The principal entry into the town-house opens to the Quay of the harbour; and there is nothing about it that deserves notice but two *Termini* of stone, one on each side of this gate, which seem to support a balcony. The tradition is, that the heads of these pillars were

intended as *Caricaturas* of two citizens of *Toulon*, who had disobliged the statuary. They were the work of the famous *Peter Puget*, and greatly admir'd by the Chevalier *Bernin* when he was in *France*, but now quite defaced.

The college is under the direction of the fathers of the oratory. The magistrates of *Toulon* invited these Fathers to take the charge of this seminary in 1625, and made an agreement with them for ten years. They were so well satisfied with their conduct, that, in the year 1631, they purchased a piece of ground for enlarging the college, and the better accommodation of the masters and students, and renewed their agreement for ten years more. In short, after twenty years experience of the good conduct and assiduity of these Fathers, they committed the direction of their college to them for ever. This treaty was signed on the 22d of *February* 1645, and approved and confirmed by an arrêt of the parliament of *Provence*, on the 17th of *June* that same year. And, to conclude, the college was rebuilt in 1686, and very much enlarged since that time. It is under the government of a Superior, two Prefects, eight Regents, and four lay Brothers: and the youth are instructed in the *Roman* and *Greek* Classics, Rhetoric, and Philosophy. One of the streets



streets of this old town has a row of trees on each side, and is a kind of public *Cours*, or walk, the more agreeable, that it is in a great measure screened by the trees from the scorching rays of the sun. In the old town are also five convents of monks, *viz.* the Dominicans, who obtained a settlement here in the year 1303, the Capuchins, who were admitted in 1588, the Minims, in 1609, the Barefooted Monks of St. *Augustine* in 1635, and the Barefooted Carmelites in the same year. There are also here three convents of Nuns: the Nuns of the *Visitation*, otherwise called the *Marys*; the *Ursuline* Nuns, and the Nuns of the *Sisfertian Order*; the first whereof settled at *Toulon* in 1633, and the two last in 1635.

*Toulon* was so considerably augmented in the reign of *Lewis XIV.* by the vast numbers of artificers employed in the magnificent publick works and buildings erected by that Prince, by the many sea officers, soldiers, and sailors who settled there, and, finally, by those who were employed about the many armaments which were fitted out during that reign, that it was found necessary to enlarge the old town by the addition of the new one. This part of *Toulon* is well built, and contains a great many beautiful houses: the parade, or public place, is an oblong square, with a row of trees on each side, in which the marines and other troops perform their exercises. The Seminary which the Jesuits have at *Toulon* is, without dispute, the most grand and beautiful house in the new town. It was founded by *Lewis XIV.* on the first of *September* 1685; but the act of settlement was not signed till the 11th of *September* 1686. It was intended as a nursery of chaplains for the sea service. The Jesuits teach their pupils in that seminary the principles of *Theology* and *Mathematics*, and are obliged to have always

there six fathers of their society, three lay-brothers, and ten chaplains for the service of the marine. We have already observed that there was but one parish church at *Toulon* before the year 1703, when *Lewis XIV.* to accommodate the vast number of new comers that constantly flocked to this place, built a new church, dedicated to *St. Lewis*; the clergy whereof consists of a curate, three vicars, and a clerk. The Fathers of *Notredame de la Merci* having brought to *Toulon* about an hundred Christians, whom they had redeemed from slavery at *Algiers*, the magistrates made them a present of the hospital of *St. Lazar*, which stood without the town, and they settled there in the month of *March* 1646; but, during the siege of *Toulon* in 1707, it was thought proper to raze that convent, and bring the monks into the new town, where a house was built for their reception. The *Recollet* Monks were received into *Toulon* by *M. de Ventimille* Bishop of the diocese; but they had no settlement till one of his successors obtained from the King letters patent in their favour about the year 1694.

There are three hospitals in *Toulon*: one for sick persons and foundlings, called the Hospital *de Saint Esprit*, or of the Holy Ghost. This charitable foundation is so old, that it is not an easy matter to ascertain the time when it was first set on foot. There is another for the modest poor, called *Le Bassin de la Misericorde*, founded on the 8th of *April* 1632, by *Anthony le Blanc*, dean of the cathedral church, and vicar-general of the diocese. This sort of poor are relieved privately in their own houses in proportion to their respective wants. The third is the general hospital for poor of all sorts, ages, and sexes, that are not sick, and called *L'Hôpital Général de la Charité*. It was founded on the 4th of *November* 1677, by *M. Jean de Gauthier*, Prior

and temporal lord of *La Valette*, a little village, about a league and a half from *Toulon*. This hospital stands without the walls of the town, and M. *Armand Bonnin de Chabucet* ought to be considered as its principal founder; for he not only built a magnificent edifice for it at his own expence, but also left to it a legacy of 40,000 crowns. The poor in this hospital are employed in several manufactures: the *Pinchenates* particularly, that are made here, are looked upon as the finest, the most beautiful, and, in every respect, the best in the kingdom.

- The old fortifications of *Toulon* were built by order of *Henry IV.* of *France*. This Prince inclosed the town within a beautiful stone wall, fortified with bastions and curtains, in the year 1594, and, about the same time, built the two great moles which encompass the old harbour. *Lewis XIV.* improved upon the works of his predecessors. He not only constructed the new harbour which communicates with the old; but also a great number of other buildings, which we shall take notice of, after we have given some account of the arsenal, and parc of artillery, which is thought to be one of the finest in *Europe*.

This arsenal wants nothing that is necessary for the construction and fitting out of ships. Here you see a ropewalk surprising for its length. The whole of it is vaulted above, and has a second story. They make ropes and cables below, and, above, a vast number of hands are employed in preparing the hemp and yarn. There are schools for the midship-men, in which they are taught Mathematics, Designing, the exercise of arms, and every other acquisition proper for their station. The armoury is a great magazine of muskets, fuzees, pistols, halbards, and every other sort of arms fit to be employed on board of ships. The *Sainte Barbe* is another magazine of all utensils necessary

for those that are employed about the ordnance, and the artillery is placed in excellent order. You see also the shops for the Carpenters and Coopers, and a vast space of ground full of casks, for all sorts of provisions. In another place, the ship-builders are employed, where there is such a noise of hammers and other working tools, that nothing else can be heard. From thence you go to the parc of artillery, where cannons are piled up in heaps, like logs of wood in a dock-yard. Besides the cannons, you see a prodigious number of bombs, and double-headed and other sorts of shot, ranged in excellent order. The whole park is surrounded with anchors, and, from it, you discover the forges and smiths shops at a distance, with a great many hands at work. The sail magazine is very long, and your eyes are bewildered with the variety you behold. In a word, nothing that belongs to a ship is wanting, and a vast number of men are employed in different departments.

The foundery for cannon is very large, and employs a great number of artificers, preparing and melting the metals, and getting the moulds ready for its reception, &c.

*Toulon* is a place of strength, and impregnable by sea. The entry of the harbour is so narrow, that only one ship can get in at a time, and it is effectually defended by several good batteries, well provided with cannon. The road of *Toulon* is one of the largest and best in the *Mediterranean*. It is divided into the great and the little road. *Lewis XII.* built the great tower which we now see on the shore; but it was much improved in the reign of *Francis I.* This great tower stands at the distance of 2,500 *French* fathoms from the old harbour, at the point which separates the great from the little road: opposite to it, on the other side, and at the same distance from the harbour, is the tower called the *Aiguillette*, built about an hundred years ago, which,



together with the great tower already mentioned, effectually commands the passage between the great and little road. On the same side with the tower *de l'Aiguillette*, and about 250 fathoms from it, stands the tower of *Balaguier*, called also the little tower, which, together with the tower *des Vignettes*, called also *Fort Lewis*, on the other side, commands every part of the great road. Besides these fortifications, there are from the great tower all along the coast, to the Cape of *Quarqueranne*, batteries, at equal distances, to defend the approaches to the land. Among these batteries, between *Quarqueranne* and the Cape, is the *Fort St. Margaret*, a great part whereof was demolished by the Duke of *Savoy* in the year 1707.

On the other side, between the tower of *Balaguier* and Cape *Sepet*, is a little bay called the *Lazaret*, where ships, coming from the *Levant* or *Barbary*, perform quarantine. A little way from the *Lazaret*, towards the east, is a small bay, called *St. George's Cove*, which is an excellent anchoring place for galleys and small vessels. A little way to the eastward of *St. George's Cove*, is the hospital of *St. Mandrie*, for the sick sailors aboard the King's ships and galleys, especially when they are numerous. This hospital, which was built between seventy and eighty years ago, for a long time laboured under the inconveniency of having no fresh water, but what was brought from *Toulon* in casks, on board of boats, till *M. Mithon*, intendant of the Marine at *Toulon*, caused a passage to be dug through a hill, and, by that means, conveyed the water of a fountain to a reservoir at *St. Mandrie*, which, besides supplying the wants of the hospital, has always five or six hundred barrels in reserve, for the service of ships and other uses. From this hospital to Cape *Sepet* are eight batteries of cannon and mortars, so that, when all these are mounted, no ship can

possibly stay in the great road, or enter into the little one. There are also four other batteries of cannon and mortars, for defending two places on the shore where there are lines and entrenchments. There are also two magazines of powder, for the use of the marine on the coast between *Toulon* and the village of *La Seine*, the one on the shore, the other at a little distance from it; the latter is guarded by an officer and thirty men, and the other by eight men, under the command of a serjeant. Upon the whole, the harbour of *Toulon* is the only one on the South of *France* capable of admitting ships of war of all sizes; and it is also, without doubt, the largest and the safest in the *Mediterranean*. The largest because of its roads \* which answer the end of harbours, especially the little one, where the bottom is so very good, that a ship runs no hazard by being a-ground in it; and the safest, because it is so effectually covered, that no storm can hurt the ships which are in it; and so securely guarded by forts and batteries, that no enemy can venture to attack it by sea.

After raising the siege of *Toulon* in 1707, *Lewis XIV.* made improvements in the fortifications of *Toulon* towards the land, and intended to add several outworks; but the difficulties he had to struggle with at that time did not suffer him to carry his whole project into execution. The ramparts, however, together with the nine bastions intended for their immediate defence, were then finished; and the works towards the sea were also completed; but of the eight half-moons, which were proposed, only that before the

\* These two roads, taken together, are about four miles long, and one in breadth; ships may anchor in them in 4, 5, 6, and 7 fathom water; the entrance into the great road from the sea is by no means dangerous, and the hills of *Condon* and of *Notre-Dame de la Garde* point it out to ships at a great distance, which is no small advantage to strangers, who are not well acquainted with the coast.

*Gate of France*, and that which covers the old gate, were built up to the cordon. Besides the half-moons, it was proposed to add to the out-works ten counter-guards, to complete the fort of *Malgue*, and that of *St. Anne*, together with a redoubt on the left side of *St. Anthony's* valley; which works, if they were put in execution, would add a considerable degree of strength to that fortress, on the land side, as it is already impregnable by sea; but we find not that any thing has hitherto been done towards these improvements.

The garrison of *Toulon*, for ordinary, consists of a battalion of foot. The Governor of *Provence*, for the most part, is also Governor of *Toulon*, and, in this latter capacity, has the direction of the garrison, with a revenue of 12,000 livres a-year. There is here likewise a Commandant, who has also 12,000 livres a-year, a Major, an Aid-major, a Captain of the gates, a Commissary of artillery, and a store-keeper. The consuls, or mayors, of *Toulon* are the King's lieutenants, and, in the absence of the commandant, his whole authority devolves upon them. This privilege was granted them by a declaration of King *Henry IV.* on the 24th of *May* 1596, whereby the governors of *Toulon* are expressly prohibited to appoint any King's lieutenant to command in their absence, it being his Majesty's pleasure, that, in such cases, the government of the town should be left to the consuls. This grant was also confirmed by *Lewis XIII.* on the 30th of *April* 1618, and by *Lewis XIV.* on the 12th of *April* 1651.

It is not easy to ascertain the time when *Toulon* was first built. Some will have it to be a place of great antiquity, and that its foundations were laid by a tribune, named *Telo-Martius*, who transported a *Roman* Colony to this place during the flourishing times of the Empire; but this conjecture has no better foundation, than a precarious criticism

upon the words *Telo*, *Telonium*, and *Telo-Martius*, the *Latin* names given by antient authors to this city. Others say, that it derived these names from a captain of the *Goths*, called *Tbolonnes*, who either laid its first foundations, or, as some will have it, rebuilt it in the reign of *Theodoric*. *M. de Peyresc* takes another way to account for its name, which, according to him, it had from the form of its harbour and roads, resembling that of a guittar, which is the import of the word *Telo*, or *Tolo*, in the old *Celtick* language. Whatever there may be in these conjectures, it is certain, there is no mark of antiquity about *Toulon*, nor does it appear that the town was considerable, or its harbour in repute in early times. The oldest accounts we have about it, are, that it was sacked and quite ruined by the *Saracens*, when they took possession of the coast of *Provence*, toward the end of the ninth century; and rebuilt again about an hundred years thereafter. In the twelfth century, it was twice ruined by the same people, and its inhabitants made slaves. Even after it came into the hands of the *French* Kings, it seems not for some time to have been much regarded. *Lewis XII.* was the first that considered of what importance its harbour and roads might be made to his kingdom, and therefore built the great tower for the defence of them. *Francis I.* made some improvements on this tower, and added that of *Balaguer*, on the opposite side, for the farther security of the little road and harbour. Some time after, a citadel was built, to keep the inhabitants in awe; but the town itself seems to have been left quite open towards the country, or at least very imperfectly fortified, till the reign of *Henry IV.* In the year 1524, when *Charles V.* entered *Provence*, he made himself master of *Toulon*, to pave his way to the siege of *Marseilles*, which he had much at heart, and, in 1536, having again invaded



vaded that country, at the head of a powerful army, he once more made himself master of *Toulon*, and left his galleys in the harbour thereof, that they might repair to him at *Marseilles*, as soon as he should have invested that place by land.

Toward the end of *Henry III's* reign, the party of the league, being very powerful in *Provence*, got possession of several important places of that country, and, among the rest, of the citadel of *Toulon*, and kept it till the year 1589, when M. *La Valette*, lieutenant to his brother the Duke *D'Espèrnon*, who was at the head of the King's party in those parts, recovered it by a stratagem. *La Valette*, after sustaining several losses, having repaired to *Toulon*, one Captain *Berre*, who was governor of the citadel for the league, either because private friendship was not quite extinguished by party rage, or because *La Valette* knew some of his secret connections, which it was his interest should remain concealed, visited him often with great respect, and invited him to come and see his fortress, in which he had made many considerable improvements. But it happened to him as it once did to an indiscrete husband, who could not be satisfied with his happiness unless he made his friend a witness of it, by presenting his beautiful wife naked to his sight. *La Valette*, having seen the fort, which the other boasted he would, in a short time make one of the strongest places in the province, became so much in love with it, that he could not be easy without it. This engaged one *Montaud*, *La Valette's* particular friend and relation, to contrive a project for putting him in possession of it, which he resolved, at any rate, to put in execution.

One day, *La Valette* having invited *Berre* to dine with him, began to speak of his fortress, and, having extravagantly praised the works he had added to it, told *Montaud*

that, if he desired to see any thing complete in that kind, he must absolutely take a view of them. *Berre*, quite overjoyed to hear his fort so much commended, invited him with great frankness to come and see it. *Montaud*, upon this, having taken twenty chosen men with him, who, besides their swords, had poinards and pistols under their cloaths, repairs to the gate of the citadel, where he left his men for fear of giving suspicion; and, having entered himself, and spoke a few words to the soldiers who kept the gate, pretends, all of a sudden, to be seized with a violent fit of sickness. He staggers, rolls his eyes in his head, and at last lets himself fall down, as in a fainting fit. The soldiers, moved at this strange accident, carry him to a bed, and give him all the assistance in their power. But while they were employed in this benevolent office, those whom he left at the gate slip in one by one, till *Montaud*, seeing a sufficient number of them about him, jumped off the bed. His men, at this signal, draw their swords, and fall upon the soldiers, who, being thus surprised, soon disperse, and give them an opportunity to seize the gate. *La Valette*, who was ready in the neighbourhood with a stronger party, immediately flies to their assistance, and, in a short time, made himself master of the citadel. Upon this success he expelled *Berre*, the governor, upbraiding him with keeping secret intelligence with the Duke of *Savoy*, and gave the command of the town and fort to *James de Sainte Colombe d'Esparavaques*, a gentleman of *Gascony*. Thus *Toulon* was wrested out of the hands of the league; but it was not long before it underwent a new revolution.

The haughtiness of the Duke *D'Espèrnon*, and the severity of his government, had rendered him odious to the people of *Provence*; the King also suspected him of ambitious designs,

signs, not very consistent with his service; and, having employed proper persons to observe his conduct, had sufficient evidence that his suspicions were but too well founded. Therefore, taking advantage of the Duke's absence, he sent orders to seize the castle of *Angoulesme*, and the Duke received the news of this loss and of the death of his wife, two severe mortifications, at the same time. His Majesty also ordered *Lefdiguières* to drive him out of *Provence*; but it was necessary to manage matters so, that he should not be obliged to own these orders till they were fully executed; for he would not venture to recal the letters patent that he had granted in the Duke's favour, for fear he should join the league, which was already very powerful, and had several strong places in that country. The people were so animated against the Duke, that it would have been easy to get them to declare against him; but this could answer no end, unless the governors of castles and citadels, which kept them in awe, declared first. It was also dangerous to discover the design to too many persons, or to solicit the *Gascons* to contribute to this revolution, they being generally so much attached to the Duke's fortune, that they could not be expected to desert his interest: Means, however, were at last found to prevail with a good many of the governors to enter into the conspiracy, and, among the rest, *Escaravaques*, governor of *Toulon*, was brought over to the King's interest. Accordingly, the Duke *D'Espèrnon* having gone to *Languedoc*, to meet with the Duke *De Montmorency*, the 19th of October 1595 was appointed for the execution of the plot. On that day *Escaravaques*, with the assistance of *De Soliers*, his father-in-law, arms the people of *Toulon* against the citadel, and, having first found means to draw most of the officers out of it, to his own house, and make them prisoners; in-

vested the place, made a breach in it, and took it by assault, by means of two hundred galley-slaves, to whom he gave their liberty, on condition they should mount the breach. All that were within the citadel were put to the sword; and *Signac*, who commanded in it, was killed by a blow with a lever, by one *Maffon*, who preferred the barbarous pleasure of taking vengeance for a severe drubbing he had received from that officer, to 10,000 crowns, which he offered to save his life. But *Escaravaques* died that very day, by the wound of a musket-ball which he had received a few days before, during the siege, and *Soliers* ordered the citadel to be razed. As soon as the noise of this insurrection was spread, the town and castle of *Tarascon*, with a great many little places, declared against the Duke; and the whole province was ready to take arms: so that if those who conducted the enterprize, instead of amusing themselves with plundering the *Gascons* and *Espernonists*, had taken care to secure the passages of the *Rhone* and *Durance*, he must infallibly have been forced to abandon his government: but, as this was neglected, he found means to recover his fortress of *Angoulesme* about the end of *December*; and, having encouraged his friends and his troops, acquired sufficient strength to make his enemies feel the effects of their own imprudence. But, not to insist on matters foreign to our purpose; *Toulon*, by this revolution, fell into the hands of a prince, who knew the value and importance of it; and, therefore, as soon as the commotions, which at that time distressed the kingdom, were settled, he built the two great moles, inclosing the old harbour, and fortified the town both by sea and land. From this period *Toulon* began to be considerable, and no hostile attempt disturbed the peace, or interrupted the prosperity of



the inhabitants, till it was attacked by the Allies in the year 1707.

This project against *Toulon* is said to have been concerted by the Duke of *Savoy* with the famous Earl of *Peterborough*; but his Royal Highness, finding that that nobleman had no longer any credit at Court, changed the scheme entirely, and, by his ministers at *London*, concerted a new one with the Duke of *Marlborough*. This, to say the truth, was the best laid design during the war, if we except the Duke of *Marlborough's* march into *Germany*, which had this advantage over the other, that it was not only laid, but happily carried into execution. The taking of *Toulon*, if it could have been effected, would have destroyed for ever the maritime power of *France*, rendered her utterly incapable of carrying on any commerce with the *Spanish* settlements in *America*, and distressed her to such a degree at home, as must have obliged her to consent to a peace, even upon harder terms than had been offered her before. All things were soon settled between the *English* and the Duke of *Savoy*; he could not undertake such an expedition without large supplies of money, and those were not only promised but actually paid him: yet even this would not have engaged him in so hazardous an attempt, if he had not had the strongest assurances that the *English* fleet should constantly attend him during the expedition; which was likewise punctually fulfilled. He had not the same encouragement from the Emperor, who, at this important juncture, when his forces in *Italy* should have been employed in promoting this great design, determined to attempt the conquest of *Naples*. In vain the *English* ministry represented to him the mighty things they had done for him and his family; the great importance of the present undertaking to the com-

mon cause, and the certainty of his acquiring *Naples* after the expedition was over. In vain were the like applications from the *Dutch*; and in vain the Earl of *Manchester's* journey, and the Queen of *Great Britain's* letter to dissuade him from that ill-tim'd attempt, though conceived in the strongest terms, and written by her own hand. He pretended that such strong assurances had been given to his friends in *Naples*, that some thing must be immediately done for their service; that it was impossible for him to desist; and therefore, notwithstanding all these applications, Count *Daun* was sent to invade this kingdom with twelve thousand men, which were a part of the troops that should have been employed again *Toulon*. \*

The Duke of *Savoy*, notwithstanding of this disappointment, continued firm in his resolution; and it was determined to prosecute this great design with the assistance of a naval force from *England*. Very opportunely for this purpose, a large fleet had sailed from thence the proceeding year, which was originally intended for a descent upon some other part of the *French* coast. This design had been framed upon a representation of some *French Hugonots*, particularly of the famous Marquis de *Guiscard*, who was afterwards engaged in a project to assassinate Queen *Anne*. The land forces intended for this service were very near ten thousand men. They were to be commanded in chief by the Earl of *Rivers*; and, under him by the lieutenant-generals *Earle* and de *Guiscard*, the Earl of *Essex* and Lord *Mordaunt*, eldest

\* Bishop Burnet reflects upon this step taken by the Emperor very severely; and with great justice. But the Emperor went not further; for he sent such orders to Prince *Eugene*, to avoid, on all occasions, exposing his troops that were to be employed in the *Toulon* expedition, as proved one great cause of the miscarriage of the allies before that city.

fon to the Earl of *Peterborough*, were to serve in this expedition as major-generals. On the 10th of *August* this fleet, under the command of Sir *Cloudefly Shovel*, set sail from *St. Helens*; but, not being joined time enough by the *Dutch*, the project proved abortive; and it was resolved that the fleet should proceed to *Lisbon*, with the forces on board, and that they should be employed in the service of his Catholic Majesty. Sir *Cloudefly Shovel* having received this orders, and knowing the distress of the *English* army in *Spain*, sent Sir *George Byng* with a squadron for their relief, who, being off *Cape St. Vincent*, on the 15th of *April* 1707, received the disagreeable news of the battle of *Almanza*, the defeat of the *English* army, and the distressed state of King *Charles's* affairs. Soon after the Admiral was apprized, by letters from this Prince and the Earl of *Galway*, that, unless he could bring the Earl of *Rivers*, with the forces under his command, and land them so as they might come to their assistance, things were like to fall into great confusion, and all these advantages would be lost which the maritime powers had procured at so vast an expence of blood and treasure. These advices gave the Admiral the more concern, as he knew that the ships were greatly damaged by the rough weather they had met with in their passage, and the land forces so much reduced by sickness, death, and other accidents, that, instead of ten, they were scarce six thousand effective men. He resolved however to do the best he could; and therefore gave orders for repairing, with the utmost diligence, the mischiefs that had been done to his ships; victualled the transports, made the other necessary dispositions for proceeding with the fleet and army for the coast of *Spain*, and was on the very point of embarking the troops, when he had orders from *England* to make

proper dispositions for attending the Duke of *Savoy* in the expedition against *Toulon*.

Accordingly, having joined Sir *George Byng* near *Alicant*, he sailed for the coast of *Italy*, and, on the 5th of *June*, came to an anchor before *Final*, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty seven transports. Prince *Eugene* went thither to confer with the Admiral, and, soon after, the fleet sailed to *Nice*; where, on the 29th of the same month, the Admiral had the honour to entertain the Duke of *Savoy*, Prince *Eugene*, most of the general officers, together with the *English* and *Dutch* ministers, on board his own ship the *Association*.\* After dinner, they held a council of war, and therein it was resolved to force a passage over the *Var*, in which the *English* Admiral promised to assist. On the last of *June*, this dangerous enterprize was undertaken, to the great astonishment of the *French*, who believed their works on that river to be impregnable; and so indeed they had proved to any forces in the world except *English* sailors. Sir *John Norris*, with some *British* and one *Dutch* man of war sailed to the mouth of the river, and, embarking six hundred seamen and marines in open boats, entered it, and advanced within musket-shot of the enemy's works, making such a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry, and many of their foot, astonished at an attack they never suspected,

\* Sir *Cloudefly Shovel*, though not remarkable for politeness, shewed great prudence in the magnificent entertainment he made on this occasion. The Duke, when he came on board the *Association*, found a guard of halberdiers, in new liveries, at the great cabin door. At the upper end of the table was set an armed chair, with a crimson velvet canopy. The table consisted of fifty covers, and every thing was so well managed, that his Royal Highness could not forbear saying to the Admiral at dinner, "If your excellency had paid me a visit at *Turin*, I could scarce have treated you so well."

began



began to quit their intrenchments, and could not be prevailed upon by their officers to return. Sir *Cloudestly Shovel*, who followed Sir *John Norris* to the place of action, no sooner saw this confusion, than he ordered Sir *John* to land with the seamen and marines, in order to flank the enemy. This was performed with so much spirit, and Sir *John* and his seamen scampered over the works the *French* thought inaccessible, so suddenly, that the enemy, struck with a panic, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The Duke of *Savoy* immediately pursued his advantage, and, in a single half hour, passed that river, which, in the judgment of the best officers of his army, had, without this assistance, put an entire stop to his expedition.\*

On the 2d of *July*, his Royal Highness and Prince *Eugene*, with the *British* Envoy and Sir *John Norris*, dined again on board the Admiral; and, after dinner, they entered into a conference, wherein, upon mature deliberation, his Royal Highness was pleased to declare, that since the Queen of *Great Britain* had earnestly recommended to him the marching directly to *Toulon*, without losing time in the siege of any place of less importance, he was resolved to

\* The words of the dispatch, sent to London from the confederate army on this occasion, as printed in the London Gazette, N<sup>o</sup> 4352, are these that follow. "The Admiral himself followed Sir *John Norris* to the place of action, and, observing the disorder of the enemy, commanded him to put to land, and flank them in their entrenchments. His men advanced in so undaunted a manner, that the enemy, fearing to be surrounded, marched out of their works, and retired with great precipitation. His Royal Highness, having received from the Admiral an account, that we were in possession of the enemy's works, ordered his troops to pass the river, which they did with so great eagerness, that above an hundred men were carried down by the violence of the stream, and ten of them drowned; which was all the loss we sustained, in forcing a pass, where we expected the most vigorous opposition."

comply with her Majesty's proposal, and hoped for a good conclusion of the affair, through the continuance of her Majesty's friendship and assistance, which had encouraged him to undertake it. The army of the allies consisted of about thirty-five thousand men, all inured to hardships, commanded by officers of the greatest experience, and of the highest reputation, supported by a numerous fleet, under the direction of an admiral of known courage and conduct, who, upon all occasions, shewed the utmost zeal for the service, and particularly in the last conference, where the Duke of *Savoy* having observed, that even after *Toulon* was taken, himself and his army might find it impracticable to retreat; the Admiral replied, "I hope better things from your Royal Highness's fortune; but, if there should be any appearance of such a thing's happening, your Royal Highness may rely upon me; I will take care to supply a sufficient number of transports to embark all your troops." The Duke thanked him for his generous offer; told him he relied chiefly on the assistance he expected from him, and that, if he would repair to the islands of *Hieres*, he should not long remain there, before he had advice of the army's being in the neighbourhood of *Toulon*, and that then he should expect to see the fleet in the road. †

It is impossible to describe the confusion into which this march of the Duke of *Savoy* threw the *French*. *Toulon* was

† Thus far all things went well, because all parties were agreed; but, from this moment, the business began to be clouded. The Duke of *Savoy*, whatever the reason was, did not make the expedition he might have done; for though he began his march from the *Var* on the 3d of *July*, yet he did not arrive before *Toulon* till the 15th. But when he found it necessary to make his retreat, he did it with much greater expedition; for though he began it on the 12th, he reached the *Var* by the 19th.

not in any state of defence; they had no troops in that part of the country; and they scarce knew whence to bring them. They had then in the port a better fleet than they have had ever since; consisting of forty-six ships of the line, besides twenty-five frigates, fire-ships, and other vessels of lesser size, all of which, they were sensible, were in the utmost danger of being destroyed. In this distress, *Lewis XIV.* shewed less presence of mind than on any other occasion in his whole reign; for he condescended to recal the best officer in *France*, whom he had disgraced some time before, I mean *Mareschal Catinat*, in order to consult him; and, after taking his advice, was prevailed upon, by female intrigues, to trust the execution of an affair of such importance to the *Mareschal de Tefse*, who had so notoriously blemished the honour of the *French* arms by raising the siege of *Gibraltar*. To say the truth, the zeal of the subjects contributed more to the preservation of the place, than either the Monarch's care, or the skill of his generals; for the Nobility and Gentry of the adjacent provinces did not content themselves with arming and marching their tenants and servants, but even coined their plate and pawned their jewels, to raise money to pay the workmen employed on the fortifications, which were carried on with such amazing alacrity, that in three weeks time, the town, as well as the port, was in a pretty good state of defence; and they had, besides, in the neighbourhood, three entrenched camps, which, however, was all owing to the dilatoriness of the Allies\*.

\* We need not wonder at the surprize the French Court was in, when the design of the Duke of Savoy was no longer to be doubted; Toulon was then in such a situation, that if the Duke had marched expeditiously, it is not easy to conceive how his enterprize could have miscarried. They did not begin to fortify the city till he had passed the Var, and it was the 7th of August N. S.

*Sir Cloudesly Shovel*, with the fleet under his command, sailed for the *Hieres*, after having made all the necessary dispositions for securing a safe and constant intercourse between the army and the dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*, upon which the success of the whole was said to depend.

It was the 15th of *July* before the siege of *Toulon* was formed, and, on the 17th, Admiral *Shovel* landed, and assisted at a council of war, in which many demands were made upon the fleet for the service of the army; and the Admiral promised all that was in his power; which he accordingly performed. One hundred cannon were landed from the fleet for the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and shot: a considerable number of seamen to serve as gunners, with cordage, nails, spikes, and all other things wanting for the camp, (for indeed they were but poorly furnished) were supplied from the ships; so that affairs had a very good face till the 4th of *August*, when, early in the morning, the enemy, making a vigorous sally, forced most, or all of the people out of the works, and took possession to the right, where they continued all day, and, upon their going off, destroyed them, drawing away eight or ten guns into the town; in which action there were killed and wounded,

before *M. Tefse* arrived there. Four days sooner would have given his Royal Highness possession of Toulon without a blow, unless the French had been mad enough to have stood a storm, and, in that case, the dispute must have been over in a few hours. As it was, the Duke of Savoy found the enemy as strong as himself; they had 6,000 men in the town, and 24,000 in the neighbourhood of it. The very moment the Allies arrived, their generals differed; his Royal Highness sent orders to Prince Eugene to possess himself of Mount St. Anne, which he refused to do, because, as has been already observed, the Emperor had ordered him not to expose his troops. Foul weather too prevented the fleet from landing artillery and ammunition: all this time the enemy's force was encreasing, since the Allies never had it in their power to invest the town.



on the Duke of *Savoy's* side, about eight hundred men, among whom were the Prince of *Saxe-Gottha* and some officers of distinction. This attempt being made with such numbers, put the troops under great apprehensions, and the generals were of opinion that it would not be proper to carry on the siege; since, while the Duke's army decreased, the enemy gathered strength; in so much that, on the 6th of *August*, his Royal Highness desired that the Admiral would immediately embark the sick and wounded, and take off the cannon, in order to his raising the siege, which, from this time was turned to a mere cannonading and bombardment. His Royal Highness also informed him, that he purposed to decamp on the 10th in the morning, and desired that the fleet might accompany the army as far as the *Var*; which being done, it was proposed to carry the Duke, Prince *Eugene*, and the troops, which could be spared from the service in that country, on board the fleet to *Spain*: but since there was not any thing determined in this affair, the Admiral soon after shaped his course down the *Streights*.

The very day the army began to move, the fleet drew as near the place as possible, and five bomb-vessels, supported by the light frigates, and all the boats of the men of war, under the command of Rear-Admiral *Dilkes*, advanced into the creek of *Fort St. Lewis*, and, notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour from noon till five the next morning, and this with all the success that could be expected. By this means, the land-army had time to quit their camp at *La Valette*, which they did in five columns in great safety, the enemy having something else to do than pursue them: and, as to any attempts afterwards, his Royal Highness put them pretty much out of their power, by marching, in two days, as far as, in his

approach to the place, he had done in six.

This ended the famous siege of *Toulon*, from which the Confederates hoped, and the *French* feared so much. If the Duke of *Savoy* had arrived a week sooner, he must have carried his point: and it has been observed, on the other hand, that if *M. Tefle* had understood his business as well as *Marschal Catinat*, his Royal Highness had returned without an army. After all, this business, tho' it miscarried in the main, proved of great service to the Allies, and had many happy consequences, which ought to balance the expence of it; for besides the great damage the *French* sustained in their shipping; the burning and destroying of eight of their capital ships; the blowing up of several magazines; the burning of above an hundred and sixty houses in *Toulon*, and the devastations committed in *Provence* by both armies, to the value of thirty millions of *French* livres; this enterprize, which struck a greater terror throughout all *France* than had been known there during the whole reign of *Lewis XIV.* brought this further advantage to the common cause, that it gave a great diversion to the enemies forces, whereby their army in *Germany* was weakened; the Duke of *Orleans's* progress, after the battle of *Almanza*, retarded in *Spain*; the succouring of *Naples* prevented; and the conquests of the Allies in *Italy* secured. It must be further observed, that, as no Prince in the world knew better than the Duke of *Savoy* how to repair faults, and recover past miscarriages, so he gave, on this occasion, a noble proof of his high spirit and great presence of mind, by investing the important fortress of *Suza*, which surrendered at discretion on the 24th of *September*, and thereby gave him an open passage into *Dauphiny*, at the same time that it enabled him to shut the *French* effectually out of his own dominions.

Hitherto

Hitherto we have had to do with sieges and land battles only; we must now, for a little, shift the scene to the watry element, and give some account of the naval engagement between the *English* fleet under the command of Admiral *Matthews*, and the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, under the direction of Lieutenant-general *La Court*, and Admiral *Navarro*, off *Toulon*, in the month of *February* 1744. But in order to this it will be necessary to resume some events that happened a little before. In the year 1739, when the war broke out between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, there was an *English* squadron in the *Mediterranean*, under the command of Admiral *Haddock*, sufficient to curb all the naval force of *Spain*, while unassisted by *France*. This squadron accordingly kept its ground all that, and next year, but, in 1741, while Admiral *Haddock* lay in the bay of *Gibraltar*, with twelve ships of the line, the *Spanish* fleet, passed the *Streights* in the night time, and joined the *French* squadron from *Toulon*. The *British* Admiral sailed in pursuit of them, and, falling in with them in a few days, found both squadrons drawn up in line of battle. As the *French* at that time pretended to observe a strict neutrality, Admiral *Haddock* began to bear down upon the *Spaniards*, which the *French* Admiral observing, sent a flag of truce to inform him, that, the *French* and *Spaniards* being engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master's Allies. This interposition prevented an engagement, and the *English*, finding the combined fleets to be double their number, were obliged to retire to *Mabon*. The *French* and *Spaniards*, by this means, left masters of the sea, carried on triumphantly their embarkations to *Italy*, in hopes of making effectual a settlement for *Don Philip* in that country, at the expence of the Allies of *Great Britain*.

In this state matters continued till the spring of the year 1742, when Commodore *Lestock* arrived at *Mabon* with a strong reinforcement to the *English* fleet lying in that harbour, and, as Admiral *Haddock*, at that time, laboured under an indisposition that rendered him incapable of commanding, the Commodore put to sea in the beginning of *April*, at the head of the whole fleet. By this time the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, in their return from carrying an embarkation to *Italy*, had put into *Toulon*, and were not a little alarmed to see a powerful *English* squadron before that place; therefore the batteries toward the sea were repaired with great diligence, and double manned; more guns mounted, new fortifications raised, booms put across the mouth of the harbour, and all military preparations made, as if they had expected a sudden attack upon the place. But the Commodore, intending only to stop the progress of the *Spaniards*, by a prudent disposition of his squadron along the coasts of *Catalonia*, *Provence*, and *Italy*, effectually prevented any further embarkations to second *Don Philip's* designs.

Toward the end of *May*, Admiral *Matthews* arrived from *England* at *Villa Franca*, and, having taken upon him the command of the fleet, sent Mr. *Lestock*, now advanced to the rank of a Rear-Admiral, to sea, with the greatest part of it, to observe the motions of the enemy, and intercept any embarkation that might be attempted, while he himself continued on the coast of *Italy* with a small squadron, and acted not only as Admiral, but as Plenipotentiary to several states of that country. In this manner the two Admirals continued separate, for the most part, during the remainder of the year 1742, and the whole of 1743, and, while they were so, every thing that tended to promote the honour and interest



interest of the service was carefully minded. Rear-Admiral *Lestock* having stationed his squadron at *Hieres* bay, where he could observe all the motions of the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain* at *Toulon*, sent out cruisers along the coast to disappoint the designs of the enemy, and Admiral *Matthews* was equally watchful on the coast of *Italy*, so that the *Spaniards*, with all the assistance the *French* could give them, found no opportunity of sending supplies or reinforcements to their army in *Italy*, and, if they attempted it, their designs were almost constantly frustrated. In this period some of the enemy's ships were taken, and one of them burnt in the sight of the united fleets at *Toulon*. Don *Philip* having got to *Antibes* with the royal galleys of *Spain*, in hopes of finding an opportunity to sail from thence to his new dominions in *Italy*, was obliged to drop the design as impracticable; and the five galleys that were to have carried him, venturing to creep along shore in their return homewards, and having imprudently put in to *St. Tropez*, were burnt by some *English* cruisers, without regard to the pretended neutrality of the *French* harbours. The *Spaniards* at *Hiace* in *Corfica* were obliged to set fire to the *St. Isidore*, one of their ships of war of sixty-four guns, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy; and, to name no more disappointments of this kind, fourteen Xebecs, loaded with ammunition, cannon, and other warlike stores from *Majorca*, bound to any port of *Italy* where they could be landed, for the use of the *Spanish* army, having got safe to *Genoa*, Admiral *Matthews* in the *Namur*, attended by a few *English* ships of war, came before the place, and obliged the *Genoese* to enter into a treaty, wherein it was stipulated, that their republic, at their own expence, should send these warlike stores in neutral bottoms to *Corfica*, where they were

to be deposited till the end of the war. Thus were the *French* and *Spaniards* baulked in almost all their designs by sea, and, in the mean time, the *Spanish* army in *Italy*, which had been transported to that country in the year 1741, under the convoy of the combined fleets, for want of necessary supplies and reinforcements, dwindled and mouldered away. The troops not only grew sickly, but also deserted in vast numbers, particularly to the *Venetians*, who gave them great encouragement; so that this army, in which the hopes and wishes of the Queen of *Spain* were centred, was deprived of all possible means of putting her designs in execution, and forced to lie in a state of inaction, for want of necessary resources, until at last, instead of conquering states and dominions, it was reduced to such straits, that it was under a necessity of acting on the defensive, and of flying from corner to corner for refuge.

The *Spaniards* and their Allies, grieved at these disappointments, but not discouraged, resolved to attempt by land what they could not effect by sea, and, by forcing the pass at *Suza*, to send the long expected relief to their distressed army; but, having tried this experiment, they were shamefully repulsed by the King of *Sardinia*, with the loss of eight thousand men.

One expedient still remained, which was, to equip a fleet at *Toulon*, strong enough to drive that of *England* out of the *Mediterranean*; and this, since every other method seemed to fail, must be attempted. Accordingly the *French*, who had begun to call in sailors to man their fleet a little before the disappointment at *Suza*, after that disaster, exerted themselves with great vigour in forwarding their armaments. In *September* 1743, orders came from Court to careen the *French* ships of war, at first one by one; soon after

after, to clean three at a time, at last five more dispatched at once; and, as soon as they were refitted, they removed into the outer basin, to make room for the *Spaniards*, who likewise refitted their ships with all expedition. And here it is worth our while to observe, That whatever may be said of the excellent regulation of the *French* marine; the advantage of having recourse to their registered seamen, upon every occasion of fitting out a fleet, and the vast numbers of these that are always in readiness to go on board the King's ships at a moment's warning; we are assured that, at this time, they were at least as slow as their neighbours; for, after five or six months trumpeting, and denouncing against the backward and fugitives, all the pains and penalties arbitrary power can inflict, as well as laying an embargo on all their trade, which, in the *Mediterranean*, is very considerable, they were forced to drag into their service seven thousand men not registered, one thousand of which were masters of trading ships and small vessels: to such straits and difficulties were they reduced, to man only sixteen ships of the line of battle\*. But, not to insist on this, the whole united fleet, consisting of sixteen *French* and twelve *Spanish* ships of the line, with eight frigates, &c. by the end of *December*, were quite rigged, compleatly manned, and in readiness for the sea. On the other hand, Admiral *Matthews*, on the 28th of that month, joined the *English* fleet in the bay of *Hieres*, which, at that time could not muster above eighteen ships of the line, and, of these, some not very clean, as they had been long at sea, so that, had the combined fleets attacked them at this juncture, or at any time

\* See Narrative of the Proceedings of his Majesty's Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, &c. from the year 1741 to 1744, p. 35.

before the 12th of *January* following, they must have been in great danger of an entire defeat; but, as it luckily happened, the enemy let this favourable opportunity slip, and, not to detain the reader by taking notice of the arrival of every particular ship, before the battle, the *British* Squadron was increased to twenty-nine ships of the line, besides eighteen frigates, sloops and fire-ships.

Such being the strength of the fleets on each side; on the 8th of *February*, Admiral *Matthews* had advice, that three expresses came to *Toulon* the day before, and that the conjunct fleets, which were hawling out of the port into the road, would put to sea next morning. Between three and four o'clock that afternoon, Captain *Marsh* of the *Winchelsea*, one of the ships appointed to watch their motions, made a signal, that some ships of the said fleets were under sail; upon which the Admiral, in the *Namur*, made the signal for unmooring, and putting the ships in a condition for action, which was done with the utmost alacrity and expedition. In less than half an hour, they could see several of the enemy's ships from their masts; and a signal was made by Captain *Marsh*, before it was dark, that he saw nineteen sail. About two in the morning, the same officer sent the Admiral word, that they had anchored again under Cape *Sepet*. On the 9th, as soon as it was day, those of the enemy's ships that had come out of the port into the road the night before, were observed to be under sail, and, in a very little time, the rest were seen coming out after them, to the number of 34 in all. The Admiral then got under sail, the wind blowing very fresh Westerly, expecting the combined fleets would have come down to him; but soon found they had no such intention, at least that day; for they kept plying to windward, though there



was great appearance of dirty weather, and some of the weathermost of their ships, towards night, had their sails drawn in, and their helms lashed to leeward. He therefore stood to and fro in the bay till night, and then anchored, having left cruisers without to watch their motions. Meantime the *Warwick* touched ground, but, by starting thirty tun of water, was got off about nine that night, without any other damage.

On the morning of the 10th, by break of day, the *English* discovering, from their mast-heads, fifteen sail of the enemy, the rest being hid by the island of *Porquerolles*, the Admiral immediately got under way, having but little wind, and that at North, and made all the sail he could to get at them. The combined fleets, at the same time, stood towards the *English*, with a small breeze Westerly, by means whereof the two opposite fleets approached each other. The combined fleets then brought to in a line of battle, but, for want of wind, and having a very ugly sea, it was night before Admiral *Matthews* could get near them. All this day the Admiral had had out the signal for the line of battle, and kept it so for some time after night came on. At dusk he brought to, within a little more than three gun-shot of them, and ordered the *Essex* to lie a mile to the leeward of him, and the *Winchelsea* a good musket-shot to the leeward of the *Essex*, to watch their motions, make the proper signals, and stand after them, in case they should make sail. The enemy was at this time so near, that he could count their ships after the moon was down, but could not at that time see Mr. *Lestock* (who some time before had been advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral) and his squadron, he having brought to so far to windward, that, at day-break on the morning of the 11th, when the Admiral made sail, and the signal for

the line of battle a-breast, the Vice-Admiral was full five miles astern of him. Much about the same time with the *English*, the combined fleets also made sail, and went sometimes with their top-sails and sometimes set their fore-sails; but Rear-Admiral *Rowley*, who, in the *Barfleur*, led the van of the *British* fleet, could never get near the *French* squadron, which led the van of the enemy's line, as M. *La Court*, who commanded that part of the combined fleet, would sometimes ly to, as if he intended to wait for his adversary; but when they drew near him, made sail again, till at last he left the greatest part of the *Spanish* ships a good way astern of him; so that Admiral *Matthews*, apprehending he did not intend to come to a general engagement, and fearing that the whole combined fleet might escape from him, thought this a proper time to begin the action, and, therefore, about 11 o'clock, made the signal to engage.

Here it will be proper to observe, for the better understanding of what follows, that the *English* fleet, at this time, were not compleatly formed in the order of battle; whether the center made too much haste, and did not allow necessary time for the wings to extend themselves, and close in a proper manner, or whether the wings neglected the strict observation of signals, and could have made more sail than they did, it is not easy to determine; but it appears that all their ships were not at this time in a direct line: it would also seem that some of them were at too great a distance from one another, and out of their station, according to the order of battle. On the other hand the van of the enemy extended nine or ten sail beyond the van of the *English* fleet, and almost all the *Spanish* squadron were abreast of their centre, while Vice-Admiral *Lestock* and all his division, except the *Dunkirk* and *Cambridge*, were not closed. The *English* fleet  
being

being in this situation about noon, there appeared a considerable opening between the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, the former having made sail to the southward, and left the latter at some distance astern of them; and while the *Spaniards* were endeavouring to recover the disadvantage, by making sail in order to close their line, Admiral *Matthews* in the *Namur*, thinking this a proper opportunity to attack them, bore down, about one o'clock, in company with Captain *Cornwall* in the *Marlborough*, upon the *Spanish* Admiral in the *Royal Philip*, and began the engagement with great spirit\*. The *Norfolk* engaged the *Constantine*, one of the *Spanish* ships, and, in less than an hour, made her quit the line, so as never to return to it again. The other ships ahead of the *English* Admiral † bore down at the same time with the *Norfolk*, but not so near the enemy as the *Namur* and the *Marlborough*. Those astern of him bore down too, but, if any credit can be given to some accounts of the battle, threw away their powder and ball, by firing at so great a distance, that they could not hurt the enemy, nor receive any damage themselves, except by random-shot, if even such could reach them. Mean time, the *Namur* made very good fires, the *Marlborough* better, and screened the Admiral from the fire of the *Royal Philip*, whose two seconds, one on each side, behaved so well, that the preservation of their Admiral may be said to have been in a great measure owing to their good conduct and intrepidity. After the battle had continued for some time, the *Marlborough* driving a little too near the Admiral, obliged him to fill his sails, for fear of her coming on

\* At this time the *English* fleet was about eight leagues distant from Cape *Sicie*, a promontory within two leagues and an half of *Toulon*, bearing N. E. by N. from the *Namur*.

† The *Princessa*, *Somerset*, *Dragon*, and *Bedford*.

board him, and, the enemy having greatly disabled his rigging, there being also but little wind, with an ugly swell; his mizen top-sail handed, to prevent the masts and rigging from tumbling about his ears, hindered the working of the ship, though he reeved new braces three several times; so that he could not give Captain *Cornwall* (whose behaviour merited all imaginable praises, and who fell about this time universally and most justly lamented) the assistance he much wanted. The enemy were extremely well served with gunners; the *French* having trained up a great number of them, and exercised them at a mark for upwards of three months before the engagement. After two hours of warm firing, the *Marlborough's* main-mast and mizen-mast were shot away, the latter brought to by the board, as if it had been but a twig; but, notwithstanding all the distress this poor vessel and the brave men on board her were in, not one ship, tho' there were many near, ever attempted to get between her and the enemy, or rescue her from a ruin that seemed impending. The Admiral's main-mast and bow-sprit were also shot through and through, the former having only two shrouds to support it, and all his top-sails were wounded. The *Spaniards* fired chiefly at the masts and rigging of the *English* ships; for though Admiral *Matthews* is said to have engaged within pistol-shot, he had but nine men killed outright and forty-five wounded; but this circumstance shews how much the *Marlborough* must have been exposed to the enemy's fire; for, on board her, there were no less than forty-two killed, and an hundred and twenty-five wounded. On the other hand, the *Royal Philip*, the *Spanish* Admiral's ship, was much disabled, her rigging appeared to be much shattered, her top-sail yards hanging in their slings, and her main-yard shot down. One of her seconds, when at-



tacked by Admiral *Matthews*, quickly bore away, and made all the sail she could.

The *Anne Galley* fire-ship, upon a signal from Admiral *Matthews*, crowded sail and steer'd right down, in order to burn the *Royal Philips*, which lay muzzled, as it were, with her stern to the *English* line. The galley made her way forward, through the fire of six *Spanish* ships astern of their Admiral, the four last whereof were crowding a-head, and escaped surprisingly, until she came within a cable's length of the ship against which she was sent, and then unhappily blew up, without effect \*. It was observed that the *Royal Philip*, when the fire-ship came near her, only fired a few guns off her lower deck, being unable, in her situation at that time, to bring any more to bear. It was likewise observed, that she had had the precaution to man a launch with fifty or sixty men, to save herself, take the fire-ship, and, if possible, retort the conflagration upon the *Marlborough*, who continued defenceless and unprotected. The unfortunate Captain *Mackey* of the fire-ship, who, it seems, was universally beloved, and acknowledged upon all occasions to be a good and vigilant officer, as he drew near, kept the few hands he had firing at this launch; but whether the misfortune was owing to a shot from the enemy, or whether, when the launch boarded her, he set fire to her himself, as the only means left to keep the evil from returning upon the *English* line, it is not easy to determine. It is, however, looked upon as certain, that the launch was swallowed up by the flames together with the fire-ship; and the boats crew of the *Anne Galley*, who escaped, and got on board the *Dorsetshire*, say, that they left their captain, with the match

† Besides the Captain and Lieutenant, there were at this time twelve or more men in her.

in his hand, and the lieutenant at the helm. It has been indeed alledged, that, had Captain *Mackey* seen his signal, primed his ship sooner, and been ready to go down upon the first notice, the design might have been easily executed under the cover of the *Namure* and *Marlborough*; but, from the character that Captain *Mackey* universally bore among his acquaintance, as well as the positive assertions of those that were in the battle, it is more probable that the misfortune happened by his not having seasonable notice to prime his ship, and his not being properly conducted and covered, as is usual on such occasions. Whatever be in this, Admiral *Matthews* himself, at the time the *Anne Galley* blew up, was within a musket-shot of the *Royal Philip*, and was afterwards engaged with the same four ships that were in the rear of the *Spanish* fleet, and having before passed by Vice-Admiral *Lestock's* division, had been attacked by some of the ships astern of him; but, at too great a distance to do execution. About this time, the *Poder* (powerful) a *Spanish* ship of sixty guns and six hundred men, having, for a long time sustained the fire of several *English* ships, and thereby lost her main and fore-top masts, was, at last, obliged to strike to the *Berwick*, Captain *Hawke*, who sent his first and fourth lieutenants, with a sufficient number of men, to take possession of her, and send the *Spanish* Captain and officers on board the *Berwick*.

About two o'clock, Rear-Admiral *Rowley* bore down upon the *French* line, which did not shew any great forwardness to come to blows with him; however, at last, Mr. *Rowley* having got along-side of M. *La Court*, the *French* Admiral in the *Terrible*, they had warm work for three glasses, during which time the *English* Rear-Admiral was supported and assisted by the *Princess Caroline*, Captain *Osborn*, who first engaged the

the *Esperance*, whom he soon silenced, then shot a-head to engage some other ships who were coming against his Admiral. The other ships of that division either stood off, to prevent those of the *French* squadron who were a-head from tacking and gaining the wind, or threw away their shot at too great a distance to annoy the enemy. The time just now mentioned being elapsed, the *French* Admiral set his fore-sail and retired, leaving Admiral *Rowley* engaged with his two seconds, who, in twenty minutes, went off likewise. There were but four of the *French* ships engaged, the rest keeping their wind, in order to tack, and weather the *English* line; but the headmost ships of Rear-Admiral *Rowley*'s division keeping the wind of them, prevented their design, till the evening, when M. *La Court* observing the danger to which the *Spanish* squadron was exposed, put the whole *French* line in motion to rescue them.

Meantime the first lieutenant of the *Berwick*, who was on board the *Poder*, observing the position of both fleets, wisely judged, that neither he nor his men could be much longer safe on board that prize, and therefore left her, with as many men as one boat could carry; at the same time, advising the fourth lieutenant to follow him, with the remainder, in a boat which he left with him for that purpose: but, it seems, this young gentleman was not sufficiently sensible of the danger, or not expeditious enough to get away before the *French* retook the ship, with the said lieutenant and twenty-three *English* sailors, who were found on board. The battle ended with the day, and it is observed of Admiral *Matthews*, that, during the engagement, he stood unmoved upon the quarter-deck, and oftentimes, leaning upon a chest of arms, made use of his spy-glass, with as great coolness and composure as a beau in the play-house, even when a double-headed shot carried

away a part of the chest on which he leaned. At 8 o'clock at night, the *English* Admiral shifted his ship, and hoisted his flag on board the *Russel*, Captain *Long*, not chusing, in case there should be an engagement next morning, to risk the falling of his masts.

On the 12th, by break of day, the *English* discovered the enemy's fleet to leeward of them, and found they had towed their crippled ships before the wind all night, and were now lying in a line of battle, the *French* to the windward of the *Spaniards*, most of them hull to. Upon this, Admiral *Matthews* gave the signal to chace, which they perceiving, made sail, and, upon the approach of the *English*, left the disabled *Spanish* sixty gun ship. The *English* Admiral, not being able to spare any of his squadron to carry this ship to *Minorca*, sent Captain *Norris*, of the *Essex*, a-head to set her on fire, which was accordingly done, and she blew up half an hour after nine at night. Soon after, Admiral *Matthews* brought to, that the sternmost ships might get up with him. At two o'clock in the morning of the 13th, the Admiral gave the signal to make sail; but the enemy, taking advantage of the darkness, had made the best of their way, and, at day-break, could not be discovered, till Vice-Admiral *Lestock*, who was a-head with his division, made signal that he saw twenty sail, and orders were immediately given to chace, which was also done; but, about nine o'clock, the wind encreasing, and there being no great probability of joining the enemy, Admiral *Matthews* made the signal to give over chace; and the fleet, having laboured for many days against contrary winds and storms, to get back to the bay of *Hieres*, was obliged to put into *Port Mahon*. The combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, in the mean time, continuing their course, got safe, the one to *Alicant* and the other to *Cartbagen*.



The *English* fleet being arrived at *Minorca*, the Captains of the several ships had leisure to bring in their accounts of the loss sustained in the battle of the 11th, whereby it appeared that in the *Namur* there were nine killed and wounded, as has been already observed. Among the latter was Captain *John Russel*, an excellent officer, who lost his left arm, and, for some time, was in a fair way of doing well, but afterwards died of a fever in the hospital. The *Marlborough* had forty-two men killed, and one hundred and twenty-five wounded. Among the former was Captain *Cornwall*, who was the idol and ornament of the navy; he had both his thighs shot off, and died in great agony, universally lamented by all his acquaintance. Captain *Godfrey* of the marines was also among the slain; and Mr. *Caton*, the Master of the ship, had both his legs shot off, and died in the hospital. Among the wounded was Mr. *Cornwall*, first lieutenant, who lost his right arm before the Captain's death, and, upon account of his merit and long services, was afterwards preferred to the command of the *Marlborough*. The *Barfleur* had twenty-four men killed, and twenty wounded. The *Norfolk*, nine killed, and thirteen wounded; and the *Princess Caroline* eight killed and twenty wounded\*. All these ships, except the *Norfolk*, suffered greatly in their masts and rigging; especially the *Marlborough*, whose condition was thought so bad, that orders were once given to sink her, but, upon more mature consideration, they were not put in execution. We have no account of the loss sustained by the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, but what is

\* The *Berwick* was also in the battle, and, as has been already observed, behaved well; but we have never seen any list of the killed and wounded on board her, though there is no reason to doubt that she suffered loss as well as the rest who fought at a proper distance.

given by the *French* Admiral, M. *La Court*, who tells us that Don *Navarro*, the *Spanish* Admiral, received two slight wounds; M. *De Girardin*, Captain of the colours, was killed; and that the killed and wounded in the whole fleet amounted to five hundred. We have already heard of the fate of the *Poder*, and it was observed that four other *Spanish* ships were entirely disabled, and towed away by the rest.

Admiral *Matthews's* conduct in this battle, and the pursuit that followed upon it, was much blamed, and many faults were found by Vice-Admiral *Leflock's* friends and others. He was blamed, particularly, for bearing down against the enemy too soon, before the *English* line was completely formed, or the Vice-Admiral, with his division, could come up to his assistance. This, it was said, was hazarding all without necessity. Had he had but a little more patience, till the whole fleet could have acted together, his victory would have been sure, and much more complete. To this it was answered, that the Admiral could not have delayed the engagement, without running the hazard of letting the enemy escape. The combined fleets had not shewn great forwardness to come to action, from the time they left the harbour of *Toulon*: and, at this very juncture, the *French* were making away very fast, and had left the *Spaniards* a good way a-stern of them. The Admiral thought this a good opportunity of destroying the latter, while thus separated from their allies; and it is plain enough that, if his own division only had followed the example of the *Namur* and *Marlborough*, and taken an equal share of the toil and danger of the day, as the Admiral had good ground to expect, the *Spaniards* must have been quite undone: whereas, if he had delayed but a little, the favourable opportunity

portunity might have been lost, the *French* and *Spaniards* might have both escaped, and the *English* fleet been obliged to follow them down the *Streights*, to the detriment of *Great Britain* and her allies \*.

He was blamed for keeping out the signal for the line of battle, together with that for engaging the enemy, which, it is pretended, created great confusion, and furnished an excuse for those Captains who threw away their fire at too great a distance to annoy the enemy. Here it must be owned, we are at a loss, and so little acquainted with the affair of signals, that we can neither excuse nor condemn the Admiral; but whatever impropriety might be in his conduct, with regard to this particular, we cannot think it a sufficient excuse for those who neglected the interest of their country, upon an occasion of so great importance; for, if the signal appeared doubtful in itself, the Admiral's example was the best commentary upon it, and, following it, they could be in no danger of censure, especially as it so evidently tended to the honour and interest of their country.

To conclude, the Admiral was blamed for bringing to on the night of the 12th, at six miles distance from the enemy, and thereby, as is alledged, giving an opportunity to the combined fleets to escape: and next day, when the Vice-Admiral had recovered sight of the enemy, and was in full pursuit of them, for making the signal to give over chace. To this it was answered, That the Admiral did indeed ly to on the night of the 12th, not at the distance of six, but within three miles of the enemy; that this measure was absolutely necessary, because a great many ships of the Squadron

\* One of the bad consequences to be apprehended from the enemy's drawing the *English* fleet down the *Streights*, was, that the *French* might, in the mean time, send some embarkation from *Toulon* to *Italy*, the combined fleets, when they sailed from that place, having left three or four men of war, and a number of transports, probably with that view.

was not come up; and if they had, it would not have been adviseable to attack the enemy in the night, when signals could not be understood, nor a friend distinguished from a foe. That at two o'clock next morning, when the enemy's flight was perceived, the Admiral gave the signal to make sail, but, at day-break, the combined fleets could only be seen from the mast-heads of the Vice-Admiral's division, which was a-head. Nevertheless the Admiral continued the pursuit till nine o'clock, without finding that he had gained any ground upon the enemy; and then, the wind encreasing to such a pitch, and the sea rising so high, that the ships were in danger of being dismasted, he made the signal to give over chace, when all hopes of overtaking the enemy were vanished, and the pursuit could be no longer continued with safety. Upon the whole, it is owned on all hands, that the *French* and *Spanish* ships, being quite clean, sailed much better than the *English*; therefore, all that could be hoped from continuing the pursuit, (if there could be any reasonable hope of obtaining even this advantage) was the possession of the four crippled *Spanish* ships; and whether it was worth while to endanger the King's ships, for the precarious chance of such a prize, we leave to the determination of the reader.

This battle gave an opportunity to the animosity which had long subsisted between the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, to vent itself. The Admiral imagined the Vice Admiral's falling behind, and not coming up in time to the action, was not owing to necessity, but voluntary and premeditated, and, therefore, after the exchanging some letters with him on that subject, at *Mabon*, suspended him, and sent him home to *England*. The Vice-Admiral, in his turn, accused the Admiral, who was, soon after, recalled to answer for his conduct. Both of them had their friends and abettors; so that the affair at last was brought before the parliament, and courts



courts-martial were appointed. But, as it is foreign to our purpose, so we have neither time nor inclination to enter into these disputes. Those who want information on this subject may have recourse to the pamphlets that were written on both sides, and the proceedings of the courts-martial that were held on this occasion. We shall only add, that if the strength of the *British* fleet in the *Mediterranean* at that time had been properly exerted, and the enemy had felt its full force, the naval power of *France* and *Spain* must have got such a blow as it would not have soon recovered, the war with *Spain* would have soon been brought to a period, and that with *France*, which followed, effectually prevented.

In our account of *Marfeilles* we have taken notice of the sufferings of *Toulon*, at different times, by the pestilence, and shall not now repeat what we have said on that subject.

Before we conclude this article, we must take some notice of two corporation towns in this neighbourhood, viz. *Six-fours*, and *La Seine*, the one lying about a league and an half, and the other only a league from *Toulon*, and nearly S. S. W. of that place. *Six-Fours* is situated upon a rising ground, a little to the East of the island and tower of *Embiez*, already mentioned, and a league to the Northward of Cape *Sicie*: the inhabitants of this borough believe that it was originally founded by a *Roman*, called *Sextus Furius*, and support their opinion by some inscriptions dug out of the earth, near that place. Whatever be in this, the natives of *Six-Fours*, both men and women, are remarkable for being of a larger size than the other inhabitants of *Provence*, being generally, as is pretended, from eight to nine palms high\*.

\* This account is taken from M. *Piganiol* in his *Description de la France*, vol. V. p. 319. who also tells us, *ibid.* p. 340, that the span. or palm, of *Provence* is 9 inches 2 lines; so that, if the inch of *Provence* is the same with that of *Paris*, the people of *Six-Fours* are generally from 6 feet 6 inches to 7 feet 4 inches high, English measure, which is scarce credible.

It is said also, that formerly the people of this town were not allowed to marry out of their own district, for fear of spoiling their breed.

*La Seine* is a pretty large place, about half a league to the Northward of *Six-Fours*, pleasantly situated at the South-South-West corner of the little road of *Toulon*. It is said to have had its name from a particular sort of nets used by the fishermen of that place, and called in their language *Seines*. Be this as it may, the agreeable situation of the place, in a fertile plain, and on the side of a sea abounding with fish, with the advantage of an excellent harbour, engaged a great many from *Six-Fours* and the neighbouring villages to come and settle in it; so that in a little time it became very populous. In the year 1607, the inhabitants built a chapel for divine service, under the title of *Notre-Dame de bon voyage*. In 1615, this chapel was enlarged, and converted to a parish church, under the same name. In 1619, a convent was built at *La Seine* for the Capuchins, who are in possession of it to this day. All this time, and for some years after, *La Seine* and *Six-Fours* made but one corporation between them; but, in the year 1657, the inhabitants of the former, now encreased to the number of 2000, applied to the King to be erected into a corporation by themselves, and separated from that of *Six-Fours*, which was granted; and, in consequence thereof, the district, hitherto common, was divided into two by an arrêt of the parliament of *Aix*, and one of them assigned to *La Seine*. This town still continuing to increase, in 1672 the church was found too little to contain the inhabitants, and, therefore, taken down, and a new church begun, which was finished in the year 1681, and now reckoned one of the finest in *Provence*. The town of *La Seine* is very neat, and the streets well laid out. There is a beautiful square in the middle of the town, and another

at the end next the sea, which is employed as a dock-yard. The quays are not yet completed, but they are very broad. It is computed that there are now in the town about six hundred houses, nine publick fountains, and about 4000 inhabitants, including women and children; but it is observed, that, before the pestilence in 1721, they were reckoned to be near 6000.

The harbour of *La Seine* is so good that ships ly safe in it without either anchor or cables; for the bottom being mud, they suffer no damage by being a-ground; and it is covered on the North and West by two long rows of houses. It has been hitherto kept in repair at the expence of the corporation, which, in the year 1724, laid out upon it more than seventy thousand livres. But, notwithstanding this expence, the South side of it is by insensible degrees filled up with mud, and, by this means, almost half the harbour is in danger of being lost, the corporation not having funds sufficient for repairing it. We shall only add, that the harbour of *La Seine*, taken altogether, is 127 *French* fathoms in length, from North to South, and about 60 in breadth: and that

SO called from the country or viguerie of *Hieres*, the shores whereof are washed by it. The principal town of this district, which also bears the same name, stands about three quarters of a league from the sea, and three leagues and a half to the Eastward of *Toulon*, in the North latitude of 43

the *Abbé* of *St. Victor* is Superior of the town, from which he draws yearly a revenue of 6000 livres.

### REFERENCES to the Plan of TOULON.

- A. Bastion of the dock.
- B. Bastion of *Las*.
- C. Bastion *Du Marest*.
- D. Bastion of the Arsenal.
- E. The King's Bastion.
- F. Bastion of the Foundry.
- G. Bastion of *St. Ursula*.
- H. Bastion of *St. Bernard*.
- I. Bastion of the *Minims*.

About a league and a half to the South-East of the entrance into the great road of *Toulon*, and in the same bay, lies the road of *Monare*, so called from a monastery of the same name on the shore, separated by a narrow neck of land from the famous bay of

degrees 7 minutes, and 6 degrees 17 minutes to the Eastward of the meridian of *London*. It is believed to be the *Olbia* of *Strabo*, *Mela*, and *Ptolemy*, which, if it could be sufficiently ascertained, would be a good proof of its antiquity. It was afterwards called *Aræa*, which was again



corrupted into *Eres* and *Hieres*. In the days of *William* of *Nangis*, it seems to have had the name of *Abires*; for that author, speaking of the return of *St. Lewis* with the *French* army, from *Syria*, says, they landed at *Abires* in *Provence*. The lordship of *Hieres* was a long time an appennage of the younger sons of the Viscounts of *Marseilles*, of the family of *Fos*. *Geoffrey de Fos*, the second of that name, Viscount of *Marseilles*, gave it to his youngest son *Pons*, in the year 1140, whose posterity were in possession of it in 1257. *Charles* of *France*, Duke of *Anjou*, *Maine*, &c. and brother to *Lewis IX.* called also *St. Lewis*, having married *Beatrice* the daughter of *Raymond* Count of *Tbolouse* and *Provence*, took possession of his dominions, and received the homage of his vassals. This prince was determined to suffer no sovereign princes within his dominions but himself, and therefore turned them all out one after another. *Roger de Fos*, and *Bertrand*, his brother, at that time lords of *Hieres*, were the persons from whom he expected the least resistance, and yet found them most obstinate in defence of their rights. *Charles*, upon this, found it necessary to raise troops, and lay siege to the town and castle of *Hieres*. The two brothers defended the place with great resolution for five months, but, being at last reduced to great extremities, their friends represented to them the great power of their enemy, with the improbability of their receiving succours sufficient to extricate them out of their present difficulty, and therefore persuaded them to consent to an accommodation, which was concluded on the fifteenth of *October* 1257. By this treaty the two brothers, *Roger* and *Bertrand*, together with their sister *Mabel des Fos*, gave up to the Count of *Provence* the town of *Hieres*, with its territories, isles, rights, jurisdictions, fisheries, and, in general, all its appurtenances and dependencies. *Charles*,

on his side, engaged to give them in return lands to the value of a thousand sols royal, and, in consequence of his engagement, actually put the two brothers and their sister in possession of the lands of *Borines*, *La Mole*, *Calobriere*, *La Verne*, *Cavalarie*, *Pierrefeu*, *Canet*, and others.

Since *Provence* was united to the crown of *France*, the isles of *Hieres*, otherwise called the *Golden Islands*, have been twice erected into a Marquisate, viz. by *Francis I.* about the year 1531, in favour of *Bertrand d'Orneson*, Baron of *Saint Blancard*, and, in the year 1549, by King *Henry II.* in favour of *Christopher* Count of *Roquendolf* and *Gundetrot*, Baron of *Molembourg*, Lord of *Condé* and *Revaix*, hereditary Grand-Master of *Austria*, and Gentleman in ordinary of the King's bed-chamber; as a recompence for his having left the large estates which he had in *Germany* and the neighbouring countries, and come to serve his Majesty. The King gave him also, at the same time, the isles of *Porquerolles*, *Portecros*, and *Levant*, commonly called the *Isles of Hieres*, which were then uninhabited, and only served as a retreat for pirates and other enemies of the state, who commonly resorted thither to make prize of all merchant ships that fell within their reach. In this grant the King gives these islands the title of the *Golden Islands*, and permits the said Count to dispose of them in favour of any persons whatever, providing they be natives of the kingdom of *France*, with power to build such fortresses as he shall think proper, for the security of these isles, and the defence of the country of *Provence*, and exemption from all imposts, taxes, and duties whatsoever, that might otherwise be laid upon the inhabitants. The Count was likewise empowered to receive and protect all criminals flying from justice, except those guilty of high treason, or other enormous crimes mentioned in the letters patent; and finally,

finally, authorised to impose duties upon all foreign ships which shall land any goods in these islands.

The town of *Hieres* stands upon the side of a hill, on the top of which there are still some remains of an old castle, which is said to have been formerly one of the strongest forts in the kingdom, and, in ancient records, called *Nobile Castrum*. Some are fanciful enough to say, that this castle was founded by *Olbius*, the son of *Romulus*, notwithstanding it has been proved by *Gaufredi*, and other historians of *Provence*, that the towns of *Hieres*, *Nice*, *Antibes*, and probably *Toulon* also, were built by the posterity of the *Grecian* colony which settled at *Marseilles*. In the town there is an old tower said to have belonged to the *Templars*, in the lower part of which there is a vaulted chapel, and on the top a long and magnificent terrass-walk, to which you ascend by a stair-case in the walls; and it is further observed, that these walls are so fine and so artfully constructed, that the whole edifice seems to be but one stone.

The town of *Hieres* being situated upon the side of a hill, in the form of an amphitheatre, lying open to the south, with a little inclination towards the East, tho' it is almost a league distant from the sea, has, by this means, a large prospect into it: and not only a view of the road, with the islands that ly in it, and the fort of *Bragançon* on the continent, but also of the whole plain of its own district. This district extends a whole league on every side of the town, and is watered by a canal from the river of *Souliers*. A part of it consists of fruit and kitchen gardens of very large extent, inclosed within walls, and some of them containing forests of orange and citron trees of all kinds. Some of these gardens have brought their proprietors no less than 40,000 livres in one year; but one season with another, they all taken

together, bring in annually at least 50,000. There is in the whole district but one collegiate parish church, dedicated to *St. Paul*; the clergy whereof consists of six Canons, four Beneficiaries, a *Prevôt*, and two Vicars. There is in the town a convent of *Cordeliers*, another of *Recollet* Monks, an abbey of Nuns of the *Cistercian* order, and a convent of those of *St. Clara*. We find here also a house belonging to the Fathers of the Oratory, and in it a small college, wherein the three first classes are instructed in the *Greek* and *Latin* languages. About a league from the town there are some fine salt pits, where more than a hundred thousand minots, of eighty pound weight each, are manufactured every year. These salt pits are the property of the Marquis's *de Souliers*, *de Valavoire*, and *de Boufferan*. The proprietors are at the expence of manufacturing the salt, which the King purchases from them at two sols six deniers the minot, and distributes to his subjects at seventeen livres.

The road of *Hieres* is the largest and the best in the *Mediterranean*. It is said to be fifteen miles in breadth, and twenty-five in length. Ships ride there with the greatest safety, and there is not an instance in the memory of man of any wrecked in it. The *French* King's ships commonly put in there after they leave the road of *Toulon*; and the Count *de Toulouze*, Admiral of *France*, anchored there with his whole squadron, when he sailed for the coast of *Sicily*, in the year 1702.

This road has been extremely useful to the *English* particularly in the late war, which broke out in 1739. Admiral *Lestock* lay in it with his squadron for the most part of the year 1742, and the whole of 1743. He found it a spacious and commodious bay, admirably sheltered from wind and sea, and capable of containing the royal navy of *Great Britain*.



*tain*. It lies also in one of the most fertile, pleasant and wholesome climates in *Europe*, where there is plenty of wood, water, and every refreshment. It is particularly a most excellent station for watching and blocking up the *French* fleet at *Toulon*, as it is not above nine miles from it, and every thing which goes out and in to that harbour may be easily distinguished. But the greatest advantage of all to the *English* is, that, as the extent of this bay is very great, it is not in the power of the *French* monarchy to fortify it, so as to keep their fleet from having recourse to it at all times and seasons; which is, no doubt, a very severe mortification to the *Grand Monarque* and his subjects.

Here the *English* fleet lay in perfect order and good health, the climate being exceeding wholesome, and their station absolutely safe and convenient, where they could hear and see every motion of the enemy. Hither the different cruisers daily resorted, as soon as relieved, to take wood, water, and provisions on board; then in their turn were sent out again as the necessity of the time required. The tenders also came occasionally from *Mabon* with stores and provisions; nor durst the enemy attempt to disturb them; while, on the other hand, it must have been very galling to the *Spaniards*, and much more so to the *French*, to see their own roads and harbours, in spite of all their power, contribute so much to the safety of their enemies, and their own disappointment. For, had it not been for the advantage the *English* enjoyed by means of this bay, no human art or policy could have prevented the *French* and *Spaniards* from carrying on their designs in *Italy*; since without this convenience it was not possible for the *British* squadron, or any force sufficient to cope with the combined fleets, to keep the sea during two such severe winters, with such hard gales of wind and high seas, as

are frequent in these parts: and loss of masts, crippling and disabling of vessels, if not the ruin of some ships, must have been the unavoidable consequence of endeavouring it. Besides the ships, after long cruises, must have been refitted; and, at such junctures, when want of provision and water, sickness, loss of masts, stress of weather, or any other incidents in the power of wind or sea, should have forced the fleet to sail to *Mabon*, or *Villa Franca*, to be repaired, it must have been very practicable for the *French* and *Spaniards* to put their favourite schemes in execution, and laugh at all the endeavours that could be used to prevent them. From all which it appears, that this bay was the principal means of preventing the *French* and *Spaniards* from gaining their point, as it not only kept the *English* squadron together, in good order and constant readiness for action, but also prevented great expence to his *Britannic* Majesty, and preserved the lives of many seamen, which could not easily have been replaced. In short, the *English* fleet, riding in the bay of *Hieres*, enjoyed all the advantages that possibly could have been procured in any harbour, except that of careening their ships; and without it, it would have been impossible for them so effectually to watch the motions of their enemies, and disappoint all their projects for several years together. The author of a pamphlet wrote in the year 1744, in defence of Admiral *Lestock*, against the accusations of Admiral *Matthews* \*, ascribes to the former the discovery of *Hieres* bay, as if the *English* before that time had been entirely unacquainted with the conveniencies of it: and, which is still more surprising, the author of a very spirited perfor-

\* See Narrative of the Proceedings of his Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, from 1741 to March 1744, page 14.

mance,

mance, in opposition to this, seems readily to grant the truth of this assertion, and to allow Mr. *Lestock* the honour of the discovery \*. But, if we had no positive evidence to the contrary, it is not very probable that the *English* could continue almost forty years masters of the *Mediterranean*, and all that time be unacquainted with the largest and best road in it. This, however, is not the case; we have already seen, that, in the year 1707, when the Duke of *Savoy* concerted the expedition against *Toulon*, with Sir *Cloudefly Shovel*, the *English* Admiral, it was agreed that, till the former should arrive with his army before that place, the latter should station his fleet at the isles of *Hieres*; a certain evidence that both were acquainted with the conveniences of that bay. Sir *Cloudefly* accordingly anchored with his fleet for some days in it, and, in that time, must have discovered its nature and excellencies, even supposing, which is by no means probable, that he had been a stranger to it before. Admiral *Byng*, afterwards Lord *Torrington*, at that time served under Admiral *Shovel*, and Mr. *Lestock* having sailed long with Admiral *Byng*, and been much favoured by him, could not but know something of this road, and other particulars with regard to the *Mediterranean*, either from his own observation, or conversation with the officers, who had served under Admiral *Shovel* in the year 1707, and been at the siege of *Toulon*. But now to proceed:

In this bay are three islands, called in general the *Isles of Hieres*, but, besides this common appellation, each of them has a particular one of its own. The first, or most westerly, is called *Porqueyroles*, *Porqueroles*, or *Porcariola*, on account of the vast number of wild hogs that abound in it, and swim to it from the Continent, for the sake of the acorns which they find there in vast plenty. The second, or

middlemost, is called *Portecros*, because of the depth of its harbour, the word *Cros*, in the language of *Provence*, signifying deep. It is further to be observed, that, in this island, there is a small fort. The third is called *Titan*, or *Levant*, because it is the most easterly of the three. There was formerly in the isle of *Porqueroles* a monastery called *Monasterium Arearum*, which was several times demolished by the *Saracens*. The *Cistercian* Monks having settled there in the twelfth century, were carried away by barbarians; some Regular Canons, who fixed their residence in it some time afterwards, had the same unhappy fate; and, since that time, no Monk, of any order whatever, has ventured to run the same risk. The Abbé of *Longuerue* is of opinion, that the isles of *Hieres*, and not the three barren rocks near *Marfeilles*, are the *Stoechades* of the ancients. There are some also who think that these isles had the name of the *Golden Islands*, on account of the beauty and abundance of the oranges, in *Latin Mala Aurea*, that grow in them. On the East side of the bay of *Hieres* stands the fort of *Bragançon*, near Cape *Benat*, originally intended for the defence of a harbour adjoining to it. There was also formerly a large mole there to cover that harbour from the winds and sea; but this mole has been long ago carried away by the force of the waves, and the harbour thereby rendered useless.

Before we conclude this article, it will not be improper to take notice of a country town in the diocese of *Toulon*, called *Bormes*, at the distance of about three leagues from *Hieres*, which has the title of a barony. It stands upon a rugged mountain, whereon are still to be seen the ruins of an ancient castle, which some take for the *Bormanico* of *Pliny*, but without sufficient authority. The whole town and

\* Original Letters, with remarks on the Narrative, &c. page 68.



district has but one parish church, nor do we hear of any other public building in it, but a convent of the *Minims*, founded in the year 1684. The town seems to have had formerly a considerable trade, but their marine has greatly decayed since the mole of *Bragançon*, within which their

ships used to ly, under the protection of the castle of that name, was carried away by the sea.

After leaving *Bormes*, we meet with nothing of consequence along the coast, till having past the capes of *Tailler*, *Lardier*, *Pinet*, and *Capon*, we arrive at the town and port of

## St. T R O P E Z,

**S**ITUATED upon a promontory of the same name, about five leagues from *Bormes*, and eight to the North East of *Hieres*, in the latitude of 43 degrees 16 minutes North, and 6 degrees 50 minutes to the Eastward of the meridian of *London*. The gulph of *St. Tropez*, called also the bay of *Grimaud*, upon which the town stands, is six miles in length, and three in breadth. The town is commanded by an eminence, on which there is erected an hexagonal tower, defended by a ditch cut out of the rock, and a small covered way. In the year 1592, the Duke d'*Espernon*, during the troubles of *Provence*, in order to secure the sea coast for the King, thought proper to enlarge this fort by the addition of a second enclosure, which is now called the *Citadel*. It is of an irregular figure, having three bastions on one front: the others are defended with redoubts; but on one of the sides there is no ditch. The Governor of *Provence* is commonly Governor of this fort, which effectually commands the town and part of the gulph. He has under him a King's lieutenant, who seldom resides there,

and a Major, with a garrison consisting of a company of invalids.

The town of *Tropez* stands in the diocese of *Frejus*, and generality of *Aix*. It has but one parish church, which is dedicated to the Virgin in conjunction with *St. Tropez*, and the whole town contains about three thousand inhabitants, including women and children. The harbour of *St. Tropez*, if it was in good repair, is large enough to contain two hundred ships, without the least difficulty or confusion. The entrance into it is towards the South East. It has also another harbour called the *Canabiers*, about two miles to the South of the town, in the entrance of the gulph, where galleys and all sorts of vessels may anchor in case of necessity. It is further to be observed, that there is no danger in this gulph, if care be taken to avoid a bank called the *Moutte*, which lies in the mouth of it, and extends three miles into the sea. We have said, if the harbour was in good repair, which it certainly is not at present, for it has been for a long time gradually filling up with sand and mud.

mud. In the year 1719, the King gave orders to visit this place, and make an estimate of the charges necessary for repairing and enlarging the quays, deepening the harbour, and putting every thing in good order. The *Sieur De Bonvoisin*, an able engineer, being employed in this work, sent to the Court a plan, wherein the charge of all these reparations was estimated at 87,138 livres; but the corporation of *St. Tropez*, unable to bear so great an expence, offered to contribute 34,138 livres, the sum reckoned necessary for clearing the harbour only: upon which the King promised to contribute 30,000 livres, and that the 23,000 remaining should be raised by a tax upon the province. Here the affair rested, and nothing has been since done in it; tho' it is strongly asserted, that this expence would be but a trifle in respect of the advantages that must redound from it to the town of *St. Tropez*, the province, and the King's revenue.

The coast of *St. Tropez* abounds, above all others, in fish of all sorts, and the coral fished here excels that which is found in other parts of the *Mediterranean*. The air is also very wholesome, and there are constantly in this place a great many persons above the age of fourscore years. It is also so sharp and so well purified by the North and North-West winds, that this town was never afflicted by the pestilence, although that distemper has often raged in the neighbouring towns and villages. The trade of this place consists principally in wines, fire-wood, and ship-timber. The country about produces not corn enough to maintain the inhabitants for fifteen days in the year.

About two miles from the bottom of the bay, almost two leagues to the North, or rather North by West of *St. Tropez*, stands the little town of *Grimaud*, in the diocese of

*Frejus*, and intendance of *Aix*, containing between 480 and 490 inhabitants. It is said to have taken its name from *Haribald de Grimodis*, to whom *William* Count of *Provence* gave this town with its district, as a recompence for the victories the former had gained over the *Saracens*. It was erected into a barony in the year 1495, in favour of *Stephen de Vesque*; and into a marquise in 1627 by *Lewis XIII.* in favour of *Esprit Allard*, *Sieur des Plans*, grand-master of the household to that Prince, as a reward for his good services. It passed from his family into that of the Lord of the Manor of *La Branche de St. Jusit*; and the lands of *La Garde*, *Fraisnet*, *La Molle*, *Cogolin*, *Gaslin*, *Ramatuel*, and *St. Tropez*, hold of it. It has given name to the gulph in its neighbourhood, which, from it, is called the *Gulph of Grimaud*, *Sinus Gambricius*, or *Gambricitanus*, tho' it is also more properly called the Bay or Gulph of *St. Tropez*, as this is the most considerable place that stands upon its shores.

Traveling along the shore, to the Westward of *St. Tropez*, we meet with the village of *St. Raphael*, in the language of the country called *St. Raphaud*, about four leagues from the former. In former times it was only a house belonging to the templars, and is not now much more considerable, for there are not above forty or fifty inhabitants in it. Ships run great hazard upon the beach of *St. Raphael*, and are often wreck'd in the gulph of *Frejus*, having no place of greater security to repair to. To prevent such misfortunes, it has been proposed to clear the canal of the antient harbour of *Frejus*; and it is pretended the expence of this would be but small, in respect of the profit which would result to that town and all the neighbourhood.

About a league and a half almost North-North-West from *St. Raphael* stands the antient and famous town of



## F R E J U S.

**I**T is a generally received opinion, that this town was founded by a colony of the *Phœceans* from *Marseilles*; but neither history nor tradition have acquainted us with the name first given it. Some imagine it was originally called the *Octavian Colony*, but this is not the opinion of the learned *Abbé d'Antelmi*, Canon of *Frejus*, nor that of the *Abbé Girardin*, Curate of *Cougoulin*, the first whereof, in the year 1680, published a book *De initiis Ecclesiæ Forojuliensis*, and the other, in 1729, a history of the town and church of *Frejus* in the *French* language. This latter thinks that the original name of this place was *Oxubia*; because the *Oxubii*, according to *Pliny's* description, possessed all that country that now constitutes the diocese of *Frejus*; which gave Father *Hardouin* occasion to say, *Regio Oxubiorum, quorum caput ipsum forum Julii fuit. Julius Cæsar* honoured this place by calling it, after his own name, *Forum Julii*; which has been since that time corrupted into *Frejus*; but, before this corruption took place, it had the name of *Forum Julium de Colonia Octavianorum, de Colonia Pacensi, et de Colonia Classica*, because it was one of *Augustus's* marine arsenals\*.

\* In these times the town of *Frejus* stood upon the sea shore, and had an excellent harbour; but the land has since then encroached so much upon the Mediterranean at this place, that *Frejus* now lies at a considerable distance from the sea, and its ancient harbour is become quite useless; for this reason there is very little trade at *Frejus*, and the few ships the inhabitants have are obliged to lie off the beach of *St. Raphael*, or in the little harbour at the mouth of the *Argent*, in both which places they are exposed to great danger.

Besides its antiquity, it acquired lustre by being the place of *Agricola's* nativity, and continues to be famous upon account of the many old monuments that are still to be found about it.

The town stands in the latitude of 43 degrees 28 minutes North, and 6 degrees 58 minutes to the Eastward of the meridian of *London*. It was well known to both Pagan and Christian antiquity, and a part of its territory is watered by a river, which, from the clearness of its streams, is called the *Argent*. This little river takes its rise at the town of *Barjols*, and runs South-East, till it falls into the sea at *Raphael*, about half a league from the town of *Frejus*. Tho' its current is by no means considerable, it has been taken notice of by antient historians and geographers, such as *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*: and *Lepidus* dates several of his letters to *Cicero* and the senate, from his camp at the bridge over the *Argent*\*. The old town of *Frejus* was more than five miles in circumference, according to the report of an historian who measured it several times with great care. Its walls were built with that strength and solidity, which is peculiar to the works of the *Romans*, and defended by massy towers, at proper distances from one another: but these fine structures were destroyed by the incursions of the *Goths*.

\* *Ex castris ex ponte Argentæ.-----A ponte Argentæ.*

The

The *Roman Gate* was built by the order of *Julius Caesar*, as an ornament to a town which he favoured, and honoured with his own name. It was built of large cut stone, and consisted of two arches, a little more than nine feet distant from one another, and this interval is also vaulted. The outer arch, however, together with the vault, is fallen down; so that only the inner one remains; but the middle, or key stone, is so much worn, and has so little hold, that many people are afraid, the arch will tumble down upon them while they are passing under it. From the level of the street to the center of the arch, this gate is thirty palms in height, and twenty-three in breadth, reckoning the palm, according to the measures of the province, nine inches and two lines. There were over the arch several pieces of architecture, suited to the taste of those times, and intended as ornaments. The second antique gate, the arch whereof at least remains, is the golden gate, which stands in the garden of the Nuns of *St. Dominic*, about an hundred paces to the Southward of the town. The common opinion is, that it was called the Golden Gate, *Porta Aurea*, on account of large iron nails with gilded heads, placed at equal distances in the mason-work, many whereof are still to be seen in the interstices of the stones. It was thirty-four palms in height, from the level of the street to the highest point of the arch, and sixteen and a half in breadth. It consisted of three arches, whereof that in the middle was larger than the other two, that are now fallen to ruin. This edifice was built in the same solid manner with the walls and towers of the town. The third gate is in pretty good condition, and called *La Porte Paticiere*. Some years ago the magistrates ordered it to be walled up; the arch however is entire, but low, and the breadth proportional to the height. The fourth an-

tique gate, as we are told by the late historian of *Frejus*, is very remarkable, and of a particular construction; he does not however tell us wherein; but only observes that it is shut up in the kitchen garden belonging to the convent of the *Cordeliers*. This was the gate by which those who came from *Gaul* entered the town of *Frejus*. Without this gate there was formerly a large half-moon, ninety paces in circumference on the inside, the walls whereof, though built 1800 years ago, are still entire, and of a considerable height. Within this half-moon you discover two gates of equal dimensions, and about the distance of twelve paces from one another. They were each above nine feet broad; and the approaches to them were guarded by two large towers, twenty-four paces in circumference at the two horns of the great half-moon.

While the *Romans* were masters of the town of *Frejus*, they enriched it with several magnificent works and structures, and, among others, with an aqueduct, which began in the territory of the little town of *Mons*, between five and six leagues North of that city. This aqueduct was supplied from the river of *Siagne*, the water whereof is excellent. it begins with a passage sixty paces long and four broad, cut through a hard rock; and a part of the water of that river being introduced into this passage, was conducted by a canal of stone, the space of nine or ten leagues of *Provence*, which are at least equal to eighteen leagues *Paris* measure; so that, at last, after infinite labour, great length of time, and vast expence, the stream arrived at *Frejus* over an eminence, which stands about a mile from the *Roman* gate. On that eminence the canal may be seen on the surface of the ground, from whence it is conveyed over arches lessening by degrees, till it is brought gradually down to the town. Twelve of the



arches are seen still standing, and after them, the ruins of several others, but there are no visible remains of the rest; nor is it known, at this time, whether this aqueduct was constructed by *Julius Cæsar*, *Augustus*, *Caligula*, or *Vespasian*. There was an amphitheatre at *Frejus*, on the West side of the town, adjoining to the walls. It was of an oval form, 150 paces in length from East to West; and the arena inclosed within it more than 280 paces in circumference.

*Frejus* continued several ages in the flourishing state in which the *Romans* left it; but, as time produces great changes, it was taken, sack'd, and quite ruined, by the *Saracens*. Some of the parties in *Spain* having called to their assistance the *Saracens* of *Africa*, this fierce people immediately came into that country, and, becoming formidable by their numbers, made themselves masters of several towns in the kingdom. A body of these barbarians, who were also called *Moors* in *Spain*, about the year 850, landed at the gulph which *Antonine* calls *Sinus Sanbracinus*, or *Sanbracitanus*, now known by the name of the *Bay of Grimaud*, and finding the country proper for their purpose, pillaged it, and then, getting up to the top of an high mountain, in the neighbourhood, called *Fraxinetum*, now *Fraxinet*, or *Frainet*, there fortified a place of arms, and made it almost impregnable. From this place they made incursions into the neighbouring countries, and laid all places about under contribution. *William* Count of *Provence*, the first of that name, having raised troops, and taken the field with an army, in order to exterminate these barbarians, was powerfully supported by two gentlemen of that country. The one, named *Gibalin*, the son of *Grimault* Lord of *Antibes*, having met with the enemy near *Tourtou*, in the diocese of *Frejus*,

obtained a complete victory over them. The other, who contributed greatly to the extirpation of the *Saracens*, was called *Bobon*, or *Buvon*, and was equally famous for the purity of his morals, and his attainments in the art of war. He was a native of the diocese of *Sisleron*, where his paternal estate lay, and still continues to bear his name. This gentleman formed a project of securing the mountain called *Pierre-Impie*, or *Pigros*, which lay directly opposite to *Fraxinet*, where the *Saracens* had their place of arms. While he was fortifying himself in that post, an officer belonging to the castle of *La Garde*, at that time held by the enemy, came to him, complaining that the *Saracen* who commanded in that fortress had taken away his wife, and proposing to betray the place into his hands. *Bobon* accepted of the offer, and took his measures so well, that he made himself master of the castle of *La Garde*, and put all the *Saracens* he found in arms to the sword, except such as were willing to embrace the *Christian* religion. But before the *Infidels* met with this disaster, they had committed the most cruel depredations, not only in the open country, but also in the towns of the neighbourhood, and *Frejus* among the rest. They imagined the spoil of this last would enrich them for ever, and therefore, having made themselves masters of it, and put a great many of the inhabitants to the sword, they pillaged the churches and private houses, then set fire to the four corners of the city, and reduced it to ashes. This event happened about the year 940, and *Frejus* continued in ruins for thirty years thereafter; that is, till the days of *Riculphe* Bishop of that see, who repaired the cathedral, and encouraged the rebuilding of the town.

The

The cathedral, built by *Riculphe* at this time, is more than 80 paces in length, and entirely built with cut stone. The grand entry is in one of the sides, and the whole fabric dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*. The parochial church stands near the cathedral, and is dedicated to *St. Stephen*. The foundation of the seminary was begun at the expence of *Charles de Tassi*, Canon of the cathedral church, and completed by an annual pension of 1500 livres, obtained, by *M. Ondedei* Bishop of that diocese, from the *French King* in 1664. The hospital is very large, and the sick are attended by the Sisters of Charity, whom the famous *M. De Fleury*, while he was Bishop of *Frejus*, brought from *Nevers*, and settled here for that purpose. The oldest convent of *Monks* in this town is that of the *Cordeliers*, who succeeded the *Minims* in the year 1553. The *Jesuits* obtained a settlement here by means of *Bartholomew de Camelin*, Bishop of the diocese, in the year 1637. The said prelate founded also at *Frejus* a monastery of Nuns in 1631. This convent was at first possessed by the *Benedictine* Nuns, who came from *Tarrascon*; but, two years thereafter, he settled in it a society of the Nuns of *St. Dominic*, from the monastery of *St. Stephen* in *Forêt*. These Nuns put themselves at first under obedience of the order; but the disputes and law pleas which they afterwards had with the *Dominicans*, disposed them to submit to the authority of their diocesan, and they obtained from the Pope a brief for this purpose in the year 1659. This convent is well built, and the church belonging to it is very handsome. The society, for a long time, consisted of forty Nuns, but the misfortunes which happened in consequence of *Mr. Law's* schemes, ruined that religious house, as well as many others.

The monastery of the Nuns of *St. Bernard* was founded by *Peter de Camelin*, Bishop of *Frejus*, and nephew to *Bar-*

*tholomew* already mentioned, on the 18th of September 1647. This prelate brought to this convent six Nuns of the *Cister-tian* order, from the monastery of *St. Roche*, near *Geneva*, some of whom are said to have been under the direction of *St. Francis of Sales*. Whatever may be in this, the convent was in very flourishing circumstances, while under the inspection of *M. Perre*, Grand-Vicar of the diocese; but, since that time, it hath lost much of its lustre, and is now quite drowned in debt.

We cannot conclude our account of the city of *Frejus*, without observing that it has acquired fame from the great men it has produced, both in ancient and modern times. Of the former are *Julius Græcinus*, celebrated for his virtue and probity; *Julius Agricola*, already mentioned, famous for his consulship and the conquest of *Britain*; *Valerius Paulinus*, renowned for the signal services he performed to the Emperour *Vespasian* in *Gallia Narbonensis*, and *Cornelius Gallus*, the poet, and friend of *Virgil*, who makes honourable mention of him in his tenth eclogue. Of the latter we shall only mention the famous *Francis Mourene*, better known by the title of *Marquis de Villeneuve*. This great man was born at *Frejus*, and of an obscure family; but, having great parts, and an equal degree of ambition, he went in quest of that fortune which he did not expect to meet with at home. Nor was he disappointed in his hopes; for, having repaired to *Germany*, and embraced the profession of arms, he acquired so great a reputation, and raised himself to so high a rank, that he was thought a proper match for a lady of very great fortune and quality. He commanded the Emperor's troops and those of the republic of *Venice* at the siege of *Candia*, as appears by the inscription on the pedestal of his equestrian statue, still to be seen



at *Frejus* \*. It is further said of him, that his wife, having at last discovered the obscurity of his birth, found means to have him poisoned, because, when he made his addressees to her, he had concealed that circumstance from her, and pretended to be of a noble family.

From *Cape Frejus* the coast stretches to the Northward, forming several small bays by means of *Cape Dermond*, on which stands the tower of the same name, *Point du Corbeau*, *Point Noire*, *Cape Roux*, *Cape de L'Espinas*, and *Cape de la Napoule*, so named from the country town of *Napoule*, situated about half a league to the Northwest of it, on the shore of a large bay of the same name. This town was formerly a considerable *borough* in the diocese of *Frejus*; but, in the year 1589, it was ruined by the civil wars, and its whole district laid waste. Afterwards the Duke of *Savoy*, grandfather to the present King of *Sardinia*, made himself master of it. Since that time it passed through several hands, who all suffered the lands to ly uncultivated, and the village continued poorly inhabited till the year 1719; when the *Sieur Montgrand de Mazade* having purchased the whole from the Count *De Tourette* for 200,000 livres, exerted his utmost to repeople the village, and gave the inhabitants leases of the lands belonging to its territory.

The harbour of *Theoule* belongs to the manor of *Napoule*, from which it is not above a mile and a half distant. Here the trade of *Grasse* and *Cannes* was formerly carried on. Ships anchor safely in it, the bottom being sand and mud; it has often been a place of refuge to the *French* King's galleys, and still more so to the frigates and barks which guard the coasts in time of war. The coast of *Napoule* is

\* Il Marchese de Villa nova, per la serenissima republica de *Venetia*, generale de l'arme in Levante. An. Dom. 1658, in Candia.

about three leagues in length, and belongs to the Lord of the manor of that district, who has also the property of the fishery carried on in the gulph of the same name, and is allowed to mount upon his castle six cannon for the protection of the vessels that anchor on that coast.

A little more than a league and a half to the North-Eastward of *Napoule*, stands the borough of *Cannes*, considerably larger than the former. The church stands upon a rising ground, and near it an old castle, and a tower, intended for the defence of the small harbour belonging to the place. Some will have this castle and tower to be the *Castellum Marcellinum* of the ancients; but this is a matter of very small consequence. It is more for our purpose to observe, that the situation of *Cannes* is admirable, and its district, which is five or six leagues in circumference, perfectly well cultivated. It produces wine and oil in great abundance, besides figs, citrons, oranges, and variety of other excellent fruits. But the principal trade carried on in the place is that of salt, anchovies and pilchards, whereof they vend yearly to the extent of 180 quintals, when the fishing season is favourable. The borough and district together bring in yearly to the Abbé of *Lerins*, who is Lord of the manor, eight or nine thousand livres. In the district of *Cannes*, together with that of *Canet*, which is a village about a league from it, containing a thousand inhabitants, there are two parish churches. Divine service is performed in that of *Cannes* by a Rector and four Vicars, who have each a stated yearly income, with a part of the casualties: in that of *Canet* by one Rector and one vicar, who have also a settled revenue paid them by the Abbé of *Lerins*. The borough of *Cannes* contains about 600 houses, and 5000 inhabitants, including women and children. The

*Capuchins*.

*Capuchins* have a convent here, and it is the only one in the place. We shall only further observe, that this convent is not of old standing: a late bishop of *Grasse*, who had himself been a *Capuchin*, was at the expence of purchasing the ground on which it stands, and the inhabitants of the place built the convent, and the church which is dedicated to *St. Felix de Cantalice*.

We cannot conclude this article without taking notice of the village of *Vallauris*, or *Vallaurie*, which stands at a little distance from *Canet*, and is one of the neatest of the whole province. Its streets are well laid out, and of a considerable breadth, tho' land in these parts bears a very high price. There is here a beautiful castle, which has been long the property of the *Abbe's of Lerins*; *Aldebert* bishop of *Antibes*, and his brother, who were proprietors of it in the year 1038, having, as it is pretended, made a present of it, together with the church and the whole territory of *Vallaurie*, to

the monastery of that name. *Vallaurie* stands within a quarter of a league of the bay of *Gourgen*, so well known in the *Mediterranean*, which is the source of all the wealth of this place; because it is frequented by ships and vessels of all sorts, constantly employed in carrying away wine, oil, fruits, and other commodities of the country; in return for which they bring corn and other goods, which are not the produce of these parts. These ships and vessels ly in the greatest safety in the *Gourgen*, and can come in and go out of it with any wind; so that, in short, it is one of the best and safest roads in the *Mediterranean*.

The bay of *Gourgen* is included between the capes of *La Garoupe* and *La Croisette*, the latter whereof lies in the latitude of 43 degrees 34 minutes North, 7 degrees 8 minutes to the Eastward of the meridian of *London*, and almost a quarter of a league to the northward of the

## I S L E S of L E R I N S.

THESE isles are situated in the extremity of the diocese of *Grasse*; and the two principal ones were, by ancient geographers, called, the one *Lerinus*, and the other *Lero*. *Strabo* seems to say that they were so named from one *Lero*, who was buried in one of them, and had divine honours paid him after his death. Others conjecture they had this name given them by the *Greeks of Marseilles*, because

they looked upon them to be of very little use or consequence, the word *Leros*, in their language, being applied to any thing trifling or insignificant.

The island which was originally called by the name of *Lerinus*, some time after the establishment of *Christianity*, assumed that of *St. Margaret* from the name of a monastery erected in it. This is the largest of the two, being a league



in breadth, and a league and a half in length. It was for some time inhabited by *Hermits*, who abandoned it again. The *Spaniards* were also once masters of it, and raised some fortifications in it. The ruins of Fort *Arragon*, and some other works which they built are still to be seen. They also laid the foundations of the present citadel, which the *French*, having expelled them, carried to perfection. The *Sieur de St. Mark* who was Governor of it before he had the direction of the *Basilie*, obtained leave to build in it a prison for state criminals; and it is said that there is not a more secure one in all *France*. The garrison of this citadel consists of four companies; three whereof are invalids, and the fourth cadets. No part of this island is cultivated, except the Governor's garden, which is in very good order, and abounds with orange-trees, citron-trees, fig-trees, &c. The coasts of this island are commonly frequented by fishing-boats, which carry on a contraband trade, to the great advantage of the Governor and the garrison. Several methods have been taken to stop this sort of commerce, but hitherto without effect. Both these larger islands are surrounded with small islands and rocks, some whereof ly under water; which is the reason why they are seldom frequented by larger vessels; yet, near the citadel of *St. Margaret*, especially to the eastward of it, there are places where galleys may ly at anchor, and find protection against the South and South-West winds, which on this coast are said to be very dangerous.

The other island, which formerly had the name of *Lero*, has assumed those of *St. Honorat*, or *St. Honoré*, and of *Lerins*. It is separated from that of *St. Margaret* by a small arm of the sea, not quite a quarter of a league in breadth. It is also much less than the other, being not above a mile

in circumference. It is plain, and of an oval form. The air is exceeding wholesome, and the prospects it yields are extremely pleasant, not only on account of the beauty of the towns and mountains, which are exposed to view, but also for its agreeable alleys planted with tall trees, fine gardens, vineyards, and vast variety of exquisite flowers, which equally charm the sight and the smell. This island is almost entirely cultivated, and very fruitful both in corn and pulse, and the sea about it abounds with variety of fish. The tradition is, that *St. Honorat*, a native of *Hungary*, having travelled to *Italy*, and from thence to *Provence*, retired to this island, and was the first that embraced a monastic life in the West. This Saint is said to have arrived in the island about the year 410, and, by his example and miracles, engaged so many to abandon the world, and put themselves under his direction, that, in a short time there were no less than 3000 hermits in the island, who, not finding room enough there, sent colonies to that of *St. Margaret*, and some other lesser islands thereabout; one whereof has still retained the name of *St. Ferreol*, from the name of the saint who first fixed his residence in it, whose cell is shown to strangers at this day, and is so little that it can scarce contain a man of common size.

*St. Honorat* having instituted the abbey of *Lerins*, which, as has been observed, was the first in the West, was called from thence to be made Bishop of *Arles*, in the consulship of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, and the pontificate of *Celestin III.* that is, about the year 426, and died three years thereafter. He was succeeded in the abbey of *Lerins* by *St. Maximus*, who, according to the hypocrisy of these times, to avoid being made Bishop of *Frejus*, went and hid himself at Cape *Roux*, but was some time after elected Bishop of *Riez*, much against

against his inclination. It would take up too much time to give a list of all the saints this abbey has produced; but it may be asserted in general, that it has given bishops to almost all the sees in the kingdom; and it is pretended, that no less than five hundred of the Monks belonging to it suffered martyrdom in the pontificate of *Gregory II.* and, during the reign of *Charles Martel.*

The church of *St. Honorat*, and the ancient habitation of the Monks, stands in the middle of the island. Round it are several chapels, which the superstitious visit from *Ascension-Day* to *Whitsuntide*, to purchase the indulgences granted by the Popes; which, by this means, are as effectually gained, as by undertaking pilgrimages to the seven *Basilicæ* at *Rome.* Near this place is a well dug out of a rock, the water whereof is very clear and very wholesome. Wonderful things are said concerning this well, particularly that it is very fresh, tho' near the edge of the sea, which, after all, is known to happen in more than a thousand instances, without a miracle. It is also said, that it never has above three buckets of water in it at once; yet if ever so much is drawn out of it, the quantity left in the well is not sensibly diminished. Even this might be easily accounted for from natural causes; but the priests and monks have determined that these phœnomina shall pass for the effects of a miraculous power, exerted by *St. Honorat*, and they are accordingly celebrated by some *Latin* verses, cut upon a block of marble, on the top of a wall near the place, wherein this saint is put upon a level with *Moses*, who drew water out of the rock, and sweetened the bitter fountains at *Meribah* \*.

\* *Isacidum ductor lymphas medicavit amaras,  
Et virga fontes extudit e silice.  
Aspice, ut hic rigido surgunt e marmore rivi,  
Et sa so dulcis gurgite vena fluit.  
Pulsat Honoratus rupem, laticesque redundant,  
Et sudis ad virgæ Mosis adæquat opus.*

On the South side of it there is a large high tower of cut stone, built upon a rock, the outer gate whereof is on the North side, where a guard is constantly kept by a detachment from the citadel of *St. Margaret*, and changed every month, for the security of this island, and the Monks that inhabit it. After passing two other gates, you come to a stair-case, at the top whereof there is a draw-bridge, which leads to the great gate of the tower. Here again you find a very narrow and dark stair-case, and on the top of it a passage to the left hand, which conducts you to the apartments of the soldiers, and another on the right, which leads to the first or lower dormitory of the Monks. After this you proceed to the church of *St. Croix*, but, before you enter it, you are shewn a curious clock hard by it. The principal figure of this machine holds an ax in its hand, wherewith it strikes the hours, but seems to aim its weapon at the head of a woman, who stands under the bell, surrounded by other lesser figures that dance about her. In this church the Monks perform divine worship, and here also the bodies and relicks of several saints are preserved. That of *St. Honorat*, the founder of the monastery, is kept in a grand crystal case, tinged with vermilion, and enriched with precious stones. On it a part of his miracles are represented in beautiful sculpture. His head is kept by itself in a large silver bust, as is also that of *St. Agulfe*. His arm bones are also preserved in two silver cases, and one of his jaw-bones with some teeth, which appear tinged with blood, and look fresh through the crystal. Among a great many other relicks in that abbey, there are three large flowers de lys, in which are deposited the bones of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, the two *St. James's*, and almost all the apostles, or, in their stead, the lumber of obscure monks, which equally

answer



answer the end of making the superstitious mob gape and stare. They have there also a thorn out of the crown which was upon the head of *Jesus Christ* when he was crucified; a gilt case, in which are inclosed the bones of the 500 Monks who suffered martyrdom by the hands of the *Saracens*, in the time when *St. Porcarius* was Abbot of this monastery; and, in another case, the bones of the 30 monks who suffered together with *St. Aigulfe*. Under the grand altar lies the body of *St. Venant*, brother to *St. Honorat*, that of *Vincentius Lerinensis*, who acquired great reputation in the fifth century, and the bodies of *St. Anthony* and *St. Caprasius*, the two faithful attendants of *St. Honorat*, during his residence in the isles of *Lerins*. After visiting this large collection of rotten bones, you go up another pair of stairs into the second dormitory, where there are a great many chambers, with closets taken out of the breadth of the wall. At the end of this dormitory is the library celebrated for the great number of manuscripts that are lodged in it. It is observed particularly that there is here a manuscript bible, which is said to have made its appearance at several general councils, particularly at those of *Constance* and *Basil*. It is also said, (for few have access to see these treasures, except the monks of the place, who probably can make but little use of them) that they have there all the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, a great many commentators, casuists, and other theological writers, the decretals of the Popes, the acts of the councils, all that has been wrote to illustrate the canon law; and, in general, a vast variety of useful and curious books, both ancient and modern. Upon the whole, in this tower, it is pretended, there are at least eighty chambers, the greatest part whereof have closets annexed, exclusive of the cellars, kitchens, office-houses, granaries, and the a-

partment for the soldiers, in which there are several chambers, and over them a platform, armed with several pieces of cannon. These two apartments have no communication with one another, so that the soldiers give no disturbance to the Monks, nor the Monks to them.

*Aldebert*, the second of that name, who was Abbot of *Lerins* towards the end of the eleventh century, is said to have laid the foundation of this tower in the year 1088, to save himself and his Monks from the barbarities of the pyrates, to whose incursions the island, at that time, lay open, and avoid the unhappy fate of *St. Porcarius* and *St. Aigulfe*, already mentioned. Though this isle is but small, yet there are several harbours in it for sloops and small craft. The principal one lies to the Westward of the tower, and near it the cave of *St. Columban*, where this good man, together with *St. Eleutherius*, hid themselves when the *Saracens* invaded the island, and massacred *St. Porcarius* with his 500 Monks: but this is not all, if you will believe the story, *St. Columban*, having seen the souls of his brother monks ascending up to heaven in the form of bright stars, was so ravished with the sight, that he left his cave, and exposed himself to the fury of the *Barbarians*, who served him as they had done the rest of his brethren.

The tower of *Lerins* was surprised in the year 1400 by a *Genoese* pyrate, who pillaged it, and kept possession of it for some time, but it was soon after recovered out of his hands by the nobility of *Provence*. In the year 1635, the *Spaniards* made themselves masters of this and the island of *St. Margaret*, and laid every thing waste; they ruined the chapels, spoiled the gardens, fields, and vineyards, and seized all that was valuable; but they did not enjoy their conquest long, for, two years thereafter, the *French* King sent an army,

army, commanded by the Count *de Harcourt*, and *M. de Sourdis* Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, to dispossess them. In their march they held a council of war at the castle of *Cannes*, at which *M. de l'Hospital Vitry*, Marechal of *France*, and at that time governour of *Provence* happen'd to be present; and having differed with the Archbishop, supported his opinion with great vehemence. The Archbishop being no less obstinate in the defence of his sentiments, *M. de Vitry* was so far provok'd as to give him several blows with his cane. The former having complained of this outrage to the King, the Marechal was deprived of his government, and sent to the *Bastile*, where he continued till the death of Cardinal *Richlieu*. The quarrel between the two Generals did not, however, prevent the success of the expedition. The *Spaniards* were expell'd, the two islands recovered, and the conquerors sung *Te Deum* upon their victory.

These islands were also taken during the late war by the Queen of *Hungary's* troops commanded by General *Brown*, who, having passed the *Var* on the 30th of *November* 1746, entered *Provence*, and encamp'd at *Cagne*, having his right covered by the wood of *Villeneuve*, and his left by the river of *Loup*. He continued in this position till the 6th of *December*, when he decamp'd, and posted himself within a league and a half of *Antibes*, having his right covered with the village of *Biot*, where he took up his head-quarters, and his left with the wood of *Vaugrenier*. The same day the General sent a large body of troops towards Fort *Quarré*, which commands the harbour of *Antibes*, and it was believed he intended to attack it. In this persuasion, the commander of that fort saluted the *Austrians* with a brisk fire of all his artillery, and they, who probably intended no more than to divert the attention of the *French* from their real designs, thought proper at that time to retire.

On the 12th of *December*, the *Austrian* army again decamp'd, and pitched at *Grasse*, having its right covered by that town, and its left by the village of *Cannes*, where the General had his head-quarters. On the 14th, about one o'clock in the afternoon, Admiral *Medley*, with some *English* ships of war, began to bombard the fort in the isle of *St. Margaret*; and, in the night, landed two thousand *Austrian* troops on the island, to attack the place. As the garrison was not very strong, and the officer, who commanded, principally concerned about the security of the state prisoners, he surrendered by capitulation, and, together with his garrison and these prisoners, was put on board an *English* ship, and sent to *Marseilles*. This conquest gave the *English* free access to the bay of *Gourgen*, which they could not have while the fort of *St. Margaret* was in the hands of the *French*. The *Austrians* became also, soon after, masters of the fort of *St. Honorat*; but they did not retain these conquests long; for, on the 25th of *May* 1747, the *French*, under the command of *M. de Cbevert*, made a descent upon the latter of these islands; and the tower of *St. Honorat* being guarded only by an *Hungarian* officer and sixty men, who defended it from 7 o'clock in the morning till 4 in the afternoon, was obliged to surrender, and the garrison became prisoners of war. The citadel of *St. Margaret* being next attacked, surrendered on the 26th, and the garrison, consisting of 450 *Austrians*, under the command of an officer of the same nation, were also made prisoners.

We have already observed, that the bay of *Gourgen* is bounded on one side, that is, towards the East by Cape *la Garoupe*, about three quarters of a league to the Northward whereof stands the antient and famous town of



## A N T I B E S,

THE most easterly sea-port belonging to the *French*, on the coast of the *Mediterranean*, and the only one that now remains to be described. It is supposed to owe its present name to a corruption of that of *Antipolis*, given it by the *Greeks* of *Marseilles*; because it stands opposite to *Nice*, on the other side of the bay of the same name, which was also one of their colonies. The *Romans* had at *Antibes* a marine arsenal, and erected several fortifications to defend the town, whereof two beautiful towers are still remaining; one in the castle where the Governor has his ordinary residence, and the other adjoining to the parish church. This town still retains a great many monuments of antiquity, such as tombs, statues, urns, and inscriptions, which have all been made public by those who have given particular accounts of the remarkable places in this province. The town stands about two leagues from *Cannes*, one and a quarter from *Cannes*, and something better than half a league from *Vallaurie*; it is also three leagues distant from *Nice*, and five from *Monaco*, on the other side of the bay: being situated in 43 degrees 35 minutes North latitude, and 7 degrees 20 minutes eastward of the meridian of *London*. The air of *Antibes* was formerly reckoned very unwholesome, insomuch that some imagined it had its name not from *Antipolis*, but from *Antibios*, that is, unfavourable to the life and health of its inhabitants. This bad character was owing principally to

marshes about it, which being drained when the fortifications of the town were built, its air is reckoned now as wholesome as that of most other places in the country. This town was not united to the domains of *Provence* till the reign of *Henry IV.* who made a purchase of it in the year 1608, and annexed it to the crown of *France*. Its present fortifications were erected by his successors *Lewis XIII.* and *Lewis XIV.* and consist of four bastions and three half-moons, with curtains, a ditch, covered way and glacis, three cavaliers, and two draw-bridges. The side next the sea is defended by four other irregular bastions. The head of the quay is flanked by a battery *en barbet*, with a guard-room, where there is a post capable of containing thirty men, for defending the entrance into it.

Opposite to this post stands a large rock, which has the sea on three sides of it. It was intended that the side next the land should be fortified by two large bastions with orillons. These works were even begun, and carried some length, but they have never been completed. On the top of this rock is erected a square fort, and, therefore, called by the *French* *Fort Quarre*, defended by four regular bastions. It commands the fortifications of the town, and is also their principal defence. It stands about 120 paces to the North of the mouth of the harbour, and commands the whole of it. There was also here an old castle, or citadel, where a small

a small garrison was kept, merely because it served as an excuse for giving subsistence to a *King's Lieutenant* and a *Major*, who had the government of it: but now this citadel is demolished, and a cavalier built upon its ruins. The whole town is under the direction of a Governor, who seldom or never resides in it, a Commandant, a Major, an Aid-Major, and a Captain of the gates: and *Fort Quarre* under that of a *King's Lieutenant*, who does not reside in it, and a Major, who gives constant attendance. There is also in the town a Director of fortifications, and two engineers that serve under him, a Commissary of artillery, with two assistants, and a garrison consisting of a battalion of regular troops. There are only two convents at *Antibes*, one of Monks, belonging to the order of the *Observantines*, and one of Nuns, of that of the *Cisterians*. There has been here, time out of mind, an hospital dedicated to St. *James*, into which are admitted the sick and poor of the place, strangers of all countries, and the wives and children of soldiers, when they are afflicted with distempers. This hospital has but 700 livres of stated yearly revenue, but charitable contributions are often made by well disposed persons that can afford them. There is likewise another hospital supported by the King, for soldiers affected with venereal disorders. The houses in the town of *Antibes* are computed at five hundred, and the inhabitants, including women and children, at three thousand.

Little trade has, for some time past, been carried on in the harbour of *Antibes*; because it is, in a great measure, filled up with sand, which the river of *Var* carries down with it. It was once six hundred fathoms, *French* measure, in circumference, and twenty-two feet deep, but now so much of it is lost that there remains only forty-three fathoms in breadth, and

one hundred and fifty in length, that is, from the *Marine Gate* to the entrance into the harbour; and even here the greatest depth of water is not above fourteen feet: so that large vessels cannot enter it, and small ones never chuse to do it, unless they be forced by stress of weather, for fear of running against a great bank, which is continually growing larger, within forty fathom of the mouth of the harbour. To avoid these inconveniencies, it has been proposed to change the situation of the town of *Antibes*, and rebuild it on that side of Cape *La Garoupe*, already mentioned, which faces the bay of *Gourgen*, where there is a natural harbour, called the *Olivete*, communicating with that excellent road, and, in the middle of it, a rock which seems designed on purpose to supply a foundation for a fort to defend the harbour. It is further observed, that, had the town been built in this place, it would have been commanded by a large rugged high hill, where a chapel, dedicated to the *Virgin*, is already built, and a tower for making signals in time of war. It is added, that, on this eminence, fortifications might have been built with very little expence, yet very strong, and the more so, that it is commanded by no other eminence in this neighbourhood. It is also observed, that the harbour just now mentioned, with these advantages, would have attracted all the commerce of that coast, and foreign ships would have thronged to it in great numbers, to the vast advantage of the province, and the whole kingdom. But, whatever the merit of this scheme may be, there is little probability of its being put in execution.

*Strabo* takes notice, that this town became so considerable, that the *Romans* thought it improper it should continue dependent upon *Marseilles*, tho' its mother city; and, therefore,



conferred upon it the privileges of the *Italian* cities. From that time, it shared the fortune of the *Roman* empire, and declined together with it. After the *Romans*, it fell successively into the hands of the *Visigoths*, *Ostrogoths*, *Franks*, *Merovingians*, the Kings of *Burgundy* and *Arles*, &c. Towards the end of the ninth century, it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*, and was entirely ruined by them. It is true, it was rebuilt in the next century; but, after this period, it was often ruined and sacked by the *Moors* from *Africa* and *Spain*, who made such frequent incursions into the town and territory of *Antibes*, that Pope *Pius IV.* thought it necessary, for the safety of the clergy, to translate the *Episcopal* see from *Antibes* to *Grasse*.

In short, the government of *Antibes*, situated on the border of *Italy*, could not miss to be exposed at all times to many insults, especially whenever the Emperor or the Duke of *Savoy* thought proper to invade *Provence*: but we meet only with one formal siege it sustained, which happened in the late war, when it was attacked by General *Brown* at the head of the *Austrian* army, in the month of *December* 1746. This General having, on the 15th of that month, made himself master of the citadel of *St. Margaret*, marched his army directly to *Antibes*, and, at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th, began to bombard the place. This bombardment continued twenty-nine days, without intermission, and laid the greatest part of the town in ruins; inasmuch that, if we can believe the accounts the *French* themselves give of this matter, there was scarce a house left intire in the whole town, and most of them were more than half demolished. The inhabitants however, bore this bombardment with great spirit and patience, and would not hear of a capitulation; so that the *Austrian* General, seeing

he was not like to succeed in this method, resolved to besiege it in form; and, accordingly, opened trenches, and began to carry on his attacks in two different places. But, after the siege had continued four days, upon information that the Marshal de *Belleisle* was coming against him at the head of the *French* army, he thought proper to raise it. And this he did with so great conduct and good order, that he carried off all his cannon, and managed his retreat with so great dexterity, that he repassed the *Var* with little or no loss.

In the government of *Antibes* the principal country towns are, *St. Laurent*, *Cagne*, and *Biot*. The first is reckoned unwholesome. It is a fief and seigneurie which formerly belonged to the Bishop of *Vence*; but the necessities of his church obliged one of these prelates to dispose of it. *M. de Pisani* was the purchaser, and his posterity are in possession of it to this day. We only add, that this place is remarkable for the excellent *Muscadel* wine which it produces. The village of *Cagne* is very populous. The castle is beautiful, and defended by a square tower. This castle is famous for the beauty of the pictures that are in it, particularly for a representation of the fall of *Phaeton* upon the ceiling of one of its halls, executed in such a surprising manner, that, in whatever part of the hall you stand, when you look at it, you see the heads of the horses turned away from you. The tradition of the country is, that the painter, having been employed three years upon this piece, and paid to his satisfaction, was so charmed with his own performance, that he knew not well how to part with it; but, when he found that he must be gone, and could put off his departure no longer, he shed abundance of tears, and said, "My pretty fall of *Phaeton*! I shall never, never, never see

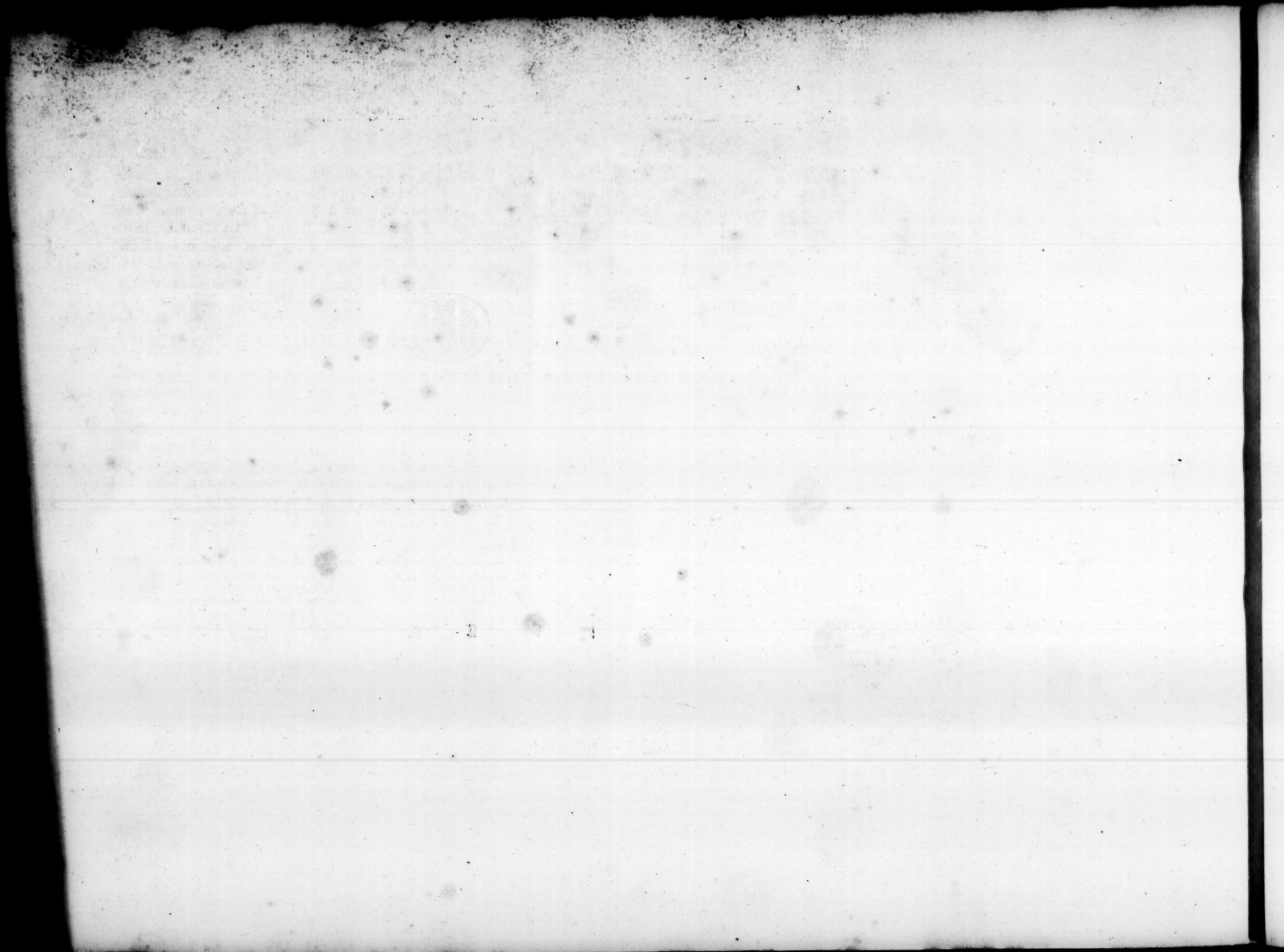
"see thee more\*." The village belongs to the Marquis *de Grimaldi* of *Antibes*, who, for a long time, has made the castle just now mentioned the ordinary place of his residence. This estate has several valuable privileges annexed to it, and particularly one, viz. that the proprietor of it has a right to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. upon all the goods loaded and unloaded upon the beach of *St. Laurent*, and that of *Cagnes*, and upon all the timber that is brought down the *Var* to the mouth of the *Loup*, which is the boundary of this estate.

On the West side of the river *Loup* stands the village of *Biot*, remarkable for its being a colony of the *Genoese*, that has, in all times, kept its original language pure and uncorrupted, or, at least, free from any mixture of *French*, or the jargon of *Provence*. The inhabitants are very laborious, and employ themselves in making earthen ware, for which there is a very great demand in this and the neighbouring provinces.

\* *Bella mia cascata de Phaetonte io non ti voderò, mai mai mai.*

From Cape *La Garoupe* the coast stretches to the Northward, and forms the bay of *Nice*, into which the *Var* empties itself, about two leagues and an half from *Antibes*. This river takes its source from the foot of *Mount Camellione*, in the valley of *Entro-Aunes*, and its name from the variableness and windings of its course. It passes by *Chateauneuf*, *Villeneuve*, *Guillaume*, *Roberts*, *St. Legier*, *Auvare*, *Entrevaux*, *Glandevéz*, *Poget*, *St. Antonin*, *Vilar*, *Massoin*, *Revest*, *La Roquette*, *St. Martin*, *La Bare*, *St. Marguerite*, and *St. Laurens*: and, before it falls into the sea, has its stream increased by six rivulets, whereof the most considerable are the *Vesubie*, the *Esleron*, the *Vaire*, and the *Tinea*, the last of which runs into it near *Tornafort*. This river is considered by some geographers as the boundary between *France* and *Italy*, others will not agree to this, and there are some who will not allow it to be the limit even between the country of *Provence* and that of *Nice*; but it cannot be denied that the mouth of the *Var* sets bounds to the coast of *France*, on that side; and therefore puts a period to this work.





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